GUIDE TO THE AW17 TELUGU FILE

[The AW17 Telugu file principally contains information on a Telugu-speaking village in the northwestern section of the state of Andhra Pradesh. Although the file ideally concerns specific information on Telugu speakers and more general information on their state, Andhra Pradesh, at the present time, it is composed for the most part, of a single village study. Andhra Pradesh is located on India's southeast coast, from approximately 12° - 20° North latitude and 76° - 84° East longitude. It is bounded on the north by the states of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, on the northwest by Maharashtra, on the west by Karnataka (formerly Mysore), and on the south by Tamil-Nadu (formerly Madras). It is the northernmost and largest of the four Dravidian language states.

Andhra Pradesh has a population of 43.5 million (1971 census), most of whom are Telugu speakers. Its capital is Hyderabad, the fifth largest city in India (nearly 1.3 million/ 1967 U.N. Demographic Yearbook/). Its population density (391 persons per square mile /1969/) and the urban percentage of its population (18% /1961/) are both below the national average. It also has a high employment rate for India (over 50%) and is economically stable because its coastal areas produce a large rice surplus (Maloney, 1974, p. 340).

Telugu is the most widely-spoken of the Dravidian languages, the number of its speakers being only slightly less than the population of Andhra Pradesh. It is also spoken in neighboring areas of Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Tamil-Nadu. Its relation to other Dravidian languages is not clear, although scholars agree that it is an early offshoot.

Dialect studies have been made, but have not yet been translated from Telugu (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1966, p. 41). Urdu (Inod-European), the literary and cultured language of the Indian Muslims, is also spoken by a small percentage of the population, especially in the area of Hyderabad.

Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1953 as the first of the linguistic states that the government had promised to set up after independence. It was composed of part of the Madras Presidency and the Telugu-speaking section of the former Hyderabad Muslim princely state.

Most (94%) of Andhra Pradesh's population live in large compact villages of over 100 houses and 500 people. Blocks of castes generally occupy different sections of the village, but within these sections, there is no caste segregation. Only Untouchables live in extra-village hamlets or in a particular section of the village. The size and compactness of the villages allow a wide range of caste interaction. In the fertile rice growing areas, villages tend to be on higher ground. Irrigation is common in most of the state, except in the dry western plateau where only millet is grown. The household is the basic unit of Telugu society. Joint households, such as two brothers and their families, common in northern India, are rare (Maloney, 1974, pp. 313-316). (Data based on information from Area Handbook for India, 1970; 1975 Information Please Almanac; Maloney, Clarence, 1974, Peoples of South Asia; Voegelin and Voegelin, 1966, Languages of the World: Dravidian, Anthropological Linguistics, vol 8, pp. 40-41.)

There is only one source in the Telugu file, although small amounts of material from the AW1 India file are present.

1: Dube is a village study by an Indian anthropologist, which concerns the village of Shamirpet. It has a population of 2,500 (1951) and is twenty-five miles from Hyderabad in the dry Deccan Plateau of western Andhra Pradesh. It is a detailed study and was carried out by a team of researchers. It discusses the political, religious and social structure of the village, plus providing material on its history, geography, economy, and case histories which personalize the dryer aspects of the generalizations. More than eighteen researchers gathered the data and hence Dube was able to draw upon the expertise of professionals in areas such as agriculture, health, and nutrition.

While this file is essentially composed of one source, it is large enough and sufficiently detailed to cover a wide range of topics. It should serve as a good comparison with other Indian village studies, as well as an adequate introduction to the region and the language group. The file was processed in 1955.]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

564 [621] communities. Persons belonging to several different castes are united by some common values and obligations in this unit. But caste as a unit of social organization cuts across the narrow boundaries of the village and extends to a fairly wide geographical region. The *varna* system or the fivefold division of Hindu society is an all-India phenomenon, but in the different geographical and linguistic regions these *varnas* are divided into numerous castes (*jati*) which are practically distinct from and independent of comparable castes in other areas. Thus in South India, in the Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu-speaking regions respectively, there are separate groups of Brahmins who constitute independent castes. There are numerous restrictions on inter-dining, and intermarriage between them is not permitted. All these groups will be designated by the generic term Brahmin; but in actual practice they are each a separate caste characterized by endogamy and [101] distinctive local traditions. It has been pointed out earlier that culturally Shamirpet lies in the area of Telangana, which is a 582 part of the larger culture-area of Andhra-desa. Most of the castes in the village confine their social intercourse to Telangana itself, a 564 few extending it to other parts of Andhra-desa. The Muslims, being 621 converts to an alien religion, are not obliged to observe this rule and can freely inter-marry with Muslim immigrants from other parts; but among them also marriage between people already having some blood ties is preferred. For Hindu castes it may be said that in actual practice a number of neighbouring villages constitute for them a quasi-independent local group within the wider regional community. In analysing one hundred and twenty family case-histories, it was found that out of three hundred and eighty marriages over 68% were confined to a group of villages (and the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad) within a radius of approximately thirty-five miles from Shamirpet; 30% to other villages within sixty miles of the village; and only 2% in still more distant villages or towns. In no case was a marital union entered into with a non-Telugu caste, even with a similar caste name and social status in another linguistic or geographical [571] area. Thus the horizontal ties of caste extend to the whole culture area; but active social relationships are generally confined to a cluster of neighbouring villages.

623 Two types of inter-village organizations deserve to be noted. They are councils of the different castes and inter-village councils.

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India
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with English. Father Beschi's epic *Themba Ani* was the earliest successful attempt to import biblical themes and incidents into Tamil poetry. In his *Thiru Kavalur Kalambakam*, *Adaikala Malai*, *Annai Azhungal Andhadhi*, and *Kitheri Amman Ammanai* he poured new wine into old bottles. While scrupulously, and even excessively, conforming to the orthodox technique, he worked freely on western models and effected innovations both in design and execution, in materials and make-up, which, if daring, added a new grandeur in numbers and a new vigour in ideology.

To come to later writers, Mr. Krishna Pillai's epic *Rakshanya Yatrikam* is a poetic adaptation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; Mr. V. G. S. Sastri's monostiches, known as *Thani Pasura Thokai*, which have been translated into English by Dr. Pope, are fine imitations of Shakespeare's Sonnets; Munsif Vedanayagam Pillai's *Penmathi Malai* and *Sarva Samaya Kirthanais* are lyrical symphonies on modern themes of current interest. The extempore melodies of the later nationalist poet Bharati, entitled *Swadesa-Githams* (National Songs), touch high levels of perfervid patriotic poesy. He is a product of the new dynamic nationalism which tales of Mazzini's noble passion and Garibaldi's prowess have inspired in young India. His 'soul-stirring songs', as they have been called by a staid Malayali High Court judge, are expressions of the new-born emotions and passion for freedom inspired by western ideas and advanced modern ideals; and they have helped to translate patriotism from the sphere of passion into that of a religion.

To sum up our review, the effects of western influences on modern Tamil culture have been primarily to enlarge the domain of prose and to add extensive and entirely new communes to the republic of Tamil letters, in fiction, drama, and journalism in particular. Even the anaemic languor of later poetry has been dissipated by infusions of healthy young blood, and Tamil poesy has been revitalized by the live currents from the West, which appear to have cured it of the partial paralysis that supervened in the dark ages between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

V. TELUGU

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Telugu, which is the principal member of the Andhra group of Dravidian languages, is the mother tongue of about twenty-six million people in an area of 117,000 square miles, occupying the central portion of the east coast of South India and extending far into the interior of the country, which is comprehensively known as Andhra land. Its existence as a language can be traced back to a period as early as the first century B.C., but its first literary production, which was a translation of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata*,

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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always been prominent lines; bars and light structural steel comprise about a quarter of the finished products, rails and fishplates about 14%. The 1939–45 war saw a great expansion in quantity and range, including the production of light armoured vehicles. Associated industries include tinplate (developed in association with the Burmah Oil Co., production 40,000 tons in 1947), cables, wire and wire nails, agricultural implements, enamelled and galvanised sheets, and all types of castings. Most of the undertakings responsible for these products, as well as the mines and quarries on which they are based, are part of the multifunctional 'Tata group' which has wide ramifications, from soap to aviation. The metallurgical and engineering side has thus elements of both vertical and horizontal monopoly. In Bombay is the general staff of this industrial empire, and its service corps; here, set down in the incongruous jungle, is its arsenal.

Telangana

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The remainder of the Peninsular Interior, within the bordering En Hills, is perhaps best regarded as the Deccan component of Andhra Desa, the country of the Telugu-speaking peoples; a component which differs widely from the littoral districts of 'Andhrastan'. The area here considered consists of the Hyderabad Telangana (with Raichur, officially in Marathwara) and the Madras 'Ceded Districts' of Anantapur, Bellary, and Kurnool. The fourth Ceded District, Cuddapah, lies mostly in the Cuddapah Ranges region, as indeed does much of Kurnool. The limits, except where formed by the Deccan Lava edge and the front of the Cuddapah Ranges, are very vague; pending serious work on the Mysore peneplains, we may take the Madras/Mysore boundary as an approximation, though this includes Kanarese-speaking populations of 64 and 49% in Raichur and Bellary, which nevertheless go physically with the rest of the present region. In the SE the little river basins lying between the Cuddapahs and the Mysore plateau, in E Anantapur and W Chittoor, are really another 'left-over' subregion, in Chittoor transitional to Tamilnad; they will receive separate treatment. With these rather wide qualifications, the name Telangana seems appropriate, or at any rate least inappropriate.

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The Physical Aspect

The bulk of the region consists of peneplains developed on the Archaean gneisses. In the N, however, faulting has preserved a belt of Gondwanas (with some coal) along the lower Godavari trough: much of this is below 500 ft, but with its dissected terrain it has remained very largely under forest of a dryish deciduous type.

The most general levels lie between 1600 and 2000 ft; in the S, below the rather ragged break of slope down from the Mysore plateau, the Kistna

[Information on the regional divisions of the Indian sub-continent will be found in Chapter XIII, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

its past history 'as it was passed on to them by their forefathers'. The village of Shamirpet owes its present shape to the construction of the large and beautiful tank which lies some three furlongs north of the village site. Before the construction of this tank there was a tiny hamlet on the present site which consisted of a few households and was known as Shahpur. Some three hundred and fifty years ago Ibrahim Quli Qutub Shah, then ruler of Hyderabad, wishing to perpetuate his name, ordered the construction of a huge tank which, he expected, would be called after him. This tank is the hyphen linking the city of Hyderabad with Secundrabad. However, according to the legend, the people associated it with the name of the engineer Hussain Khan and called it 'Hussain Sagar'. So the ruler decided on the building of a second tank, and chose the site of Shamirpet. But the Shamirpet tank was his second disappointment. On the completion of the tank, he is believed to have come to the site and asked the people, 'Whose tank is this?' The people unwittingly answered, 'It is Shah Mir's tank.' The people's tribute to the man whose brain had created the project did not satisfy the Qutubshahi ruler. He ordered a third tank to be constructed at a different site some thirty-five miles away, and it is this tank which now commemorates his name and is known as 'Ibrahimpatan Sagar'. The second of these tanks, constructed near the hamlet known as Shaepur, changed the fortunes of that tiny settlement. The people who had worked on the construction of the tank settled permanently in the vicinity of the hamlet and were joined by more settlers attracted by the irrigation facilities provided by the tank, so that the village gradually grew to a considerable size. Because of its association with Shah Mir's tank, the hamlet was given the new name of Shah Mir Pet, which became gradually corrupted into Shamirpet.

In the year 1798 H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad (until 1948 the feudal ruler of Hyderabad) granted this village together with several others as *jagir* (feudal estate) to one of his nobles, the late Fakhrul Mulk Khan Khanan. On his death the estate was inherited by his son Nawab Nizam Yar Jung, also known as Nawab Ehsan-ul-Mulk Khan Khanan. The last in the line of the Jagirdars of Shamirpet was Kemal Yar Jung. He constructed a beautiful summer house, which is now in ruins, adjoining the tank, as well as several office buildings in the village which house the post office, the school, the police station and the village granary. After

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India AW1
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KANADA AW

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[For definitions and explanations of native terms see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, pp. 789-821.]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

Glossary

104 *Allah.* Islamic expression for God.

Arya Samaj. A modern reformist sect of the Hindus based mainly on the Vedas. Founded by Dayanand Saraswati, this sect discards idolatry and other later tendencies of Hinduism.

Ashramas. Four stages or periods in the life of a Hindu. The prescribed stages are: (1) Brahmacharya (the student life); (2) Grahastha (the householder's life); (3) Vanaprastha (the hermit's life); and (4) Sanyas (the beggar's life).

Atma. Soul or spirit.

Brahmacharya. Period of celibate education, the first stage in the life of a Hindu.

Chetla-kriya. Black magic.

Dharma. The approved way of life comprising righteousness, religious ordinances, rules of conduct, and duties of an individual peculiar to his stage and station in life. In English religion is often used to denote *dharma*, but this is misleading.

Dvija. The three 'twice-born' *varnas* who are eligible to perform certain special rites denoting spiritual rebirth.

Farman. A government order issued by a Muslim ruler.

Gotram. Clan, an exogamous division of caste.

Grahastya. A householder's life, the second stage in the life of a Hindu.

Jaggery. Crude brown sugar made from the juice of sugar-cane.

Jagir. A feudal estate or an assignment of land by a ruler to his feudal chief in return for military or other services.

Jagirdar. A feudal chief holding an assignment of land from a ruler in return for military or other service.

Jahannum. Muslim name for hell.

Jannat. Muslim name for heaven.

Jati. In Indian languages this word is used synonymously for caste as well as sub-caste. It denotes a small endogamous and occupational group forming the effective unit of caste system.

Karma. The law that binds everyone to enjoy or suffer the consequences of one's action in former life. This concept is based on the widely

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

GLOSSARY

held Hindu theory of rebirth. In common talk it is used synonymously with fate or destiny. 104

Kharif. Crops sown in the rainy season.

Lingam (also *Linga*). Phallus, symbol of Shiva.

Lunar year. Counting of months by phases of the moon. Between two new moons the period is roughly twenty-nine and a half days; so every fourth lunar year an additional month is calculated to keep pace with the solar years.

Mantram (also *Mantra*). Incantation or spell. In Sanskrit, and in other languages derived from it, it also denotes hymn, sacred text, and mystical verse.

Moksha. Salvation; emancipation from the bondage of birth and death.

Muslim. Follower of Islam.

Narka. Hell.

Panchayat. Village council.

Pap. Sin.

Punya. Merit.

Rabi. Crops sown in winter.

Rupee. The unit of Indian currency. A rupee is equal to sixteen annas; an anna being subdivided into four pice or twelve pies. Rs.13/6 are equivalent to £1, and an American dollar is roughly equal to Rs. 5/-.

Sanyasa. The stage of renunciation during which a person abandons all worldly possessions and ties.

Shaiva. A Hindu sect worshipping Shiva as the greatest god, regarding him as the source and essence of the universe.

Swarga. Heaven.

Vaishnava. Hindu sect regarding Vishnu as the Supreme Being.

Vanaprastha. The third or hermit's stage in the life of a Hindu.

Vansham. Lineage.

Varna. Traditional scheme of classification of castes into four levels. The first three of these are regarded as twice-born, and the untouchables are kept outside the framework of caste system.

Yantram. Secret magical formulae and designs.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER ONE

The Setting

1. THE SETTING

105 131 SHAMIRPET is a village situated at a distance of about twenty-five miles from the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad in the Deccan plateau of India. Culturally it lies in the region known as Telangana, which is itself a part of the wider culture-area of Andhra-desa. Telangana is a country of fertile fields and barren rocks; a land of temples, tanks and lakes. It is estimated that there are over twenty thousand lakes and tanks in this region, which covers an area of more than 42,000 square miles. Shamirpet is located by the side of one of these tanks and lies on the road that links the capital city of Hyderabad with Karimnagar, the headquarters of the northern district of that name.

133 134 137 132 The picturesque landscape of the village is truly characteristic of the Deccan plateau. The soil is in part black and in part red, and is suitable for the cultivation of rice, millet, castor and other oil-seeds, pulses and tobacco. An endless series of barren rocks formed of gneisses and granites dominates the land. Tall palmyra trees stand magnificently and imperiously against the often-clear sky, evergreen shrubs circle the rock formations and tamarind trees grow here and there near human habitation. In the countryside surrounding Shamirpet the average annual rainfall is about twenty-five inches. From Indian standards, the climate is moderate and knows no extremes either in winter or in summer. The days during the summer season are rather hot, the temperature often touching 112° F., but the evenings and nights are always cool and pleasant. In some winter nights the temperature drops to 137 45° F. There is little forest in the country immediately surrounding

111 AW 17 Telugu

1: Dube, S. C. Indian Village. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1955.

Pp. xiv, 248.

Yale: Nn96. I3. 955D.

[This book is based upon a field study made by a research team from Osmania University under the direction of the author, an Indian anthropologist. The book is very well written, and includes thorough discussions of the social, political and religious structure of the village of Shamirpet. While this is primarily a descriptive study of a village, the author is concerned with the concepts and techniques applied to community studies, and he frequently cites relevant theory. The concluding chapter deals with culture change in the community as seen in the context of India as a whole. There is a forward by Morris Opler. --Analyst]

Field date: 1951-52
Analyst: R. H. Ewald

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1955

113, 185, 427 Telugu AW17

[For information on tenancy reform legislation in Madras see 39: Patel, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 307-315.]

[For full bibliographical references see category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, entire source and bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter.]

133, 113 Telugu AW17

[For a regional division of the Indian sub-continent see Chapter XIII, 6: S pate AW1 India.]

133, 113 Telugu AW17

[For general information on the distribution of various types of flora and its relation to climate and soil, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 63-92.]

128, 113 Telugu AW17

[For information pertaining to literary devices and conventions, abbreviations and explanations of numerations used by the author, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. xxi-xxiii, and xxv.

231, 113 Telugu AW17

[For a general discussion of animal husbandry in India, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 228-231.]

133, 113 Telugu AW17

[For a description and discusssion of the structure and relief of the entire Indian sub-continent, see 6: Spate, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 3-36.]

104, 113

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[For definitions and explanations of native terms see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, pp. 789-821.]

132, 113

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[For a description of climate regions of the Indian sub-continent and its general effects on agriculture and health, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 40-62.]

M Te Ta K 197, M Te Ta K 113, M Te Ta K 162

Marathi AW12
Telugu AW17
Tamil AW16
Kanada AW10

[For distribution of languages, see map, p. 645, category 116, in 6: Spate, AW1 India.]

M Te Ta K T C K 133, M Te Ta K T C K 113 ●

Marathi AW12
● Telugu AW17
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Kanada AW10
Tulu AW18
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Kerala AW11

[For a map of the structural elements of South India see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, p. 694.]

134, 113

Telugu AW17

[For general information on the distribution of soil types in India see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 80-92.]

[For an index of authors and works cited, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 822-827.]

● 113, 564 Telugu AW17

[For information on the castes of the Telugu country see 33: Bhattacharya, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 98-101, 126, 221-222 and 286.]

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113, 536

For information on the development of the Andhra theater, see 41: Anand AW1 India, category 116 pp. 27-34.

[Because of the diversity of functions of the Village Panchayats, data filed in category 623 have been limited to that concerning the Panchayats which cannot readily be filed in other categories. Additional data will be found in the specific functional categories, as indicated below, and in the entire source, 26: Rao, AW1 India, category 116. --Analyst]

623 summaries of Panchayat functions and optional duties; administrative functions; membership, selection, and meetings; number and geographical distribution; attitude toward, supervision of, and distribution of authority.

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311 forest panchayats
312 water control
364 village sanitary boards
443 market facilities and control
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624 local officials
642 legal basis and origins of panchayats
647 panchayat state officials
651 income through taxes
652 panchayat budgets and expenses
653 contributions to public works
658 maintenance of public buildings
666 panchayat elections
687 panchayat political offenses
692 panchayat judicial powers

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[Information on village factions with regard to panchayat activities as presented in 26: Rao, AW1 India has been filed in category 578.]

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113, 197, 564, 582, 614

[For information pertaining to language regions, kinship terminology and kin relationships, see 5: Karve AW1 India, category 116, pp. 230-1.]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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and kunkuma, offers incense, breaks a cocoanut, and cooks and presents to the image about a seer of rice, which he afterwards eats himself. The rice is provided daily by the villagers. Occasionally fowls and sheep are offered on the Sunday by villagers who have made vows in time of sickness or other misfortunes. When a sheep is sacrificed, it is first purified by washing. The animal is simply killed in front of the image by a Mādigā, who cuts off its head with a large chopper. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground and nothing special is done with it. The head becomes the perquisite of the pūjārī, and the offerer takes away the carcass for a feast in his house. In many villages, both in the Telugu and Tamil districts, water is poured over the sheep's back to see whether it shivers. If it shivers, it is a sign that the goddess has accepted it.[1] Where the people are economical, they keep on pouring water till it does shiver, to avoid the expense of providing a second victim, but, where they are more scrupulous, if it does not shiver, it is taken as a sign that the goddess will not accept it and it is taken away.

A public festival is held whenever an epidemic breaks out. The headman of the village then gets a new earthenware pot, besmears it with turmeric and kunkuma and puts inside some clay bracelets, some necklaces, and ear-rings, three pieces of charcoal, three pieces of turmeric, three pieces of incense, a piece of dried cocoanut, a woman's cloth, and two annas' worth of coppers—a strange collection of miscellaneous charms and offerings. The pot is then hung up in a tree near the image, as a pledge that, if the epidemic disappears, the people will celebrate a festival.

When it does disappear, a thatched shed of palmyra leaves is built near the image, and a special image of clay, adorned with turmeric and kunkuma, is put inside, and beneath it an earthen pot filled with buttermilk and boiled rice. This pot is also smeared with turmeric and

[1] For this widespread superstition see Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, I, 19. Cf. pp. 63, 68, 69, 73, 99, below.

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Foreword

In his informative and stimulating introduction to the present volume, Dr. Dube has said, '. . . . what we need to-day is a series of studies of village communities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos.' Dr. Dube has not only stated the need; he has shown us what can be achieved in striving to meet it. His volume is a solid study and one which will doubtless take its place among the standard community studies made in various parts of the world which he cites in his bibliography.

In a number of ways this volume is especially valuable and challenging and is a tonic to present-day research into Indian village life. In the first place, it is a total study, not in the sense that it gives us all possible details concerning the village Shamirpet, but in the sense that it presents between two covers all important aspects of the culture of this community. Though the author has been at pains to keep the account fairly general and uncluttered, the reader receives a convincing and reasonably adequate introduction to the historical, geographical, and political setting and the social, economic, and ritual structure of the village described. One puts the book down with a feeling that one has really come to know Shamirpet, its background, people, and problems quite well; even if everything about something is not there, something about almost everything is given. This is almost a departure in social science writing about Indian village life. Such studies have tended to be topical, specialized, and often too brief. Of attempts to give a sustained, many-sided picture of an Indian community we have very few; there are Gertrude

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Emerson's *Voiceless India* and William Wiser's *Behind Mud Walls*, both pioneer efforts, and a few others.

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Acknowledgements

THIS study is an outcome of the Osmania University Social Service Extension Project which the author directed in 1951–52. Grateful acknowledgements are made to the University authorities for liberal allotment of funds and for enthusiastic support of the project. The author is particularly grateful to Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur, then Vice-Chancellor of the University, for his generous support of social research.

Messrs. Tuljaram Singh, R. Prakash Rao, P. R. Sirsalkar, P. L. Narsimha Rao, and T. Kanna Reddi worked on the research side in the Extension team, and assisted me in collecting and checking most of the data presented in this book. Dr. Hamid Ali Baig, Mr. Ghouse Mohiuddin, and Dr. Chandra Devi deserve special mention for their medical work, which won popularity for our team in the village, and for their reports on village health and nutrition. Dr. Ramchandra Rao, assisted by his unit, made investigations on cattle health in the village. Dr. Hashim Amir Ali, Dean, Faculty of Agriculture, took a special interest in our work; and through his agricultural unit we could get useful data on agriculture and economy in the village. Miss Sikander Siddiqi helped me with the study of the life-cycle and the religious festivals of the Muslims. My thanks are due to all these associates and collaborators.

Most of the chapters of this book were written in 1952–53 in London where I had an appointment as Visiting Lecturer in Indian Anthropology in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. I had the benefit of discussing some of this material with Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, Professor of Asian Anthropology in the University of London, and

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3. The members of this local group are bound together by ties
621 of mutual and reciprocal obligations. Inter-personal and inter-
184 group relations in several spheres of village affairs are governed by
626 an established usage and social ethics. Breaches of the norms of the community and its established usage are dealt with either by the village elders or by a village council. The village council, speaking for the village, has the final authority of social ostracism through which it can effectively enforce its sanctions.

III

114 Modern community studies represent a very significant development in the field of social anthropology and sociology. The concepts and techniques formerly applied to the study and analysis of primitive and isolated tribal societies are now being adapted for the study of peasant communities, non-literate as well as literate, and also for the analysis of more complex and industrialized communities. This new direction in the focus of interest of an increasing number of social scientists and field-workers has inevitably led to important modifications in our conceptual framework and to a sharpening of our tools of research. The methodology of social sciences and techniques of field research have both gained very considerably from this new trend. The work of Robert Redfield, John Gillin, Sol Tax and Ralph Beals, among others, represents a substantial advance in this field, both in theory and in methodology. From Robert Redfield's *Tepotzlan: A Mexican Village* to Oscar Lewis's *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepotzlan Re-Studied* this branch of social anthropological enquiry has travelled far: the former inaugurated an epoch, which then appeared to be full of promise; the latter is a convincing proof of its maturity. On Middle America we now have a series of interesting and useful studies. In other parts of the world also important researches of this kind have been made. Studies of the great peasant societies of the East received encouragement and support from scholars both in Great Britain and in the United States. Malinowski's and Radcliffe-Brown's forewords to the works of Fei and Embree bear testimony to the interest evinced in community studies by the British social anthropologists. The work of Martin C. Yang and Francis L. K. Hsu received constructive support in the United States. A remarkable feature of some of these Far Eastern studies is that they were done not by Western scientists but by scholars

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who were born and brought up more or less in the very social setting that they were describing. Of course, the level of analysis in these works differs considerably, ranging from somewhat impressionistic accounts to fairly deep sociological and economic analyses, but they constitute a departure of no mean significance in anthropology as being symbols of an awakening of interest in people for the anthropological and sociological study of their own society. The range of such studies has indeed been wide enough and has included several Western societies as well. Contributions such as *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Irish Countryman* by Conrad Arensberg, *Life in a Welsh Countryside* by Alwyn D. Rees, although they are the outcome of different research techniques and present different levels of analyses, provide much useful material for comparative studies. Mention must be made, in this connection, of the important and stimulating work of the Lynds and of the Warner school in the analysis of more complex communities. *Middletown* and its successor *Middletown in Transition* by R. S. and H. M. Lynd have justly come to be regarded as classics in this field. *The Social Life of a Modern Community* and *The Status System of a Modern Community* by W. L. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, and *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* by W. L. Warner and Leo Srole, too, are equally outstanding works in this class. Some of the works listed above have provided the impetus for more community studies in different parts of the world—in the so-called under-developed areas as well as in technologically advanced, industrialized countries. At the present time very considerable field research either has been done or is being done in many parts of the world—in Middle America, in Puerto Rico (under the direction of Julian Steward), in Great Britain (by the Edinburgh University, under the direction of Kenneth L. Little) and in India (by the Cornell group under the direction of Morris E. Opler, and by some Indian universities).

Studies of modern communities as well as of non-literate or technologically 'under-developed' societies whose traditions are rooted in great civilizations of antiquity present a series of practical and methodological problems. Modern communities are larger—both in population and spatial distribution—compared with the primitive societies hitherto studied by anthropologists. This makes it difficult for the anthropologist and his associates to

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121 arising in their respective fields, and were to help in doing specific investigations which were assigned to them from time to time. I had the privilege of directing both the research and the social service programme, and while the units were left free to a considerable extent in their respective welfare work, I was associated with the planning, direction and conduct of the research itself at 121 every stage. The inter-faculty teams worked in the village for two 114 summer vacations—extending to twenty weeks—and the anthropological unit remained in touch with the village for a whole year. At various stages the larger team included three women members —a doctor, a sociologist belonging to the Muslim community for work among the *purdah*-observing Muslim women, and an American lady, with training in psychology and anthropology, who was a 'guest' member of the team. The anthropology unit consisted of five members, each with post-graduate training in anthropology, four of whom spoke the regional language of the village and had spent many years in the countryside of the Telangana area of Hyderabad. Three of these members had previous training in practical field-work. As they were all Hindus by birth, we had further to seek the help of a woman lecturer trained in sociology for work among the Muslim women.

123 To begin with, the response of the village people was rather 609 cold. For a short while we were regarded as missionaries; then as government agents brought into the village for organizing anti-communist propaganda. Some high-caste Hindus thought that we were there to instigate the low-caste untouchables to revolt against them. But our resources, especially our tents, crockery and cooks and buses, impressed them. The co-operation of highly placed officials rehabilitated us in the eyes of the village folk, and many of them who went to the city and made enquiries about us from educated relations returned to the village satisfied about our credentials. But more than all this, the excellent work of the Medical unit established rapport with the community, and the sympathetic welfare activities of the Agriculture, Veterinary and Education units further helped us to establish more intimate contacts with the people. They were benefiting by our presence: in the first two months 390 cases were treated by the Medical unit; several useful demonstrations were given by the Agriculture and Veterinary units, who also distributed vegetable seeds, plants of fruit-bearing trees and modern chemical fertilizers. The adult

RITUAL STRUCTURE

Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations. They do not believe in any of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, nor in any of the later incarnations; but they share with the Hindus a living faith in the existence of malevolent ghosts, spirits and witches. They participate with the rest of the community in village ceremonies and sacrifices. To ward off cholera, plague and smallpox, they too think that it is necessary to propitiate the local deities and goddesses.

Village Hinduism is not easy to describe. It is an extremely elastic religion, and within its all-India framework admits of a considerable degree of regional and local variation. In his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, M. N. Srinivas has introduced the useful concept of 'spread', and split up village Hinduism into 'All India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and 'Local Hinduism'.

The people of Shamirpet worship all the major gods of the Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. The concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their consequences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth also have such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

[The Muslims — Analyst]

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INDIAN VILLAGE

by

S. C. DUBE, M.A., Ph.D.

Foreword by

MORRIS EDWARD OPLER

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In his informative and stimulating introduction to the present volume, Dr. Dube has said, '. . . . what we need to-day is a series of studies of village communities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos.' Dr. Dube has not only stated the need; he has shown us what can be achieved in striving to meet it. His volume is a solid study and one which will doubtless take its place among the standard community studies made in various parts of the world which he cites in his bibliography.

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FOREWORD

and specialized and will appear separately under appropriate auspices. But, because of this field method, Dr. Dube had excellent technical advice and solid material at his command in dealing with matters of agriculture, health, and nutrition—subjects which the social scientist may often have reason to touch upon with diffidence. Consequently, the book has a ring of authority which might be hard to achieve at points without this kind of collaboration. Group research is expensive, and it is not always easy to bring and keep together in amicable work relations specialists with different but highly-cherished vocabularies. There have been those who, not without reason, have questioned the whole business. Dr. Dube's book does much to dispel doubt and raise hope. He and his associates are to be congratulated.

Cornell University,
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Messrs. Tuljaram Singh, R. Prakash Rao, P. R. Sirsalkar, P. L. Narsimha Rao, and T. Kanna Reddi worked on the research side in the Extension team, and assisted me in collecting and checking most of the data presented in this book. Dr. Hamid Ali Baig, Mr. Ghouse Mohiuddin, and Dr. Chandra Devi deserve special mention for their medical work, which won popularity for our team in the village, and for their reports on village health and nutrition. Dr. Ramchandra Rao, assisted by his unit, made investigations on cattle health in the village. Dr. Hashim Amir Ali, Dean, Faculty of Agriculture, took a special interest in our work; and through his agricultural unit we could get useful data on agriculture and economy in the village. Miss Sikander Siddiqi helped me with the study of the life-cycle and the religious festivals of the Muslims. My thanks are due to all these associates and collaborators.

Most of the chapters of this book were written in 1952–53 in London where I had an appointment as Visiting Lecturer in Indian Anthropology in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. I had the benefit of discussing some of this material with Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, Professor of Asian Anthropology in the University of London, and

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S. C. DUBE

Hyderabad, 1954

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Introduction

I

INDIA is predominantly an agricultural and rural country. An overwhelming majority of her people live in the countryside. In undivided India it was estimated that there were over 700,000 villages within the country. Since partition this number has diminished, but the rural-urban ratio in the population still remains more or less the same. According to various estimates, 70% to 80% of India's population live in villages.

From time immemorial the village has been a basic and important unit in the organization of Indian social polity. It finds prominent mention in the classical texts of the land. For example, according to the *Rig-Veda* (generally dated in the latter half of the 2nd millennium B.C.) society developed in a series of ascending formations, starting from the family (*griha* or *kula*) and gradually extending to the village (*grama*), the clan (*vis*), the people (*jana*) and the country (*rashtra*). The term *grama*, still largely used in India for village, denoted an aggregate of several families sharing the same habitation. Besides mentioning that the village was headed by the *gramini*, chief of the village, the *Rig-Veda* does not give us any details regarding its internal structure or organization or its external affiliations. In post-vedic literature, particularly the epics, we have somewhat more detailed glimpses of the then existing settlements. The *Mahabharata* (*c.* 2nd century B.C.–2nd century A.D.) mentions several types of habitations and settlements, such as cattle farm (*ghosh* or *vraja*), small barbarian hamlets (*palli*), forts to protect surrounding settlements (*durga*), villages developing around the forts (*grama*), town (*kharvata* or *pattan*) and city (*nagara*). Through the *Mahabharata* we get an

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621 outline of the system of village and inter-village organization.
631 According to the epic, the village was the fundamental unit of administration; and had as its head the *gramini*, who was its leader and chief spokesman; one of the major responsibilities of this headman was to protect the village and its boundaries in all directions within a radius of two miles. The administrative system was organized on the basis of grouping of villages, each group having its own recognized leader. Thus a group of ten villages was under a *das-gramini*, and this was the first unit of inter-village organization. Two such groups, that is twenty villages, used to be under a *vimsatipa*. A group of a hundred villages was headed by *satgramini* or *gram-satadhyaksha*. Finally, a group of a thousand villages was under an *adhipati*. Several later works touch upon this subject, but they do not add materially to our knowledge of the system of village and inter-village organization in ancient India. However, it will not be out of place to make a brief reference to the place of the village in the writings of Manu (*c.* 200 B.C.–2nd century A.D.), the Hindu law-giver, whose code still largely governs the structure of Hindu society. Manu distinguishes between three kinds of settlements: village (*grama*), town (*pura*) and city (*nagara*). According to him, the village was the fundamental unit of administration, with its own officers and organization. The *gramini* was the head of the village. Apart from the different spheres of socio-religious life in which the family, the clan, the caste and the village were all equally interested, the village as a unit had a number of responsibilities of its own. Thus the maintenance and management of several public utilities such as wells, tanks, ponds, reservoirs, embankments, cow-pens, groves, parks and pastures was under the village itself. Approximately a thousand villages constituted a country and were under a *sahasresa*; within this group were several divisions and subdivisions—a hundred villages under a *satesa*, twenty villages under a *vimsi*, ten villages under a *dasi* and finally the village itself under a *gramini*. Notwithstanding the passage of time, the village system in India still continues to have many of the characteristics described by Manu. Even to-day the village retains its semi-autonomous character. Invariably it has a recognized headman with a definite set of duties and functions. Groups of ten to twenty villages still join together to decide important cases and to discuss issues of common interest. A thousand villages or so constitute a culture-area, or at least a subculture-area, and the

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rural community within this region invariably has a number of common cultural characteristics and social forms and values. 621 631

Yet we cannot regard the Indian village community as static, timeless and changeless. Time and the interplay of historical and sociological factors and forces have influenced the structure, organization and ethos of these communities in many significant ways.

II

To-day it is common to speak of the 'Indian village' or of 'the Indian peasant'. While it is true that many problems are common to the entire Indian countryside, this practice tends to give one an impression that the village as a social and cultural unit possesses a basically uniform organization and structure of values all over the Indian sub-continent. This would obviously be an over-simplified presentation of a rather complex situation. For a proper understanding of their social structure as well as of their problems, it is necessary to classify them into clearly distinguishable types. For such classification several criteria could be employed, including, among others, the following: 621 184

i. Size, population and land-area.
ii. Ethnic composition and caste-constitution.
iii. Pattern of land ownership.
iv. Structure of authority and power hierarchy.
v. Degree of isolation.
vi. Local traditions.

Each culture-area of India has its own nomenclature to classify the villages within its territory in respect of their size and population. In the Hindi-speaking parts of north and middle India it is usual to distinguish between *kheda* (a hamlet), *gaon* (a small village) and *kasba* (a large village). In Telangana, the Telugu-speaking part of the State of Hyderabad to which the village of Shamirpet described in this book belongs, a similar distinction is made between *gumpu*, *majra* and *grama*. The first of these denotes a tiny collection of huts, the second is a larger hamlet and the third is the village proper. The differences between these rural settlements are not confined only to their size and population. All three can be classified as belonging to the 'folk society', but they differ so greatly in their internal organization, economic self-sufficiency,

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621 patterns of adjustment with the outside world and the degree of
184 influence and prestige in the wider rural community that any attempt to combine them would be tantamount to overlooking significant sociological facts. The residents of the large villages look upon themselves as the leaders of the rural community, regarding those from smaller villages as a little less civilized and those from small hamlets as rustics. The man from the smaller village is suspicious and critical about the ways of the people from bigger villages, but he has in his heart of hearts an admiration and respect for them. To him also the people living in still smaller settlements
[476] appear to be rather crude and rustic. As the division of labour in
[463] the community is governed to a very great extent by traditional caste occupations, and co-operative labour of a number of different castes is required not only for agricultural activities, but also for socio-religious life, the large village, having within its population all the occupational castes, has a comparatively more integrated and self-sufficient economic and socio-religious life than the smaller villages, which, in the absence of one or more occupational castes, may have to depend on some other settlement. Because of its multi-caste constitution, larger population and greater complexity of internal problems, the organization of the larger village is often remarkably different from that of smaller villages. In fact, some of the smaller villages and hamlets come to be regarded as appendages of the larger villages, and although they have considerable autonomy in domestic matters they are very greatly influenced by the views and preferences of their larger neighbour.

The ethnic and linguistic composition of a village, as well as its caste constitution, also determines its character. The structure, ethos and problems of a wholly tribal village will be very different from those of a village with a mixed or homogeneous population. A tribal village is often unitary in respect of its authority structure, the tribal authority itself being supreme in secular, ritual and cultural village matters. On the other hand, in the case of a village which has a mixed population of tribes on the one hand and Hindu castes on the other, or of two different groups of parallel Hindu castes separated from each other by the fact that they speak different languages and belong to different culture-areas, or of Hindus and Muslims, the nature of its internal organization and authority is bound to be different. If the diverse elements of its population have equal strength—numerical as well as economic—

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it generally has a federal type of organization, in that each culture group within this settlement is semi-autonomous, and a common village authority drawn from all these groups has overriding powers for the community as a whole. In areas where there are intense or even pronounced inter-caste rivalries and tensions, the caste composition of the village will largely determine its patterns of inter-group adjustment.

It goes without saying that in a primarily agricultural country land must be greatly prized; and, with the great pressure of population and the conditions of private ownership, possession of land has not only an economic but a social and prestige value as well. Where all the land belongs to a landlord or is held by two or more landlords—as in the case of 'joint-villages'—the organization of the village is sure to be very different from that of a village inhabited by proprietary tenants. The general ratio of land distribution between two or more castes, between certain families or between one big landowner and the rest of the community may have a vital influence on the nature of village organization and problems.

No village in India is completely autonomous and independent, for it is always one unit in a wider social system and is a part of an organized political society. An individual is not the member of a village community alone; he also belongs to a caste, religious group or tribe which has a wider territorial spread and comprises several villages. These units have their own organization, authority and sanctions. Politically the villages are under the legislative, executive and judicial authority of the Indian Union and one of its constituent States. For administrative convenience these States are divided into districts, the latter being subdivided into *tehsils* or *taluquas*. In day-to-day administration the villages come into contact with the authorities and officials of this subdivision and of the district, although the laws of the State and the Union are binding on them. The village thus has independence and autonomy only in its domestic affairs. But who exercises the authority in this field? Is there a petty feudal landlord who has some administrative and judicial powers as well? Is there a government-recognized landlord who has arrogated to himself administrative powers? Or, has the village a *panchayat* (village council) constituted on the basis of local tradition? All the feudal states have been abolished in Republican India; but petty feudal estates still continue in

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621 631 184 some parts of the country, and effective steps have been taken in very few areas to abolish village landlordism. On the other hand, with a view to reviving village self-government, some State governments are establishing village councils with recognized legal powers, the members of which are appointed by the government. Locus of power in the community is another criterion in respect of which Indian villages often present very different pictures.

369 621 184 Nearness to or isolation from large administrative or industrial centres also has a bearing on the nature of the organization of a village and of its view of the world. Availability of or nearness to modern means of transport and communications also modifies the setting and fabric of a village, and in its classification it is necessary to take into account these vital factors.

621 184 Lastly, village settlements are governed by certain traditions—regional and local. The dress, speech and manners, as well as the lay-out of the village and construction of the houses, follow the prescribed patterns of the culture-area. Thus in the different areas we can naturally look forward to a certain degree of diversity in village organization. But apart from these regional variations villages have a corporate unity, and each one possesses an individuality of its own. Some villages are regarded as 'peaceful', others as 'difficult'. Some have a reputation for generosity and fair play, while others are notorious for their meanness. Some are known for being 'upright and strict'; others are criticized for their laxity. Love of litigation is a characteristic feature of some villages; ostentation and display of others; while still others may be very sensitive about their good name. Again, co-operativeness or its absence may characterize some villages. These attributes and qualities may have their roots in strong local traditions or in a combination of factors working at a particular time. But they do give a distinctive character to the village, and a study of the social ways, processes and motivations in such villages will not be without considerable sociological and psychological interest.

In view of the operation of factors delineated above, it is difficult to regard any one village as typical or representative of rural India as a whole. In fact, I would go a step further to say that such a village could hardly be regarded as representative even of its culture-area, except in a very general way. The problem before the social anthropologist and the sociologist is therefore a complex one, and what we need to-day is a series of studies of village com-

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munities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos. Until this is done our picture of social systems in rural India will remain vague and inadequate.

From the old ethnographic surveys and some preliminary studies published recently, an outline of the structure and organization of Indian villages is beginning to emerge clearly. Notwithstanding many significant differences, they have a number of structural similarities. In the north, middle and peninsular India, as well as in the eastern and western parts of the country, the following features characterize a very large number of villages.

1. As a territorial, as well as social, economic and ritual unit, the village is a separate and distinct entity. The residents of this settlement recognize their corporate identity, and it is recognized as such by others. It is not uncommon to find in them a sentiment of attachment towards their own settlement site. In several matters the village acts as a unit.

2. These settlements have a composite population comprising a number of groups belonging to different Hindu castes, and in some cases to tribes as well as to other religious groups. As far as the Hindu section of the population goes, these diverse groups are inter-dependent and integrated in the social, economic, ritual and administrative organization of the community. No caste alone is self-sufficient, for it requires the services of several other occupational castes which hold the monopoly of certain crafts and professions. This system of co-operative labour, based on a pattern of inter-caste relations approved by tradition, is not confined only to economic activities but also extends to ceremonial and ritual life. The hierarchical organization of castes within the community is so fixed in the structural patterns of rural India that the tribal as well as the non-Hindu (such as Muslim and Christian) segments of the population come to be regarded as other castes in the village.

In many parts of India, while maintaining their socio-religious identity, several of these non-Hindu groups have acquired some caste characteristics, particularly occupational specialization. For example, in some areas of rural India the Muslims function as an occupational caste variously, making fireworks, weaving, driving *tongas*, *ikkahs* and other hackney-carriages, selling vegetables or playing musical instruments.

3. The members of this local group are bound together by ties

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3. The members of this local group are bound together by Hes
621 of mutual and reciprocal obligations. Inter-personal and inter-
184 group relations in several spheres of village affairs are governed by
626 an established usage and social ethics. Breaches of the norms of the community and its established usage are dealt with either by the village elders or by a village council. The village council, speaking for the village, has the final authority of social ostracism through which it can effectively enforce its sanctions.

III

114 Modern community studies represent a very significant development in the field of social anthropology and sociology. The concepts and techniques formerly applied to the study and analysis of primitive and isolated tribal societies are now being adapted for the study of peasant communities, non-literate as well as literate, and also for the analysis of more complex and industrialized communities. This new direction in the focus of interest of an increasing number of social scientists and field-workers has inevitably led to important modifications in our conceptual framework and to a sharpening of our tools of research. The methodology of social sciences and techniques of field research have both gained very considerably from this new trend. The work of Robert Redfield, John Gillin, Sol Tax and Ralph Beals, among others, represents a substantial advance in this field, both in theory and in methodology. From Robert Redfield's *Tepotzlan: A Mexican Village* to Oscar Lewis's *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepotzlan Re-Studied* this branch of social anthropological enquiry has travelled far: the former inaugurated an epoch, which then appeared to be full of promise; the latter is a convincing proof of its maturity. On Middle America we now have a series of interesting and useful studies. In other parts of the world also important researches of this kind have been made. Studies of the great peasant societies of the East received encouragement and support from scholars both in Great Britain and in the United States. Malinowski's and Radcliffe-Brown's forewords to the works of Fei and Embree bear testimony to the interest evinced in community studies by the British social anthropologists. The work of Martin C. Yang and Francis L. K. Hsu received constructive support in the United States. A remarkable feature of some of these Far Eastern studies is that they were done not by Western scientists but by scholars

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who were born and brought up more or less in the very social setting that they were describing. Of course, the level of analysis in these works differs considerably, ranging from somewhat impressionistic accounts to fairly deep sociological and economic analyses, but they constitute a departure of no mean significance in anthropology as being symbols of an awakening of interest in people for the anthropological and sociological study of their own society. The range of such studies has indeed been wide enough and has included several Western societies as well. Contributions such as *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Irish Countryman* by Conrad Arensberg, *Life in a Welsh Countryside* by Alwyn D. Rees, although they are the outcome of different research techniques and present different levels of analyses, provide much useful material for comparative studies. Mention must be made, in this connection, of the important and stimulating work of the Lynds and of the Warner school in the analysis of more complex communities. *Middletown* and its successor *Middletown in Transition* by R. S. and H. M. Lynd have justly come to be regarded as classics in this field. *The Social Life of a Modern Community* and *The Status System of a Modern Community* by W. L. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, and *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* by W. L. Warner and Leo Srole, too, are equally outstanding works in this class. Some of the works listed above have provided the impetus for more community studies in different parts of the world—in the so-called under-developed areas as well as in technologically advanced, industrialized countries. At the present time very considerable field research either has been done or is being done in many parts of the world—in Middle America, in Puerto Rico (under the direction of Julian Steward), in Great Britain (by the Edinburgh University, under the direction of Kenneth L. Little) and in India (by the Cornell group under the direction of Morris E. Opler, and by some Indian universities).

Studies of modern communities as well as of non-literate or technologically 'under-developed' societies whose traditions are rooted in great civilizations of antiquity present a series of practical and methodological problems. Modern communities are larger—both in population and spatial distribution—compared with the primitive societies hitherto studied by anthropologists. This makes it difficult for the anthropologist and his associates to

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[21] have first-hand contact with more or less the entire community; and even at his best the scientist can have effective acquaintance with only a small area of the territory. Necessarily, therefore, he must work only in a few segments of the community, whose selection, if it is to be sufficiently representative, raises important methodological questions. Here we must have an adequate and effective sampling technique. The situation is further complicated by the fact that within the general framework of a modern community we have several subcultures. Besides certain dominant values, there are divergent subsidiary values. The community has its established norms, but the range of variation in behaviour patterns is also very considerable. The sample to be studied must take into account all these factors. Finally, the community must be studied in both its rural and urban settings, and in this context due attention should be given to the vital interaction and inter-relations between its different components. The actual research and the presentation of its results also raise a number of complicated issues. Literary and historical evidence may have developed some stereotypes about the community which may be taken for granted by the research workers and may ultimately colour the results of the whole research. It is easier to start with a totally unbiased mind in a society about which nothing, or at any rate very little, is known. In the case of historically well-known societies, however, it is not easy to overcome an unconscious bias—either for or against that society—for it may well have become a habit of mind. Because of active political and economic interaction between their communities, the prevailing complex of sentiments and attitudes may determine the relations between those who are studying and those who are being studied. These relations have to be taken into account. Even in generally non-literate and underdeveloped areas the people who are being studied are not totally unaware of some of the wider implications of these studies. Sentiments of nationalism, caste or class-consciousness, local patriotism and thoughts of the possible reactions and attitudes of the outside world may govern their response to the enquiries being made by the investigators. With regard to some phases of their life the people may resist any investigation by 'outsiders' and may look upon it as a most unwelcome intrusion. A field-worker born and brought up within that very culture may, on the other hand, overlook certain trends and facts, and may even unconsciously seek to

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rationalize and justify some elements in the life of his community. A proper scientific training can eliminate these dangers very considerably, but ideally the association of someone with a different cultural background with such a community research would perhaps provide the most satisfactory corrective. This would apply equally, but in the reverse, to the work being done in a community by 'outsiders' whose participation in the life and culture of this society may be so limited as to preclude the possibility of their having a firm grasp on the inner thought processes and subtle attitude patterns and value judgements of the members of the community. In this case utilization of properly trained collaborators from that very culture would be invaluable for the projected research. These points are quite important and cannot be dismissed lightly in planning serious community studies.

On the credit side, these community studies have several obvious advantages. They do not entail work in strange and difficult lands. They may be less romantic and not so very picturesque, but they certainly permit greater freedom of movement and also the use of practically all the amenities of modern civilization. The arduous conditions of research take only the more adventurous among the social scientists to remote islands and isolated tribal communities, but in the average community studies participation of a large number of investigators is possible because of the less difficult conditions of work. This permits team-work and also an inter-disciplinary approach. The investigator can gainfully use historical documents, literary evidence and government and administrative records. The language barrier in this case is not insurmountable, for even if the investigators are unacquainted with the language of the people they are studying, they can easily find bi-lingual people in the community itself who may have a working knowledge of the investigator's language. Finally, if the aims of research are properly explained to the people, and their confidence is gained by sympathy, tact and perseverance, the people themselves may come forward to offer intelligent co-operation.

Notwithstanding these advantages, there will still remain some of the problems and difficulties sketched above. But in the words of Gillin, from the methodological point of view 'there is nothing insuperably difficult about the solution of these problems'. He lists three requirements: '(1) Money in fair and substantial amounts; (2) large numbers of well-trained anthropologists; (3) the

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121 co-operation of specialists in other social and psychological sciences under an overall and integrated plan of investigation.'[1] If, however, it is intended to study only the social structure and organization, the specialists from other cognate sciences could be omitted; although their association would doubtless be of great value to the anthropologist. On the contrary, if depth-psychology has to be studied and problems having a bearing on personality have to be investigated, such inter-disciplinary co-operation is almost indispensable. Specialists in social statistics, agronomy and economics can help in the planning and conduct of such research in more ways than one.

In order that an adequate sample of all the subcultures is satisfactorily studied, and the norms of the society as well as the range of variation in behaviour patterns are sufficiently grasped, participation of a team of trained investigators is necessary. It has already been suggested that participation in such research of persons with differing cultural backgrounds, including some who actually belong to the community which is being studied, will be an invaluable aid towards proper subjective evaluation in the research itself and in its presentation also.

In India, where ways of life and thought are changing very fast, we require a large number of such community studies, both in rural and urban areas, in the different cultural regions of the country. We owe it to posterity that we leave careful records of contemporary life and cultures. As it is, for their historical and cultural interest alone such studies are worth undertaking. But their importance is greater at the present juncture because the country is undergoing significant technological changes, and it is necessary for us to assess and evaluate their human implications. Here we have the unique opportunity of making a 'pre-clinical' study of the communities as they are to-day, and then of studying them stage by stage under the impact of new technological factors. The social scientist can, in the first instance, make a really valuable contribution to social planning by publishing full and objective reports of his research; and as the volume of such data grows, ground will be prepared for the competent analysis of many problems of deeper theoretical interest. At the present time intensi-

[1] Cf. John Gillin, 'Methodological Problems in the Anthropological Study of Modern Cultures', *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (July–September [illegible]), pp. 392–399.

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fication of community research is an urgent *desideratum*. As far as possible, in each culture-area it would be desirable to study one or more villages, a representative small town, two or three individual castes within the total network of inter-caste relations; and these studies could then be followed by more intensive investigations into specific problems, such as those of family and kinship, leadership and exercise of authority, social stratification, social change and personality. Preliminary studies can at best offer tentative hypotheses, but for theoretical developments of lasting significance we shall have to await more data gathered according to modern techniques of field research. 121

IV

This book is a descriptive study of the village of Shamirpet in the State of Hyderabad. It is an outcome of the Social Service Extension Project sponsored by the Osmania University and a plan of community study organized by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. The Social Service Extension Project was organized in response to the call of educationists and national leaders to bring university students and teachers in contact with the realities of everyday life in the rural areas of the country. Shamirpet was selected because it was not far away from the city of Hyderabad and yet not near enough to be simply a suburban extension; was neither too large nor too small in respect of its area and population among the villages of this part of the country, and was fairly representative of the Telangana area of Hyderabad in its caste composition. Six faculties of the University—Arts, Agriculture, Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry, Medicine, Engineering and Education—were each represented by one member of the staff and two or more post-graduate or senior students. Each unit was to do social work within its own special area of interest and technical competence. Funds were available for approved schemes, such as medical relief, introduction of modern methods of agriculture and animal care, adult education and cultural programmes, improvement of village sanitation and construction of better ventilated houses, etc. The Arts faculty was represented by post-graduate students of anthropology and trained research assistants, and was primarily responsible for the social and economic study of the village community. The other units had to study the problems [122]

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121 arising in their respective fields, and were to help in doing specific investigations which were assigned to them from time to time. I had the privilege of directing both the research and the social service programme, and while the units were left free to a considerable extent in their respective welfare work, I was associated with the planning, direction and conduct of the research itself at
121 every stage. The inter-faculty teams worked in the village for two
114 summer vacations—extending to twenty weeks—and the anthropological unit remained in touch with the village for a whole year. At various stages the larger team included three women members —a doctor, a sociologist belonging to the Muslim community for work among the *purdah*-observing Muslim women, and an American lady, with training in psychology and anthropology, who was a 'guest' member of the team. The anthropology unit consisted of five members, each with post-graduate training in anthropology, four of whom spoke the regional language of the village and had spent many years in the countryside of the Telangana area of Hyderabad. Three of these members had previous training in practical field-work. As they were all Hindus by birth, we had further to seek the help of a woman lecturer trained in sociology for work among the Muslim women.

123 To begin with, the response of the village people was rather
609 cold. For a short while we were regarded as missionaries; then as government agents brought into the village for organizing anti-communist propaganda. Some high-caste Hindus thought that we were there to instigate the low-caste untouchables to revolt against them. But our resources, especially our tents, crockery and cooks and buses, impressed them. The co-operation of highly placed officials rehabilitated us in the eyes of the village folk, and many of them who went to the city and made enquiries about us from educated relations returned to the village satisfied about our credentials. But more than all this, the excellent work of the Medical unit established rapport with the community, and the sympathetic welfare activities of the Agriculture, Veterinary and Education units further helped us to establish more intimate contacts with the people. They were benefiting by our presence: in the first two months 390 cases were treated by the Medical unit; several useful demonstrations were given by the Agriculture and Veterinary units, who also distributed vegetable seeds, plants of fruit-bearing trees and modern chemical fertilizers. The adult

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education centre attracted many people from the village; both the library and cultural programmes became popular. The Engineering unit dug soakpits in the village, improved the village well and constructed several model smokeless ovens. This changed the attitude of the people considerably. To begin with the investigators making anthropological enquiry were regarded as a nuisance; now they were tolerated as inquisitive but friendly outsiders. In a few days there was a change for the better. We had never talked politics or religion, there was no propaganda or attempt at reform and no superiority of city-ways and sneering at the rustic ways of the village people in our attitude. Indifference turned into warmth and friendship, and at this point we intensified our anthropological investigations. At first a general sociological census of the community was taken, and later investigations of specific problems were started. A sample of 120 families representing different castes and levels of income, education and urban contacts was selected for intensive investigations. Episodic and topical life-histories were recorded from 80 people, besides 11 full biographies. This was done in a series of free-association interviews, which were controlled only in the final stages. Besides this the established method of participant observation and the usual techniques of anthropological enquiry were also used. The life-histories provide most of the material on inter-personal relations and attitudes, much of which has been translated in this book from the actual words of the informants. All the available village records were carefully studied, and as far as possible all the material collected was carefully checked. The research reports by other units on topics assigned to them—such as the medical examination of 1,200 people, a diet and nutritional survey, a survey of village agriculture and its problems, a survey of animal care and health—were carefully studied at the time of the preparation of this report and used at appropriate places; but most of them will be published, it is hoped, independently in professional journals.

My aim in this book has been to give a clear and intimate picture of some aspects of life in one Indian village. As the book is likely to be used by social anthropologists and sociologists as well as by others, I have endeavoured to keep my presentation fairly general. As our project had received considerable publicity in the Indian press we could not hide the identity of the village in a pseudonym. This in its turn has created several problems in the

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1*a*. E.R.: A Reddi Woman.

1*b*. A Mala Woman.

1*c*. A Muslim.

1*d*. Middle-aged Man from a clean caste

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128 mode of presentation. The people of the village are proud and sensitive, and some of them would not like to be identified through the remembered incidents even though fictitious names and initials are used. Many concrete cases which I would have liked to cite have therefore been omitted. Anxiety to avoid unwanted legal complications has forced me to present one or two subjects in a somewhat roundabout manner. But some concrete cases had to be presented, and this I have done in a spirit of friendship and in the hope that I will not be misunderstood by the village people. Although this work is not based on a statistical enquiry, sufficient statistical checks were used during the investigations. In several parts of the book, however, I have just indicated the dominant norms and main lines of variation without attempting a statistical and tabular presentation. It is my belief that fruitful theoretical discussions must be based on research of a more extensive scale than that attempted in the field-work summarized in this book, and as such I have reserved a part of my field-material, which has possibilities of theoretical exposition, for subsequent studies both of an extensive and comparative nature. Problems of caste, kinship and lineage organization, social stratification, leadership and the exercise of authority will be dealt with more fully on the basis of further field-work which we soon hope to extend to other rural communities in Hyderabad.

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2*a*. Mother and Son

2*b*. A Mala Untouchable.

2*c*. A Madiga Untouchable

2*d*. Village Barber.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Setting

1. THE SETTING

105 131 SHAMIRPET is a village situated at a distance of about twenty-five miles from the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad in the Deccan plateau of India. Culturally it lies in the region known as Telangana, which is itself a part of the wider culture-area of Andhra-desa. Telangana is a country of fertile fields and barren rocks; a land of temples, tanks and lakes. It is estimated that there are over twenty thousand lakes and tanks in this region, which covers an area of more than 42,000 square miles. Shamirpet is located by the side of one of these tanks and lies on the road that links the capital city of Hyderabad with Karimnagar, the headquarters of the northern district of that name.

133 134 137 132 The picturesque landscape of the village is truly characteristic of the Deccan plateau. The soil is in part black and in part red, and is suitable for the cultivation of rice, millet, castor and other oil-seeds, pulses and tobacco. An endless series of barren rocks formed of gneisses and granites dominates the land. Tall palmyra trees stand magnificently and imperiously against the often-clear sky, evergreen shrubs circle the rock formations and tamarind trees grow here and there near human habitation. In the countryside surrounding Shamirpet the average annual rainfall is about twenty-five inches. From Indian standards, the climate is moderate and knows no extremes either in winter or in summer. The days during the summer season are rather hot, the temperature often touching 112° F., but the evenings and nights are always cool and pleasant. In some winter nights the temperature drops to 137 45° F. There is little forest in the country immediately surrounding

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137 Shamirpet and the neighbouring cluster of villages. However, villagers are able to collect some fuel as well as small quantities of edible and marketable minor forest produce from the local
136 scrub jungle. In this type of landscape little game is to be expected. Tigers from the forests fifteen or twenty miles away are occasionally seen, but panthers, in search of stray goats, calves and dogs, are more frequent visitors to the village. Wild pigs are plentiful and always do very considerable damage to the crops. Spotted deer make an occasional appearance in the surrounding areas, while hares which abound in the shrubs are very often shot or hunted with dogs trained for this purpose. Wild ducks come seasonally to the large tank near the village, and green pigeons and partridges are among the other feathered game found in the vicinity of Shamirpet.

131 It has been pointed out that Shamirpet is only some twenty-five miles from Hyderabad and Secundrabad, which rank fourth among the cities of India in respect of population and size. It is only fifteen miles from the Bolarum cantonment and twelve miles
[494] from the military aerodrome of Hakimpet. A regular bus service plying between Hyderabad and Karimnagar touches Shamirpet, and there are about twelve buses running in both directions on this road every day. From this it should not be assumed, however, that Shamirpet is just a suburban extension of Hyderabad. Although it is in regular and constant touch with the capital, it is an independent village with an organization of its own.

621 No village in India can be singled out as being typical of the
631 country as a whole, but Shamirpet possesses most of the characteristics which are common to the rural communities in middle and peninsular India. As an independent socio-economic and ritual unit it enjoys partial self-sufficiency in several aspects of community life. In the wider organization of the rural community it possesses partial autonomy. Its component units are mostly the occupational castes which are integrated into the structure of the village. Finally, it has a semi-judicial village council composed of caste elders and other influential persons. This council administers justice in socio-religious cases involving breaches of the traditional norms of society. The village as a unit of social organization performs several significant functions which form an important agency of social control.

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THE SETTING

2. THE PEOPLE

According to the census of 1951, the total population of Shamirpet, which included the two neighbouring hamlets of Babuguda and Upparpalli, was 2,494, with a total of 508 houses. The following table shows the distribution of the population according to religion:

1. Hindus.	A. Clean castes	1,434
	B. Untouchables or Scheduled castes .	680
2. Muslims		340

The predominant language in Shamirpet is Telugu, the main language of Telangana and Andhra-desa. It is known as 'the Italian of the East' and is praised for its sonorous and lyrical qualities and possesses a vast literature, both classical and modern. However, the dialect of Telugu, which is spoken in Shamirpet, and generally in the countryside, is criticized by the more sophisticated Andhras for its harshness and rustic accent. In the census of 1951, 2,008 persons in this village were recorded as speaking Telugu, while 340 persons were recorded as speaking Urdu, which was until 1948 the official language of Hyderabad administration. These figures are, however, misleading, and make reference only to the mother-tongue. In practice most men in the village are bi-lingual; those whose mother-tongue is Telugu have at least a smattering of Urdu, and of the 340 Urdu speakers at least half possess a working knowledge of Telugu. As a generalization it may be stated that knowledge of the mother-tongue alone is confined only to women, although several women among both the Hindus and the Muslims are also bi-lingual.

Thus the two major divisions in the population of the village may be distinguished on the grounds of religion and language. Culturally also the Hindus and Muslims stand in marked contrast to each other.

The Hindus of Shamirpet can be classed under three broad divisions:

1. Cultivators.
2. Occupational castes, with traditional crafts and professions regarded as clean and respectable.
3. Depressed classes, subsisting by humble and lowly callings.

In the first group we can place the following castes: the Reddi, the Muttarasi, and their subdivisions. These groups are often

463 564 referred to as 'the Kapu' or agricultural castes. As this name suggests, they derive the major part of their subsistence by tilling the land, although individuals from any of these groups may engage in trade and commerce or may take up urban occupations.

In the second group we can place the following: the Brahmin (priests), the Komti (traders), the Kummari (potters) and the Golla (shepherds). The five sections of the Panch Bramha group of artisan castes, that is, the Wadla (carpenters), the Kammari (blacksmiths), the Ausula (goldsmiths), the Kase (workers in bell-metal) and the Kanchari (sculptors), also belong to this group —although they claim separate identity and are rather exclusive. The Sale (weavers), the Gaondha (toddy-tappers), the Sakali (washermen) and the Mangali (barbers) also follow their traditional occupations; and although in the hierarchy of caste organization their place is a little inferior to the castes mentioned above, they belong to the second group for the purpose of our classification. The position of the once-tribal but now largely assimilated Vaddar (stone-breakers) and the Erkala (hunters and basket-makers) is slightly different, for although they are not untouchables their position among the clean castes is the lowest.

564 783 [641] There are only two untouchable or depressed castes in Shamirpet, the Mala and the Madiga. Of these two, the Malas consider themselves superior to the Madigas, by whose touch they are polluted. However, it should be pointed out that the Indian constitution has abolished untouchability. The untouchable castes can draw water from the public wells and can without discrimination share the public utilities with the clean castes. Their children now freely attend the common village school. But social conservatism dies hard and legislation alone cannot overnight change the deep-rooted complexes of thought and behaviour which are the heritage of many generations of a caste-ridden social system. 582 Caste still retains its endogamous character, and traditional rules prohibit inter-dining with persons of lower castes. Thus in these two spheres at least the untouchable castes have still to confine themselves to their narrow circles. While in the cities the clean castes are no longer sensitive to the touch of a person belonging to these castes, in the countryside an untouchable still cannot approach too close to clean-caste people lest they be polluted by a chance physical contact. Some progressive-minded untouchables

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resent this disability, but nevertheless they recognize the value of realizing their own limitations and continue to conform to the traditional norms of behaviour.

The people of Telangana and Andhra-desa belong to the great family of Dravidian-speaking people who developed a great civilization in the south and have materially contributed to the final make-up of Indian civilization as we know it to-day. Racially they represent a mixture of several elements. In physical types also the people of Shamirpet show great variation. Most of the Muslim inhabitants of Shamirpet are the descendants of local converts and do not therefore greatly differ in physical characteristics from the local Hindu inhabitants, but the few immigrants whose arrival dates from recent times present a marked contrast with their more delicate features and fairer skin colour.

In point of dress and ornament the Hindus and Muslims differ widely. Muslim men and boys wear loose trousers of thin white cloth called *pyjama*, and a vest or a shirt. Out of doors they put on the more conventional long coat buttoned up to the neck known as *sherwani*. They invariably wear a red fez cap or a black cap made of sheepskin. Muslim girls wear a tight *pyjama* and a long, loose tunic which often touches the knees. Round the shoulders and thrown round the back they wear a thin white or coloured scarf known as *dupatta* or *odhni*. On festive occasions these clothes are very colourful. Married Muslim women usually wear a blouse or bodice, and a *sari*—a wide piece of cloth, some five or six yards long, which is tied round the waist to form a skirt that nearly touches the ankles. It is tied in such a way that one end of the cloth is taken over the chest to one shoulder and then passed behind the neck to the other shoulder. Married Muslim women are obliged by the rules of their religion to observe *purdah*, i.e. veil themselves in the presence of all but their closest relations. Whenever they leave their houses they wear this veil known as *burkha*, a garment which falls from the crown of the head to the ground. The Hindu mode of dress is quite different, and varies greatly according to the financial status of the different families. Among the poorer classes, infants remain naked, but occasionally a few rags are tied round their waists; and in childhood they go about in these tattered rags. Boys wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Girls wear a skirt (*lahanga*) and a blouse. Among the poorer classes these clothes are almost always dirty, for within a few days of their

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291 purchase they lose their new look; and although they are periodically washed, soap or soda-ash is rarely used and consequently they appear to be stained and soiled. In families which are financially better placed, and among those who have received some degree of education or who have been influenced by urban friends and relations, the children's clothing is markedly superior in quality and cleanliness. Boys wear shirts cut in modern style and *dhotis* or occasionally *pyjama*. Girls wear either a blouse and skirt or frocks bought ready-made from the city stores or made by the local tailor. Men wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Influential and well-to-do persons put on a coat when leaving their houses, particularly when going to the city. Women wear a *sari* and a bodice, the latter invariably embroidered. The favourite colours of the women in the countryside appear to be the deeper shades of red, yellow and green. The village shepherds have a distinctive dress. When they go out to graze their herds of goats and sheep they always have a locally made black blanket on their shoulders, even in the hottest season.

301 The people of Telangana, particularly the women, are extremely fond of ornaments. The commonest types are those made of metal which include ear-plugs and ear-rings, nose-pins and nose-rings, rings worn on the fingers and toes, bracelets, anklets, several types of light and heavy necklaces and belts worn round the waist. Among well-to-do people ear and nose ornaments as well as necklaces are generally made of gold; the rest of a woman's ornaments are of silver. However, very few people can afford ornaments of a metal as expensive as gold, and most people have a few silver pieces, the rest of their ornaments being made of cheaper metals and alloys. In addition to the metal jewellery all Hindu women except widows wear a number of glass bangles on the wrists. The Muslim women's choice of ornament differs from that of their Hindu neighbours, and such jewellery as they wear often comes from the shops in the city and is not made according to the designs of the local goldsmith.

3. THE VILLAGE

173 Shamirpet cannot claim to be a village of any great age. No historical records relating to the actual founding of the village are available, but the elderly people have some information regarding

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its past history 'as it was passed on to them by their forefathers'. The village of Shamirpet owes its present shape to the construction of the large and beautiful tank which lies some three furlongs north of the village site. Before the construction of this tank there was a tiny hamlet on the present site which consisted of a few households and was known as Shahpur. Some three hundred and fifty years ago Ibrahim Quli Qutub Shah, then ruler of Hyderabad, wishing to perpetuate his name, ordered the construction of a huge tank which, he expected, would be called after him. This tank is the hyphen linking the city of Hyderabad with Secundrabad. However, according to the legend, the people associated it with the name of the engineer Hussain Khan and called it 'Hussain Sagar'. So the ruler decided on the building of a second tank, and chose the site of Shamirpet. But the Shamirpet tank was his second disappointment. On the completion of the tank, he is believed to have come to the site and asked the people, 'Whose tank is this?' The people unwittingly answered, 'It is Shah Mir's tank.' The people's tribute to the man whose brain had created the project did not satisfy the Qutubshahi ruler. He ordered a third tank to be constructed at a different site some thirty-five miles away, and it is this tank which now commemorates his name and is known as 'Ibrahimpatan Sagar'. The second of these tanks, constructed near the hamlet known as Shaepur, changed the fortunes of that tiny settlement. The people who had worked on the construction of the tank settled permanently in the vicinity of the hamlet and were joined by more settlers attracted by the irrigation facilities provided by the tank, so that the village gradually grew to a considerable size. Because of its association with Shah Mir's tank, the hamlet was given the new name of Shah Mir Pet, which became gradually corrupted into Shamirpet.

In the year 1798 H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad (until 1948 the feudal ruler of Hyderabad) granted this village together with several others as *jagir* (feudal estate) to one of his nobles, the late Fakhrul Mulk Khan Khanan. On his death the estate was inherited by his son Nawab Nizam Yar Jung, also known as Nawab Ehsan-ul-Mulk Khan Khanan. The last in the line of the Jagirdars of Shamirpet was Kemal Yar Jung. He constructed a beautiful summer house, which is now in ruins, adjoining the tank, as well as several office buildings in the village which house the post office, the school, the police station and the village granary. After

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the death of Kemal Yar Jung the property came under the administration of the Court of Wards. In the meantime, vast changes were taking place in Hyderabad. After the Police Action of 1948, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Republic. With the inauguration of the democratic order the Nizam has become a constitutional ruler and the feudal system within the State has been abolished. In consequence Shamirpet now comes under the jurisdiction of the normal district administration.

Shamirpet is situated at a distance of about a furlong from the north-bound road which runs between Hyderabad and Karimnagar. An unmetalled road links the village with the main road, from which some of the houses in the village are clearly visible. Between the road and the village there is a flat and fairly level patch of ground, and in the centre of this ground there is a tree around which the Muslims bury their dead. At the junction of the main road and the diversion leading to the village there is a small shelter for passengers awaiting the buses, built in stone and lime. A little way down to the north stands the Inspection Bungalow of the State Public Works Department. It is intended for the use of touring government officials, and can also be used by occasional visitors, who have to make a small payment for its use. Further north, at a distance of about two and a half furlongs, is the tank, which in its setting of barren rocks and tall trees provides a beautiful landscape. Between the tank and the road now lie the ruins of the 'summer house' which was built on the tank-bund by the last feudal landlord of the village. In his time it was provided with an electric generator, pipe lines and modern sanitary fittings, but after the Nawab's death it was deserted and is now a melancholy but romantic sight.

The village itself is not built according to a definite plan. A wide main street lies in the centre and runs almost parallel to and roughly a furlong away from the main road. As we proceed northwards down this street we find on the right a number of whitewashed stone buildings housing the various government offices, and on the left there are a number of small tea and betel shops. On the right there are also the residential quarters of the sub-inspector of police who is in charge of the police station, a government granary, living quarters of the police constables, the village dispensary, the school and the post office. Lanes branch off both right and left from the street, and on either side of these lanes are

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built the residential houses of the people belonging to the clean castes or to the Muslim community. The house of the Deshmukh, or the village headman, is the very first house and stands a little to the right of the unmetalled road that joins the main road to the village. It has a very high compound wall made of locally available stone and looks more like a small fort than a dwelling-house. In the main section of the village that sprawls to both sides of the main road it is difficult to discern any clear and systematic caste 'quarters' in which only members of one caste live. There is an unmistakable tendency among some castes, as for instance the Sakali (washermen), the Vaddar (stone-workers), the Golla (shepherds) and the Kummari (potters), to occupy houses in compact blocks on contiguous patches of land, but in close proximity are situated the houses of people belonging to other communities. In no sense can the individual clean castes be said to live in separate colonies, nor is any one caste in exclusive possession of any clearly marked out area. In many cases people live outside their own caste 'blocks'. The houses of the clean castes are built so close together that it is clear that considerations of caste distinction do not materially affect their choice of sites for the construction of houses. A Hindu may live in the immediate neighbourhood of Muslims, and often people belonging to quite different castes are one another's neighbours. It is probable that in the beginning the different castes marked out different blocks for themselves on the proposed site for the settlement. People coming later to the village either found a place to construct their houses in their caste block or had to choose a plot elsewhere. However, there are some communities which live in separate colonies or *wada*. To the east, a narrow strip of land separates the main settlement from the *Mala-wada*, or the colony of the Mala untouchables. Further east, and separated from the houses of the Malas by another narrow strip of land, is the colony of the Madigas. Distinct from both these groups, and situated to the north-east of the main village, there is a small colony of Erkala hunters, whose small circular huts stand out in marked contrast to the houses in the rest of the village.

It has already been pointed out that there is a school, a dispensary, a post office and a police station in the village. The school is at present ill-housed; it has five classes meeting in two small rooms and only two masters, who teach both Urdu and Telugu as well as the other subjects of the primary school curriculum.

THE SETTING

871 Children of all communities now go to school, and the old prejudice against admitting untouchable students is dying out. In recent years some Mala and Madiga boys joined the school, but most of them attended only in name, playing truant so consistently that they derived little benefit and eventually stopped going altogether. The school is ill-equipped, having some miserable-looking furniture, a few charts and maps and the inevitable blackboard. The master still wields his stick, and among other reasons this explains perhaps the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the lower-class children and their parents for the school.

743 757 The dispensary is housed in a small room and its adjoining verandah. The rest of the building is used as living-quarters by the Medical Officer. This small dispensary was started by one of the Jagirdars, and has had a succession of Medical Officers who had no qualifications for the job. The present incumbent too is not properly qualified, for he is not even a medical licenciate. He is paid Rs. 45 per month and is supplied with a small quantity of drugs by the Medical Department of the Hyderabad Government.

[177] As a result of contact with the cities, the villagers have developed a great liking for injections, expecting them to work like magic and provide quick and certain cure for all ailments. The Medical Officer, although he is not authorized to give injections, does so in the course of his limited private practice. People go to the dispensary only for the treatment of common ailments, such as scabies, cough and malaria. For want of proper equipment and a qualified medical practitioner, the dispensary at Shamirpet has very few patients. In addition to the allopathic dispensary there are several elderly people in the village who administer herbal preparations according to Indian indigenous systems of medicine.

755 Magic and divination are also employed to a considerable extent by all sections of the people. 'Where herbs and medicines do not work, proper chants and spells do not fail us', the people often say. Indeed, for certain categories of disease and difficulties recourse

757 to divination is often regarded as the only proper remedy. It must be added that increased contact with the cities and the influence of education have greatly enhanced the value of modern medicine in the eyes of the people. There is now practically no prejudice against vaccination, although some people are still afraid of plague and cholera inoculations because they cause pain and fever. A minority of the villagers take advantage of the qualified doctors

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who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available. 757

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission. 205

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village. 625 [659]

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals. 312 [521]

The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; in return for the service, the government grants them the use of certain rent-free lands. 27 364 351 [465]

364 351 certain rent-free lands. Moreover, every morning the womenfolk of each house sweep and clean that portion of the lane which lies directly in front of their own house, sprinkle it with water or water mixed with cow-dung and often decorate the entrance with designs drawn with millet or rice flour. Notwithstanding this, the lanes are not always very clean. The reasons for this are many. The Yetti Madigas do not sweep the village very regularly; and the women, when they have finished their housework, often throw the refuse [514] into the public thoroughfare. Thirdly, very few people have latrines in their houses, and even those who have them are inclined to make their children ease themselves at the side of the [231] road. However, the pigs kept by the Erkala caste as well as the large number of dogs in the village are good scavengers and help to keep the village clean.

4. THE HOUSES

342 351 The dwellings in Shamirpet can be classified into three main groups: the Bhawanti, the Penkutillu and the Gudse.

The Bhawanti. This is a large house with stone walls and tiled roofs; it generally stands in its own compound, which is surrounded by a wall, and invariably has five to six rooms. The following account of the house of I.R., a woman with considerable local influence and a good-sized agricultural holding, will illustrate this type of house. As we enter the gate in the compound wall we find ourselves in front of an open space which constitutes [372] the courtyard of the house. On one side of this courtyard there is a cattle-shed, the end of which is partitioned off as a store-room for fuel-cakes made of cow-dung. Opposite the gate across the courtyard is a verandah running the whole length of the house; at one end of this verandah there is a small room in which agricultural implements are kept. The main door of the house leads into an [515] inner court which is open to the sky. In the centre is a stone-lined sink, known as *gachhu*, which can be drained and cleaned, and here, sitting on small wooden stools, the women of the house bath. The inner court is surrounded on three sides by rooms; on one side there are two inter-connected rooms, the first being used as a dining-room and the second as a kitchen. Opposite this, running the whole length of the inner court, is a long room, while opposite to the main house door and across the inner court is a door which

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leads into the room used for the storing of grain and various household goods. At the end is a small room, and here are lodged the gods and deities of the household.

Although small variations are sometimes seen in the internal arrangement of this type of dwelling, the principles of construction are generally everywhere the same. The walls are made of local stone, which is available at very cheap rates; the doors and their frames are fashioned by the local carpenter and are often decorated on the outside with carvings of geometrical designs and occasionally human or animal figures. The walls are plastered with mud and washed with coloured earth. Almost all the rooms have mud floors; the roofs are always tiled. The Bhawanti type of house is the house of the well-to-do cultivator as well as that of the more substantial people belonging to the occupational castes. Although the houses of the Muslims, both cultivators and traders, as well as of Hindus with urban contacts, conform to the general pattern of the Bhawanti, they show certain marks of sophistication which are obviously the result of urban influences. Such houses have whitewashed walls and stone floors, and many, especially those of the Muslims, have pit-latrines in the backyards. The outer walls are often decorated with motifs borrowed from the city.

The furniture in this type of house is very meagre. In some houses there are a few hard wooden chairs, crude benches and stools or perhaps folding chairs with canvas seats. A popular item of furniture is the wooden *takht*, a large, portable wooden platform, rectangular in shape and supported on four legs. It is about two feet high and seats four to eight people. The other common article of furniture met with in the village is the bedstead, on which the meagre bedding is spread. Rich people have a large framed bedstead which is often ornamented. It is known as *palang*. But poorer people use the small-framed *charpoy* or *khat* woven with locally made thin hemp ropes.

It has been pointed out earlier that the average rural house of this type is often embellished with carvings on the doors. Moreover the walls are generally decorated with designs or human or other animal figures. Cheap prints of Hindu gods and goddesses or family photographs taken by street photographers in the city decorate the walls in some of the houses. The more educated people and retired petty officials sometimes possess clocks, but

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these are generally out of order and are used rather as decorations than to tell the time.

Household utensils are generally made by the local potter. But shining brassware, including a few large pots for storing water, are a mark of respectability. Food is served on brass, bell-metal or aluminium plates. Water is drunk from metal mugs or brass beakers. In some houses a couple of china cups and saucers and a few glass plates are also to be seen.

The Penkutillu. This type of house is smaller and less ostentatious, and is built by average cultivators with small holdings, who are neither rich nor poor according to village standards. These houses also have a courtyard and possibly a backyard; a verandah and two or three rooms which are used for various purposes. The walls are of stone, the floor of mud and the roof is tiled. The cattle-shed is generally close to the living-room and there is neither latrine nor bathroom in the house.

This type of house is also decorated with carvings on the doors, and designs are painted on the wall. In such houses furniture is regarded as a luxury; there may be a few bedsteads, some small wooden stools and possibly a crude chair or two. People with city contacts decorate the walls of their houses with commercial calendars or coloured magazine covers. The household utensils in this type of house are, except for metal plates used for serving food, of earthenware, even water being stored in clay pots. Yet respectability demands that such a house should have at least some brass utensils. These are greatly coveted by the ambitious housewife.

The Gudse. These are the commonest type of dwellings found in Telangana, and are indeed the most numerous in Shamirpet. The walls of these huts are either made of mud or they are made of wattle-screen and plastered with mud. The roof is always thatched. The hut is built in a small enclosure and has generally only one room, from which the kitchen is partly partitioned. These huts have very little furniture and all household utensils are the wares of the local potter. The few metal utensils which the family possesses are among the most treasured parts of the household property.

All the three types of village dwellings have some features in common. Almost all of them have some open space either at the front or at the back. This is generally enclosed. Here women bath and in times of emergency, such as illness or other incapacity, it may also be used as a latrine. During the rainy season

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it is used for the growing of vegetables, specially fruit-bearing creepers, and throughout the year it is used by the household fowls. Similarly, in most of these houses the cattle-shed is very close to the main living-room. Hardly half a dozen houses in the village have latrines; the majority of the people go out into the fields or behind the rocks for answering the call of nature. Notwithstanding some variety, the decorative designs found on all the houses follow a generally established pattern. The floors are swept twice every day in almost all the houses. The mud floor is periodically smeared with cow-dung mixed with water and the walls are washed annually with lime or coloured earth. Grain and provisions are stored in large receptacles made either by the potter and well burnt to a vermilion red or by the Erkala in their traditional styles of basket-work.

All the houses in Shamirpet can be classed into one of these three types. The Gudse-type huts of the Erkalas are, however, a class by themselves. These small, circular huts, made from sheets of weed-matting, are about twenty feet in diameter and are often only six feet high. The interior is unpartitioned and serves as bedroom, dining-room, living-room and kitchen. Pigs and poultry are housed in similar but smaller round huts built in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling-hut.

From time to time groups of families belonging to the nomadic castes come to the village. These have their low, portable huts, which are mostly made of folding bamboo screens. Almost every month some group belonging to this category makes its appearance in Shamirpet and after a stay of a week or so moves off with its huts, dogs and pigs.

5. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHAMIRPET

The nearness of Shamirpet to the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad has been mentioned. People holding small government posts or having urban relations make periodic visits to the city. Others, especially young men, cycle down to Secundrabad or Hyderabad to visit the cinema or to look at the shops.

In the broad social sense, however, Shamirpet's more intimate ties are with the villages in the neighbourhood. In the events and developments of these villages the people of Shamirpet are very keenly interested. The hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli are

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3*a*. Shamirpet from a hill outside.

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3*b*. The Village Well.

[Facing p. 32]

621 in fact entered as parts of the village of Shamirpet in government records, and in a sense they are; nevertheless, on a restricted scale
623 they enjoy considerable autonomy. The elders of the hamlets try, as far as possible, to decide the hamlet's minor disputes without referring them either to the headman or to the village council of Shamirpet. They say, 'We are poor inhabitants of a small hamlet. Our resources are limited. The people of Shamirpet are prosperous; they have adopted the ways of the city. If we refer our cases to them, they will impose such fines that our necks will break.' Yet there are many cases in which one of the disputing parties, dissatisfied with the judgement of the elders and possessing the necessary financial resources or influential support, will refer the case to the Shamirpet village council. In all such cases one or two elders and influential people from the hamlet in question are summoned to attend the proceedings of the village council at Shamirpet. Similarly, for all the ceremonies organized jointly by the people of Shamirpet as a whole it is customary to send invitations to Babugura and Upparpalli and it is expected that they will be represented by at least some of the village elders.
[631] When the people of the village as a whole are summoned on government business to the district or subdivisional headquarters, the residents of the two hamlets have also to accompany the people of Shamirpet, for all the three settlements are, according to govern-
621 ment records, component units of one village. However, the distance between Shamirpet and the two hamlets is an effective barrier to the pursuance of a common social life. And from this point of view the two hamlets are as independent as two self-contained small villages.

361 The area surrounding Shamirpet is quite densely populated. It
574 is not unusual to find a village or a small hamlet every three to six miles, and Shamirpet is surrounded by a number of villages, some large and others small. With most of these, Shamirpet, as a village, has very little to do. However, individual residents remain in constant touch with friends and relations in the surrounding villages. Ceremonies connected with the major crises of life, i.e. birth, marriage and death, often take people out of Shamirpet to the neighbouring villages, or bring people from there
564 into Shamirpet. For a more or less well-defined block of villages the different castes have their respective caste councils, to which matters concerning the caste only are taken.

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4. Men Making Stakes.

[Facing p. 33]

THE SETTING

361 Three miles to the north on the Hyderabad–Karimnagar road
312 there is another village, about as large as Shamirpet. It is called
578 Aliyabad. It has some rich and influential Muslim and Hindu agriculturists among its residents who share with those of Shamirpet the waters of the Shamirpet tank for irrigation purposes. This system is not very satisfactory and the two villages have numerous complaints against each other. There is a keen rivalry between the two, and every two or three years the tension and passions of the people rise to such an extent that there is danger of a breach of peace and of rioting. The residents of Shamirpet do not think much of the people of Aliyabad, and the latter heartily reciprocate their dislike.

671 People living in different villages have very few occasions on which to meet each other as a whole. There are no common ceremonies and functions in which several villages participate. To a certain extent caste ceremonies provide opportunities for inter-village meetings; but the most common meeting-places for people belonging to the nearby villages of the same area are the markets and fairs.

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CHAPTER TWO

Social Structure

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To understand the social structure of an Indian village it is necessary to examine the various units through which the village community is organized. The basic and primary unit of the society is the elementary or joint family. Every family belongs to an exogamous division of a caste and several such divisions constitute an endogamous caste or an endogamous section of a large caste. Only excommunication or a change of religion can alter the position of the individual in any such social units. On the other hand, every family belongs to the community with whom it shares a settlement site, be it a village or a hamlet attached to a village. In socio-religious affairs, control of the individual is threefold—that of his family, his village and his caste. Often it is only the independent, endogamous division of the caste which takes cognizance of offences and penalizes erring members, and not the caste as a whole. On the other hand, very serious cases or matters concerning more than one village may be heard and decided by a larger judicial organ, comprising members of all the constituent villages. The structure and organization of the family, as well as the criterion of status differentiation in the community, can best be described in a separate chapter; here we shall examine the division of the community into castes, and follow it up by an analysis of the internal organization of the village with special reference to authority and the machinery regulating the administration of justice in the village.

1. CASTE IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

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The Hindus and the Muslims constitute two distinct sections in the population of Shamirpet. Although long residence and close

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

association have brought them in close contact with each other and their cultures are in certain fields inter-related, the two communities retain their own socio-religious identities. The Muslims are in a minority in the population of the village; but they are a close-knit group in socio-religious matters. All Muslims belong to the Sunni division. Among them there are no great inequalities of wealth and possession, and consequently there is, within the Muslim community, no evidence of class distinction. In matters affecting their socio-religious life they act as a separate and self-sufficient group, rarely seeking the help, assistance or advice of their Hindu neighbours. One of the remarkable characteristics of the predominantly Hindu rural society of India is that non-Hindu communities have also been influenced by the caste-hierarchy of Hinduism. Even the non-Hindu groups have had to fit somehow into the rigid framework of the caste-dominated social system; and while they have always remained outside it, never having been regarded as Hindus, they have nevertheless acquired a quasi-caste status in accordance with their general social, economic and political position. As Hyderabad was formerly ruled by a Muslim, his co-religionists had a privileged position in the affairs of the State. Their social status in the rural areas has always been more or less equal to that of the agricultural castes; although from the point of view of religion the Hindus have always regarded them as inferior. Nevertheless, a clean-caste Hindu can sit down with a Muslim, and the less orthodox can even touch them without having to take a subsequent purificatory bath.

The Hindu social system, founded on the division of society into 'castes', presents a social framework of great complexity. The traditional *varna* system, modified in the course of the evolution of Indian social polity, divides Hindu society into five major groups. The first three of these, viz. Brahmins (priests and men of learning), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors) and Vaishyas (traders) are regarded as *dvija* or 'twice born'. According to Hindu ritual only they are allowed to undergo the *upanayana* ceremony which symbolizes their spiritual re-birth and entitles them to wear the sacred thread. The fourth group is composed of numerous occupational castes who are relatively clean and are not classed as untouchables. Finally, in the fifth major group we can place all the untouchable castes. This classification is accepted by the Hindus all over India. The relative positions of the different groups,

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564 ascribing order of precedence and social superiority or inferiority, are recognized everywhere. The legitimate occupations to be followed by people in these major groups (*varnas*) are defined by tradition. Within each group there are several sub-groups (*jati* or castes), which can again be arranged in a hierarchical order within themselves. Inter-relations, between both major groups and their sub-groups, are largely governed by traditional rules, and all major forms of contact, viz. touch, inter-dining and sexual intercourse, come under the purview of these elaborate rules.

Within this general frame of the *varna* system, in the different regions and territorial units of the land, there are several socially autonomous castes, each fitting into one of the five major divisions but otherwise practically independent in socio-religious spheres of life. These castes often share a common generic name and title with castes of comparable status in other regions; but often they do not inter-dine, whilst inter-marriage between them is prohibited. Each caste is further subdivided into several sub-castes which are endogamous and are for all practical purposes independent groups by themselves.

The organization of the Hindu castes and their relative positions in the traditional caste-hierarchy require a detailed and careful examination. From the point of view of caste superiority the different castes in Shamirpet may be grouped in the following order:

'TWICE-BORN' CASTES

Brahmin (Priests)

Komti
(Traders)

OCCUPATIONAL CASTES

Agriculturists, Workers and Labourers

Kapu—Reddi
(Agriculturists)

Kummari
(Potters)

Golla
(Shepherds)

Kapu—Muttarasi
(Agriculturists)

Sale
(Weavers)

Gaondla
(Toddy-tappers)

Sakali
(Washermen)

Mangali
(Barbers)

Vaddar
(Stone-workers)

Erkala
(Hunters and Mat-makers)

Pichha-Kuntla
(Minstrels narrating caste and clan legends)

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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UNTOUCHABLE CASTES

Mala
(An untouchable caste)

Madiga
(An untouchable caste)

The above table does not include the Panch Eramha group. In point of religion they are Hindus, but their position in the caste hierarchy is rather uncertain. This group comprises five divisions: The Wadla (carpenter), the Kammari (blacksmith), the Ausula (goldsmith), the Kase (carver of figures in wood and stone) and the Kanchari (worker in bell-metal). Of these only the first three sections are found in Shamirpet. Inter-dining and inter-marrying, these sections constitute a distinct group of their own. In the local caste hierarchy they should be placed below the Kapu-Kummari-Golla group, but it cannot be said that they rank equal to or below the Sale-Gaondla group.

Among Hindus the Brahmin holds the highest place. He officiates at the ceremonies of all castes, except those of the Vaddar, the Erkala, the Pichha-Kuntla, the Mala and the Madiga. However, he is consulted by these castes also regarding the auspicious timing of agricultural operations or to perform marriage ceremonies; and his astrological calculations are eagerly sought by all people. All castes, except the Panch Bramha group, will accept food at his hands, but being 'pure and high-born' he cannot accept food from the hands of any but his caste fellows.

564 793 [787] [264]

The Komtis rank next to the Brahmins. They are mostly traders and money-lenders, keeping small shops where they sell grain and general provisions. All castes except the Brahmin and the Panch Bramha group accept food at their hands, but they do not take food from those castes whose social position is lower than their own, and thus can only accept food at the hands of the Brahmins.

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The Reddi sections of the Kapu (agricultural) group, the Kummari and the Golla castes are of equal caste status. Although each is an endogamous caste, they will freely inter-dine with each other, and social contact between them is on a basis of equality. The position of the other Kapu section, viz. Muttarasi, is a little lower. The first Kapu section as well as the Golla will eat at their hands, but the Kummari will refuse food which they have touched.

On the next level are the Sale and the Gaondla, who enjoy a

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564 more or less similar position but are both endogamous and do not
264 inter-dine. They accept food at the hands of the castes higher than
582 themselves but not from those which are lower. Similarly, the Sakali and the Mangali have a similar caste status, but they do not inter-marry or inter-dine. But again, both the Sakali and the Mangali will dine with the Sale and the Gaondla and all the other castes higher than themselves. The Vaddar and the Pichha-Kuntla will eat with neither the Sakali and the Mangali nor with the untouchable Malas and Madigas, but they can take food at the hands of all castes higher than themselves. The Erkalas will eat from the hands of all castes except those of the Mala and the Madiga. The Sakali and the Mangali do not accept food from the Erkala. The Erkala and the Pichha-Kuntla will accept food from the Vaddar, but the Vaddar will not accept food from the Erkala and the Pichha-Kuntla. Finally, the Mala and the Madiga will eat at the hands of all the higher castes, but the Mala, considering himself superior of the two untouchable castes, will refuse food touched by a Madiga.

The position of the Panch Bramha group is peculiar. They constitute a consolidated and self-sufficient group. They do not accept food at the hands of any other castes, nor do any other castes accept food touched by them. Here the position differs vitally from that found in north India, where the carpenter, the blacksmith, the worker in bell-metal, the goldsmith and the carver of images constitute different endogamous castes which do not, as they do in this area, inter-marry and inter-dine. Their social status is neither very high nor very low. Everywhere they rank lower than the 'twice-born' *varnas* of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, but they are not regarded as impure and their status is infinitely superior to that of the untouchables. In the area under study while the Panch Bramha group is regarded as 'clean', even the untouchable Mala would refuse food touched by them, and it is only in recent years that the Madigas have started to eat from their hands. 'Their very touch poisons the food. How can we accept it?' the people are often heard to remark when they are asked to explain their refusal of food touched by any of the Panch
[881] Bramha castes. The Panch Bramha castes wear the sacred thread
564 of the twice born and refuse food even from the Brahmin. It is probable that their social exclusiveness reflects an attitude which was developed in ancient times when a great fusion of Aryan and

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW27 Telugu AW17

non-Aryan groups was taking place in Indian society and Hinduism was consolidating itself. The highly organized craftsmen's guilds of those days may perhaps have succeeded in maintaining their integrity and exclusiveness for a long time, but had ultimately to yield; yet the tension created by their resistance remained, and even when they were absorbed into the fold of Hindu society they were not admitted as equals to the groups of comparable social status and in consequence probably continued to maintain their age-long exclusiveness.

All the castes whose relative positions in the caste-hierarchy have been shown in the accompanying table are endogamous. There is a permanent social distance between them; the individual is born into a caste, and a subsequent change in status is, except to the very lowest strata of society, equally impossible upwards or downwards.[1] In general it may be said that people accept food at the hands of all castes occupying a higher level in this hierarchy, the only exception being that of the Vaddar, who do not accept food from the highly placed Sakali and Mangali. Without exception people on a higher level refuse food from those on a lower level. Each caste has a traditional occupation sanctioned by religion, and these monopolies should not be infringed upon, except in the case of agriculture, which all may pursue.

Mention should here be made of the Jangam and the Katike castes, of each of which there is one family in Shamirpet. The Jangam are a semi-priestly caste ritually attached to the Baljas, for whom they tie the 'lingam'—a phallic symbol representing Shiva—and function as priests on the occasion of weddings. On the days of *Pitra Moksha Amavasya*[2] and *Shivaratri*,[3] they visit Hindu houses, particularly of those peasants who follow the Shaivite[4]

[1] When a person is excommunicated or out-casted he is not down-graded and pushed into a lower caste; he is merely denied the privileges of equal participation in the socio-religious life of the community.

[2] The night of the New Moon in the Hindu month of Bhadrapada (August–September).

[3] The day on which Shiva is believed to have drunk the world's poison, retaining it in his throat, and thereby saving mankind from possible harm from this poison.

[4] Of the great gods of the Hindu 'trinity' Brahma is not worshipped because of his sinful infatuation for his own daughter, whilst Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped. Those who principally worship the former, usually in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, are known as Vaishnava; those worshipping the latter as Shaiva or Shaivite. Cf. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London, 1950), pp. 56–59, 296–300, 360–362.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

564 faith, and beg from them. In Shamirpet, however, there is only one Jangám, who, being an old woman and having no Balja clients in the village, tours in the neighbouring villages in order to beg sufficient for her needs. In point of social status the Jangam can properly be placed a little above the Komti. With the exception of the Brahmins, the other castes, including the Shaivite Komti, eat at their hands. The Katike, who are Hindu butchers, slaughter goats and sheep and sell the mutton to the village folk. In status the Katike is equal to the Kapu-Kummari-Golla group, and he inter-dines with all of them. As all the non-vegetarian Hindu castes including the respectable Reddis eat the meat of animals slaughtered by the Katike, the status of his group is so high.

Most of the castes enumerated above are further subdivided into endogamous divisions which for all practical purposes are themselves independent castes. The Brahmins of Andhra-desa are divided into two main groups—Vaidiki and Niyogi; each of these sections is further subdivided into a number of branches (*shakha*). These *shakha* are endogamous. There is only one family of Brahmins in Shamirpet and it belongs to the Yajurvedi section of the Vaidiki Andhra Brahmins.

The Komtis are divided into six endogamous divisions: Yegina, Yepa, Doodi, Bandur, Neti and Poga. Of these only Yegina Komtis live in Shamirpet.

The Reddis have four major endogamous divisions—Motati, Gudati, Gone and Paknati. All the Reddis of Shamirpet belong to the Gone division.

The Muttarasi have three sections—Muttarasi, Ediga and Besta. In Shamirpet there is no representative of either the Muttarasi or the Besta sections.

The Kummari caste is also divided into four endogamous divisions. They are Balije, Bandar, Cheluka (also known as Setti) and Dandu, of which only Cheluka Kummari live in Shamirpet. It may be noted that with the exception of the Balije section all the other sections of the Kummari caste inter-dine but do not inter-marry. The Balije abstain from meat and drink and on these grounds regard themselves as superior to the other sections of the Kummari caste, with whom they do not inter-dine.

The Gollas have seven endogamous subdivisions: Erra, Pakanati, Do-guita, Muda-Sarla, Pooja, Mushti and Paddanapu; an eighth and inferior division of the Gollas who weave blankets is

1: Dube E-5 (1961-62) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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known as Kurma. The Pooja Gollas do not follow the traditional caste occupation of shepherds, and they neither eat meat nor drink liquor. With the exception of the Pooja Golla, from whose hands all sections accept food, and the Kurma, at whose hands no sections do, all the other sections inter-dine but do not inter-marry. In Shamirpet there are only two sections of the Gollas, Erra and Paknati.

The Sale in Telangana have no endogamous subdivisions. They call themselves Padmashali to distinguish themselves from the Mala Sale, who are akin to the untouchable Malas in social status, but who also follow the profession of weaving.

The Gaondlas are divided into two major sections on the basis of their faith: Vibhuti-darulu, following the Shaivite, and Tirumani-darulu, following the Vaishnavite faith. However, these sections both inter-marry and inter-dine.

The Sakalis have three endogamous groups—Sakali, Bondili, and Turuka, between whom inter-marriage and inter-dining is not permitted.

Among the Mangalis there are only two divisions, Siri and Konda. Inter-marriage between these groups is not permitted. All the families residing in Shamirpet belong to the Siri section.

The Vaddar have two sections: the Rai Vaddar work with stone, and the Gampa Vaddar work with earth. They are mutually exclusive groups, both inter-marriage and inter-dining being prohibited. In Shamirpet there are a few houses each of both these sections.

Similarly, the Erkala have two divisions—Kunche and Tattagulla, the latter only being represented in Shamirpet.

The Pichha-Kuntla too have two sections—Burra and Ganta. They are mutually exclusive from the point of view of inter-dining and inter-marrying. The one Pichha-Kuntla family in Shamirpet belongs to the Burra group.

Traditionally the Malas believe that their community is divided into twelve and a half sections, but no Mala in Shamirpet was able to give the names of all the twelve sections or to give any explanation for the half section. The section residing in Shamirpet describes itself simply as Mala.

Finally, the largest untouchable caste of Telangana, the Madiga, is divided into six major sections. These are Madiga, Nulka Sandayya, Baindla, Sindu, Mashto and Dakkal. The only section

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

564 living in Shamirpet is the Madiga. The various sections of the Madiga community have their own special functions which are of great significance for the social life and culture of the caste. The Nulka Sandayya are said to be the descendants of Jamavanta,[1] who is believed to be the founder of the entire Madiga caste. The Baindlas are the marriage priests of the Madigas. Of the Sindus, the men are the minstrels of the Madigas and have the function of reciting the sacred caste legends and enacting them in the form of folk-drama; while the women are the prostitutes of the community. The Mashto earn their living by giving acrobatic displays. The Dakkal are the lowest of all Madiga sections and are distinguished by their customary refusal to take food from any non-Madiga. The Brahmin, who is at the apex of the caste-hierarchy, refuses to partake of food at the hands of anyone with a social status lower than his own, in effect from any but his own caste-fellows. And it is a juxtaposition that the lowest of the low castes refuses food from all communities of the higher levels, including the Brahmins.

614 Each independent endogamous division is divided into exogamous *gotram*; these in turn may be further subdivided into numerous *vansham*. The main function of these divisions is the regulation of marital unions. A person cannot marry in his own *gotram*; he must marry in some other *gotram* bearing a different name. Different *gotram* may have a number of common *vansham*, and as marriage between persons of the same *vansham* is forbidden, one must marry not only outside one's *gotram* but in a different *vansham* also. If a person of one's own *vansham* dies, one must observe ceremonial mourning for ten days. These subdivisions seem to perform no other special function. The enumeration of the various *gotram* and *vansham* is difficult and would only result in long and tedious lists running to forty and fifty names, and will not here be given.

The diagram shown opposite will illustrate the organization of the endogamous sub-castes *gotram* and *vansham* within the wider social unit of caste in the area under study.

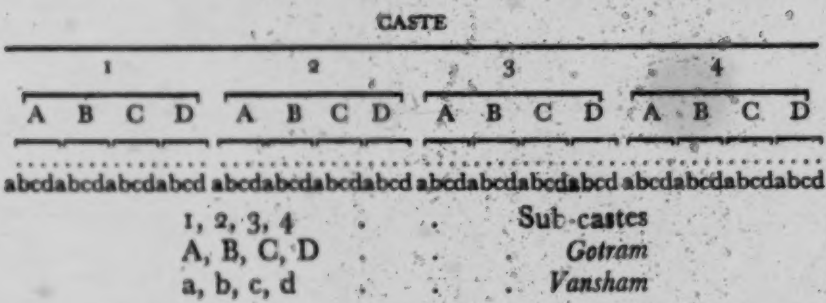
In the diagram each sub-caste is endogamous; and as such a person born in unit 1 must marry within that unit, and so also persons in units 2, 3 and 4 must confine their marital relations to their respective units only. But each of these units is divided into a

[1] A conspicuous figure playing a significant role in the epic of *Ramayana*.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

number of exogamous *gotram*, and it is necessary that one must marry outside his own *gotram*. A *gotram* may be further subdivided into a number of *vansham*. In some cases the *vansham* units in the different *gotram* have common names, and this necessitates a further precaution: not only should a man marry in a *gotram* different from his own, but he must also see that he does not marry into his own *vansham* although it belongs to a different *gotram*. Thus, a person belonging to sub-caste 1, *gotram* 'A', *vansham* 'a', must marry within sub-caste 1, but he can choose a spouse from *gotram* B, C and D subject to the condition that he does not marry anyone belonging to *vansham* 'a' and chooses the spouse from *vansham* b, c or, for that matter, a *vansham* having any other name.

Gotram, for all practical purposes, are like exogamous clans. Each *gotram* bears a distinctive name, which is either derived from



a sage of ancient India or is totemic in nature. The term *vansham* is derived from Sanskrit and means a lineage. Sociologically, in the context of patrilineal societies, if we define a lineage as 'an association of people of both sexes comprising all the recognized descendants by an accepted genealogy of a single named ancestor in a putatively continuous male line',[1] we can regard *vansham* as a lineage. Each *vansham* bears an individual name which is either derived from or is in some way associated with the common mythological ancestor of the sub-group. At the death of a person belonging to one's own *vansham* formal observance of ritual impurity and ceremonial purification are necessary even when one has no kinship or afinal ties with the deceased. A girl belonging to one's own *vansham* is a sister, a boy a brother, and that is why

[1] Meyer Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* (London, 1945), p. 30.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

sexual union of any type between the two is regarded as a kind of incest. It has already been pointed out that these units have no functions beyond those mentioned above and have no common organization, authority or ceremonial distinctively belonging to them.

Although in general we can regard Shamirpet as fairly representative of Telangana villages, some Telugu-speaking castes which play an important part in rural Telangana are not to be found in the village; and it will be perhaps advantageous to make a passing reference to some of these castes here. The Velma are a rich agricultural caste more or less equal in status to the Reddis. The Kamma are another caste of the Kapu group who inter-dine with the Reddi, but they are regarded as equals of the lower clean caste groups. The Balja traders are Shaivite Hindus whose status is regarded as being a little higher than that of the Komti. The Gandla works the oil press, and his status is similar to that of the Sale and the Gaondla. The Yenadi, who in some parts of Telangana act as village guards, are in status equal to the Erkala. The Lambada provide a colourful though somewhat alien element in the population of Telangana. In language, dress and ornament they stand out from the rest of the people of Telangana. Their northern origin is clear both from their physical appearance and from their language. The dress of the Lambada woman is picturesque. Her multi-coloured skirt (*lahanga*), tight bodice (*choli*) and upper covering (*odhni*) are elaborately embroidered and worked with appliquéd mirror. Her ornaments are heavy and distinctive, and their tinkling sound lends an air of romance to the dusty roads of the countryside. There is a Lambada settlement some six miles from Shamirpet and they are a common sight on the nearby road.

Mention should also be made of three wandering caste groups—the Balsantanam, the Sharda-galu and the Dasari. The Balsantanam live in small, low, portable huts and move from village to village. They weave mats, sing songs and legends, and beg from village cultivators. The Sharda-galu are professional story-tellers and earn their livelihood by reciting the legends of their vast repertoire. Similarly, the Dasari are country dramatists who contribute towards the entertainment of the villagers by performing folk plays. Members of many of the castes mentioned above make occasional appearances in Shamirpet.

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2. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION: AUTHORITY AND MACHINERY OF JUSTICE

In the internal organization of Shamirpet two different units can be clearly delineated. The socio-religious organization of the village with its independent set of office-bearers and functionaries is quite distinct from the administrative organization of government and semi-government officials. 621

The following diagram will illustrate the internal organization of the village in socio-religious matters:

Deshmukh
(Headman of the village)

Panchayat
(Village council)

Ganadi
(Organizers of village ritual)

Kulam-pedda
(Headmen of the different castes)

Peddamanshi
or
Inti-pedda
(Head of the family)

The Deshmukh is the hereditary headman of the village. He is the richest person in the settlement and has very considerable landed property. His forefathers became the headmen of the village some three hundred years ago, and since then the family has retained the title and office. By virtue of his wealth, position and the contacts he maintains with powerful government officials, the Deshmukh is a pivotal figure in the village and enjoys a position of great influence. Although his word is no longer law, he still wields very great influence in the village and is always given a place of honour at all village ceremonies. Village disputes of any importance are always referred to him, and his decisions and wishes are seldom disregarded. However, the Deshmukh takes very few decisions on his own authority and initiative. He seeks the help of the *panchayat*, which can be regarded as the central council for the village as a whole. Of course, the Deshmukh takes a prominent part in the deliberations and discussions of the *panchayat* and often guides it in such a way that his wishes in the matter are carried out. 622 554 [627]

The *panchayat* or village council consists of the headmen of

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623 The panchayat or village council consists of the headmen of all the major communities living within the village and in addition several other rich and influential persons. It necessarily includes the headman of the village and the three organizers of village ritual. In May 1951 the *panchayat* consisted of twenty-seven persons: four village officers (one Deshmukh and three Ganadis), seventeen heads of different communities resident within the village, and six other rich and influential persons. Of the seventeen heads of different communities, eight are inactive members of the village council. They only attend its meetings on formal and ceremonial occasions and not when it meets to consider ordinary business. Two of these eight inactive members do not attend because they complain that the prejudice of some of the members prevents due consideration being given to their views and hence their participation in the deliberations would be useless. Others do not attend because they are 'too occupied with their own affairs' and do not want 'to get involved in local politics'. However, representatives of these six persons stand for the community in the meetings of the *panchayat*. The six members from the category of rich and influential persons are: V.P.R.—a substantial Reddi cultivator; B.R.—a rich toddy-tapper; N.B.—a Madiga cultivator; K.M.—a Muslim pensioner and brother of an influential village official; K.G.—a well-to-do shepherd; and B.N.—a substantial Mala cultivator.

Thus the *panchayat* of the village is formally composed of the important village officers, the heads of various castes and religious groups in the village and a few other people of influence. But it has been observed that, for one reason or the other, many of the caste heads do not attend its meetings. In most cases they do not have the necessary personality traits and do not mind if someone else volunteers to represent them. More talkative and influential persons gradually replace such inactive members, first temporarily, then permanently. Members of cliques wielding some influence in the community and others with some nuisance value have often been appeased by being invited to the *panchayat*, for this appeals to their sense of vanity. This recognition of their importance in some cases develops in them a greater sense of social responsibility.

The *panchayat* performs several important functions. It hears and decides minor disputes which do not ordinarily go to the courts of law, criminal or civil. It fixes the details of the ceremonies

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to be organized by the village community as a whole. If smallpox, cholera or plague is reported in any nearby village or from Shamirpet itself, it has to fix the day on which the whole village shall perform religious worship in order to ward off the epidemic. It fixes the contribution which should be made by the different families to any communal undertaking. In any undertaking concerning the village as a whole the initiative often comes from the *panchayat*. For example, if a temple or shrine has to be constructed or a tank or well has to be repaired, the matter would be placed before the *panchayat*. This body would plan the measure and then proceed to fix all the details. It will determine the amount of the contributions to be raised, and collect it from each family. If it is necessary to approach the government for financial help in the matter, the *panchayat* would first thoroughly analyse the subject and examine all the possibilities. Only after such a discussion would it determine the precise steps to be taken. Similarly, if a complaint has to be made against any government official, the matter is first discussed by the *panchayat*.

In the village community there are several groups and factions; the various cliques often hold divergent views. However, at the meetings of the *panchayat* the minority almost always yields to the majority—mostly without any grumbling. But once the *panchayat* has risen a protégé of the dissenting clique may be instigated to defy the decisions of the council. With the emergence of several factions within the community, and the tacit encouragement given by some of the minority groups to certain offenders to ignore its decisions, the authority of the *panchayat* has been slightly weakened. In consequence, even when the *panchayat* has heard them and given its verdict, some cases drag on in a state of indecision. From time to time they come up for reconsideration, but two or three years often elapse before a final decision is made. Some long-drawn-out cases are decided by the active intervention of the Revenue or Police officials. But such cases are few. Only a comparatively rich person can defy the *panchayat*, for unless he is able to bribe one of the minority cliques, he cannot enlist their sympathy and support in the lengthy proceedings. In most of the ordinary cases the decision of the *panchayat* is binding and final.

It has been pointed out that the *panchayat* includes all the headmen of the different caste-groups as well as of the Muslim community. These headmen do not merely represent their respective

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623 564 castes; they are expected to do much more. In fact, a caste headman is the link between the residents of the village belonging to his own caste and, on the one hand, the common organization of the village as a unit, and, on the other, the wider caste organization of the entire neighbouring region. When the caste *panchayat* of the entire block constituting the regional community holds its meeting it is invariably the caste headman who participates in its 622 deliberations on behalf of his village caste group. The office is here- 626 ditary, passing from father to son. But if the son has not attained 564 maturity at the time of the death of his father, and is consequently not in a position to take over the responsibility, one of the brothers of the deceased may exercise the authority on behalf of the minor. In some cases even after attaining maturity the son remains only the nominal head, while his uncle continues to be the *de facto* chief. The general consensus of opinion regarding the function of the caste headman appears to be that 'he should keep his people under control' and 'not allow them to stray from the traditional ways of life'. 'If boys of my community do not behave themselves, the *panchayat* reprimands me for not keeping them under control. The village headman says that I must check them, but what powers do I have?' remarked one caste headman. With regard to his functions there is a general unanimity. 'Under a good caste headman boys of the caste obey established authority, respect is shown to the elders and quarrels are not often heard from houses in his jurisdiction.' All this he must do by the sheer force of his personality, for the nature of his authority is not well defined. 'He must be strict and firm, and also considerate and helpful. If he is only strict he will not be able to get the willing co-operation of his people. If he is too lenient nobody will pay any heed to what he says.' It has been pointed out earlier that some of the caste headmen are only nominal members of the *panchayat* and that at its meetings others speak on behalf of the caste. With one exception, these caste headmen lack the above qualities, and in general their caste people do not have much regard for their views. At least two of the hereditary caste chiefs are regarded with scorn by their own people and with ridicule by the villagers. Among the successful caste headmen, E. D. R., the leader of the Kapu (agriculturist) group, may be mentioned. He is in his late thirties, but even older people listen to him. If a son does not show due regard to his parents or a husband and wife quarrel too often and too publicly;

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if one of his caste fellows fails to fulfil the terms of his obligations or in any other way brings dishonour to the caste; if boys get unmanageable or girls earn an evil reputation for easy virtue, he effectively enters the scene, gives suggestions and advice, admonishes people if they do not seem amenable to persuasion, and in the case of adolescents and young boys may even inflict light corporal punishment. In his dealings with people E. D. R. possesses some dramatic qualities which make him something of a hero to his people. With his great influence in the counsels of the village he commands obedience from his own caste fellows as well as from many others. V. P. R., in a sense E. D. R.'s rival, has also a strong personality, and although he is not the recognized head of the caste he exercises considerable control over 'his area of influence'. Because of his influence he is one of those who are invited to participate in the deliberations of the *panchayat*. However, the two men exercise considerable tact in dealing with each other, and so far there has been no effective challenge to the position of E. D. R. The position of the head in a caste is what its holder chooses to make it. Ambitious rivals can steal some of his light and authority. If he proves unsuitable he may for all practical purposes be superseded by someone who is abler or more ambitious and aggressive.

The structure of the family and part played by the 'head' in its affairs will be analysed in a subsequent chapter. It will suffice here to point out that the type of family organization in Shamirpet and the neighbouring rural areas is patrilineal and patrilocal. Joint families are regarded as ideal, although there is a tendency for sons to separate after marriage, and brothers almost always separate some time after the father's death. The eldest male is generally regarded as the chief of the household, and, according to tradition, he must benevolently dominate the scene. Younger members of the household must show respect to him and his wishes. In his turn the head of the family should treat his brothers or sons equally, 'as alike as his two eyes'. A serious socio-religious offence committed by one member of the family would result in the excommunication of the whole family. As such the head of the family must watch the actions of all the members of his household and advise, warn or admonish them according to the necessity of the situation. The head of the family is answerable to the caste and the village councils for the members of his household, and this

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596 entitles him to maintain a controlling hand in domestic affairs. In the case of the head of the family also, much depends on the character and personality of the individual concerned. An irresponsible head who becomes a liability to the members of his family forfeits his claim to their obedience and respect, and in such cases the sympathy of the village people is generally given to the dissenting members of the family. Even after separation [527] it is good form to treat the elders with courtesy and respect. On the occasions of family reunions, such as those connected with the crises of life or with the annual offering of water to the spirits of the deceased, it is the eldest member of the family who occupies the dominant position. In general, even after separation his help is sought in cases of disease and difficulty, and in all matters involving priority of one or the other, preference is always given to the elder. The exact position of the head of the family would, however, vary according to the equations of different families, with which we propose to deal later.

622 The Deshmukh also figures at the head of the government or semi-government village officials, whose relative positions can be arranged in a tabular form as follows:

[625]

DESHMUKH
[Combining the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel]

Sub-Inspector of Police
Head Constables
Masters
Constables

Patwari

FOURTEEN VILLAGE MENIALS

i. Kawalkar
ii. Talari
iii. Majkuri
iv. Neerudi
v. Begari
vi. Yetti
vii. Wadla
viii. Kammari
ix. Kummari
x. Sakali
xi. Mangali
xii. Ausula
xiii. Dappu
xiv. Kommu

622 The Deshmukh is the recognized headman of the village. Two
625 hundred and ten acres of rent-free land, the normal revenue of
465 which would have been Rs. 556/6/-, have been granted to him by the State. He also formally holds the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel; in the former capacity he assists the government officials in the collection of land revenue, in the latter he helps the police in the maintenance of law and order. The Deshmukh used to cultivate the rent-free land earmarked by the government for persons working in these two capacities, but he had delegated his powers

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and functions to agents who acted for him. Now he gets a certain percentage of the total revenue collected in the village in lieu of the rent-free land. Thus, theoretically, the Deshmukh is both Mali Patel and Police Patel; but in actual practice these duties are carried out by his agents. In his capacity as Mali Patel of the village the Deshmukh takes steps to ensure the speedy collection of land revenue after each harvest and remits it to the district treasury. The Patwari can seek his assistance in matters connected with the land records and revenue of the village. For this he gets annually 5% of the total land revenue collected in the village. As Police Patel the Deshmukh is entitled to receive another 5% of the revenue collected during the year. In this capacity he has to send regular reports to the police regarding the occurrence of any crime in the village, keep an eye on the 'bad characters' and watch the activities of suspicious strangers. He maintains records of births and deaths in the village. It is his duty to assist the police in all possible ways in their investigations regarding criminal offences in the village. The other officials, such as the sub-inspector of police, head constables, constables and schoolmasters, are not a permanent part of the local population, and as such they do not generally get mixed up in local politics and other affairs. The police officials enjoy both prestige and power and are, in general, greatly feared by the people.

The Patwari, in spite of the fact that he is a petty revenue and land records official, occupies a pivotal position in the village and plays a very significant part in local politics. Being in charge of the land records, he can manipulate things both to the advantage and disadvantage of landowners, who often consult him and ask his advice. Of Patwaris in general it is said, 'What will they not do for a consideration? Give them money and they will prove their own father a bastard.' The present Patwari of Shamirpet is, for one in his position, a man of more than average intelligence and is himself a careful and substantial cultivator who owns some 247 acres of land jointly with his brother. He receives no salary from the government, nor does he have any rent-free land, but a certain percentage of the total land revenue is fixed by the government as his remuneration for the work.

All villages in Hyderabad State, as do most of those of middle and peninsular India, have a number of village menials. Their functions in the internal organization of the village are of two

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624 465 kinds: routine duties in the everyday life of the village and special duties connected with the arrangements which have to be made for touring government officials arriving in the village. The division of work among these village menials follows in the main the traditional occupations of the different castes. Payment for their work is often nominal. Some of them are paid small monthly salaries; others are granted small fields free of land revenue; while still others supplement their earnings by collecting their 'dues' from the agriculturists of the village at the time of harvesting.

Of the fourteen *kamgars* or village menials, six persons holding four different categories of posts are paid a salary of Rs. 3 per month. The rest enjoy small fragments of rent-free land in return for their part-time government duties. The Kawalkar is responsible for keeping a watch on the village and for patrolling it at night. He must assist the police and the Police Patel in the prevention and detection of crime. He should immediately bring to the notice of the Police Patel any criminal act, epidemic and births and deaths that occur in the village. When required by officers he must carry government mail and revenue remittances. In general it is his duty to assist the touring government officials in their work. He is aided in these tasks by the Talari and the Majkuri. These two menials perform similar functions. The Talari must fetch water for touring officials. The Majkuri must report all relevant matters to the police and to the Deshmukh. The present Kawalkar belongs to the Reddi caste, and the Talari is a Muttarasi. Both the Majkuris are untouchable Malas. The work of carrying government correspondence and money remittances as well as that of patrolling the village falls to the lot of these two Majkuris. At present there are three Neerudis in the village, two of whom are Malas and one a Madiga. It is their duty to look after the tank bund, particularly to keep a watch on the flood-gates and report any damage or suspected foul play. They should also periodically check the water-level in the tank and keep the superior village officers informed. The three Neerudis hold together seven acres of rent-free wet land granted to them by the government. The present Begari belongs to the Mala caste; and besides holding this petty menial position, he is a grave-digger by profession. His main duty is to keep clean the village rest-house, which is used by occasional travellers and officials of low status. He is expected to light fires there during winter evenings, and generally sleeps there at

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night. Dogs, cats and donkeys dying in the village have to be disposed of by him, for the Madigas only deal with dead cattle and will have nothing to do with other carcases. The Yettis in Shamirpet are from the Sakali and the Madiga castes. The Sakali Yettis do most of the superior kinds of menial work, such as carrying the baggage of touring government officials who would not allow their luggage to be carried by the untouchable Madigas; while the Madiga Yettis have to do all sorts of odd jobs of an inferior nature. They may be required to patrol the village, to keep watch on government buildings and to sweep and clean the village occasionally. They are also required to bring fuel for the use of touring government officials. The Yettis are not paid any salary for their work, and the nominal payments made to them by touring officials bear no proportion to the work done by them. The rest of the village menials are occupational caste groups, also performing some semi-government duties. The Wadla, for example, must repair the flood-gates of the tank, attend to the repairs of furniture and other woodwork in government offices, repair the central flag post in the village and supply free of charge or on nominal payment the pegs required for fixing the tents of touring government officials. When required the Kammari do iron work for the government officials. The Kummari has to supply earthen pots for use on public occasions or for the use of touring government officials. The Sakali cleans the kitchen utensils and plates of touring government officials, washes their clothes and carries their baggage to the next camp. The Mangali lights the lamps in the village rest-house, shaves touring officials and massages their bodies if they require this service. The Ausula has the duty of examining, when required to do so, coins which are believed to be counterfeit. He has also to help the police in weighing stolen ornaments and in making estimates of their approximate market price. Finally, the Dappu and the Kommu, who are both Madigas, play their drums and pipes respectively on public occasions. They make all public announcements by the beat of drum and are, like the Yetti, often required to do other menial work as well.

3. INTER-CASTE AND INTER-VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

The village is a territorial unit, the smallest but most significant among territorial groups in the social organization of the village

564 [621] communities. Persons belonging to several different castes are united by some common values and obligations in this unit. But caste as a unit of social organization cuts across the narrow boundaries of the village and extends to a fairly wide geographical region. The *varna* system or the fivefold division of Hindu society is an all-India phenomenon, but in the different geographical and linguistic regions these *varnas* are divided into numerous castes (*jati*) which are practically distinct from and independent of comparable castes in other areas. Thus in South India, in the Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu-speaking regions respectively, there are separate groups of Brahmins who constitute independent castes. There are numerous restrictions on inter-dining, and intermarriage between them is not permitted. All these groups will be designated by the generic term Brahmin; but in actual practice they are each a separate caste characterized by endogamy and [101] distinctive local traditions. It has been pointed out earlier that culturally Shamirpet lies in the area of Telangana, which is a 582 part of the larger culture-area of Andhra-desa. Most of the castes in the village confine their social intercourse to Telangana itself, a 564 few extending it to other parts of Andhra-desa. The Muslims, being 621 converts to an alien religion, are not obliged to observe this rule and can freely inter-marry with Muslim immigrants from other parts; but among them also marriage between people already having some blood ties is preferred. For Hindu castes it may be said that in actual practice a number of neighbouring villages constitute for them a quasi-independent local group within the wider regional community. In analysing one hundred and twenty family case-histories, it was found that out of three hundred and eighty marriages over 68% were confined to a group of villages (and the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad) within a radius of approximately thirty-five miles from Shamirpet; 30% to other villages within sixty miles of the village; and only 2% in still more distant villages or towns. In no case was a marital union entered into with a non-Telugu caste, even with a similar caste name and social status in another linguistic or geographical [571] area. Thus the horizontal ties of caste extend to the whole culture area, but active social relationships are generally confined to a cluster of neighbouring villages.

623 Two types of inter-village organizations deserve to be noted. They are councils of the different castes and inter-village councils.

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According to the caste composition of the villages and existing social bonds between them, people belonging to one particular caste will have their own *panchayat* for a group of villages. Thus in the case of some castes ten to twenty villages have their own caste *panchayat*, while in the case of others thirty to forty villages together have a common council of this type. In some cases endogamous sub-castes have their own *panchayats*; but in many others the wider caste group comprising many sub-castes has a composite council of its own. Caste headmen representing each constituent village are the members of this council—although in actual practice other wealthy and influential, as well as vocal and assertive, persons also gradually come to occupy a seat in it. Serious breaches of the norms and traditions of the caste, as well as important intra-caste disputes, are heard and decided by these caste *panchayats*. Cases of divorce, failure in fulfilling agreements made before finalizing marriage arrangements, serious sexual lapses, and of breaches of the social norms of the caste, such as incest, breaches of the rules of endogamy and exogamy, eating forbidden food and pursuing a 'lower' occupation, etc., would be under the jurisdiction of such a caste *panchayat*. But it must be pointed out that there is no clear-cut distinction between the powers and functions of the caste *panchayat* and the village *panchayat*. For example, when a serious case of incest comes to their notice both these *panchayats* take action independently. Similarly, if a person belonging to one of the Hindu castes kills a cow or is found to have eaten beef, simultaneous action is likely to be taken by both the *panchayats*. In general, however, it can be laid down that matters of a primarily local interest are brought to the village *panchayat*, while those having a bearing on specific caste customs fall under the jurisdiction of the caste *panchayat*. A large number of marginal disputes may be heard by either, and often the local tradition defines their respective jurisdictions. As the *panchayat* in Shamirpet is sufficiently aggressive it has arrogated to itself a considerably wide range of powers.

While all villages and nearly all castes have their own *panchayats*, inter-village *panchayats* are formed from time to time when they are demanded by a special situation. They function as *ad hoc* arbitration committees. Conflicts between two villages, or between two parties belonging to different villages (and not drawn from one particular caste), often necessitate an inter-village

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623 692 *panchayat.* In this the elders of the two villages which are parties to the dispute as well as the elders from an agreed number of villages from the neighbourhood sit together, hear the dispute and give their verdict. Of course, they have no authority to enforce their decision, and these days such cases often g to the courts of law established by the government.

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CHAPTER THREE

Economic Structure

1. CASTE IN VILLAGE ECONOMY

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THE functional basis of the Indian caste system is generally well understood, but the integration of the different castes into the economic pattern of the rural community organization of India is not so well known. The occupations and functions of the different castes are not wholly exclusive, but the economic system of rural India is founded mainly on their functional specialization and interdependence. For example, agriculture is mainly the task of the Kapu group of castes, but all other castes—both high and low—can cultivate land, if they have any, besides following their traditional occupation. Similarly, trading was originally the function of the Komti caste, but now several other castes have also taken to it. However, a large number of crafts and occupations in rural India still remain the monopoly of different castes. A non-Brahmin cannot officiate as a priest for any of the higher castes. No one other than a Kummari will follow the profession of a potter. The Mangali alone would do the barber's work. Carpentry and working in metals are the monopoly of the Panch Bramha group of castes in Telangana. Only the Madiga will dispose of dead cattle and undertake to do leather-work. Castes other than the Sakali would not think of doing the washerman's work. Tradition has given to each group a definite position in the structure of the community, and with that position also goes a definite economic function which is the major source of livelihood for that group. As agriculture is the mainstay of the rural economy of India, the crafts and occupations of the countryside are generally integrated with it. A brief analysis of the economic role of the different castes would give us a clear idea of the

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463 economic system of the community and also of the place occupied in it by the various castes.

Most of the castes have a major craft or occupation which is their traditional monopoly. Besides this they are free to exploit certain other subsidiary sources of livelihood also. The Brahmin, besides functioning as the village priest, may also cultivate his land. The potter, the barber and the washerman occupy themselves mainly with their respective professions, but there is nothing to prevent them from accepting occasional work as field labourers. [464] In fact, during the busy agricultural season, when there is a heavy demand on the limited labour supply of the local group, efforts are made to persuade the artisan caste to send their womenfolk to work in the fields for daily wages. Notwithstanding this, a caste is identified with some occupation or other, and established social usage largely governs the modes of practice of this particular occupation.

In the chapter on Social Structure mention has been made of the fourteen village menials who work as semi-government functionaries, generally in return for the grant of a piece of rent-free land by the government. Their work lies mainly in the fields of their caste monopolies. It comprises personal services to touring government officials, as well as certain routine duties for the village as a whole.

437 463 A closer scrutiny of the economic system and its consequent bonds of mutual obligation and expectation reveals four major types of economic dealings and obligations within the caste network into which the community is organized. These are:

(i) Obligations to render to the agriculturists occupational services having a direct bearing on their agricultural activities. No immediate payment is expected for services of this kind. The agriculturists get their ploughs and other implements repaired by the carpenter every year as a matter of routine. Periodically the carpenter supplies new implements. In return for this, twice every year the cultivator gives a share to the carpenter when the crops are harvested. Services of an agricultural nature are generally expected and rendered on this basis. The extent of both the service and the payment is generally fixed by tradition, and depends very much on the size of the holding which the agriculturist is cultivating. Some castes offer their occupational services, even of a non-agricultural nature, to the agriculturists on the tacit understand-

ing that they too will have their share after the crops are harvested. Thus, the potter periodically supplies the agriculturist with earthenware and pots for his normal requirements. The barber does the hair-cutting and shaving of the members of the agriculturist's family on this basis. The washerman, too, follows this rule in so far as established cultivators of the village are concerned.

(ii) Obligations to render some occupational services, to the agriculturists as well as to many non-agriculturists, having a bearing on their socio-religious life. Castes such as the barber, the washerman, the carpenter and the potter, and the Madiga have definite functions in the rites and ceremonies connected with the major crises of life. These are performed by them as a matter of routine, without any direct negotiations regarding the wages that they may expect in return for their services. Convention has fixed the basic minimum, and in the course of ritual duties, at different points, a part of this payment has to be made. Depending on their status and financial position, people pay something more for these services at the completion of the ceremony.

(iii) Obligations to render some occupational services to other occupational castes in return for their traditional services. As an example, it may be pointed out that a barber will attend to the grooming of hair and shaving of the members of a weaver's family to which he is attached. No cash payment is either expected or made. However, every year the weaver will give him a few yards of cloth and possibly a *sari* or two for his wife.

(iv) Occupational services rendered with an expectation of cash payment in return for the work. Casual visitors to the village can get the services of the barber only when they pay cash. For making a bullock cart, or for preparing timber for use in the construction of a house, a carpenter would first settle his wages and then undertake to do the work. In this respect he would not make an exception even in the case of established cultivators to whose households his family may have been attached for several years, even for decades. The Vaddar stone-workers also usually undertake an assignment only when the obligations on both sides are settled.

For most of the castes economic dealings falling in category (iv), described above, are of a casual nature, though their economic returns through them may be quite substantial. With a few exceptions, most of the castes have to accept a basis of reciprocity in

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476 discharge of their functions. Tradition approves of such an arrangement, and mutual trust and inter-dependence ensure its continuity. Where this arrangement is accepted, a system of attachment of some families to certain other families naturally [433] follows. Agriculture being the most important activity of the countryside, the number of agriculturists is naturally the largest in the village population. These constitute the bulk of those who require and accept the occupational services of small caste groups offering them. Even the occupational castes stand in need of one another's services, although the number of families from each caste offering them within a village community is of necessity small. Each family will, therefore, attach itself to a number of families in the village and offer them services both in agricultural pursuits and socio-religious rites and ceremonies. Among the occupational castes themselves also there is a system of family attachments in operation. In Shamirpet some family affiliations date back to the time of the foundation of the village. Later immigrants either secured the services of some of the established families of the occupational castes, or they made arrangements with some of the newcomers to the village belonging to those castes.

476 This sytem is both complex and delicate. It is not easy for an
623 agriculturist to remove a family attached to his household and
626 secure the services of another. For example, A, a barber, is attached to the family of B, an agriculturist. If for any reason B is greatly dissatisfied with the services of A and wants those of another, he cannot abruptly dismiss A. His difficulty will not be in dismissing him, but in finding a substitute. Each of these castes [467] has its own inter-village council. Occupational castes have a developed trade unionism, and their code of professional ethics and etiquette too is very rigid. The dismissed person will be protected by this professional etiquette. No one else would be willing to act as a substitute, for fear of being penalized by the caste *panchayat*. It may even be difficult for a number of families to join together and import a family belonging to that occupational caste from a different village. First, under these conditions of tension, an outside family would not come for fear of social pressure and ultimate ostracism for such an action. And if they do come, the caste fellows already in the village will make things very difficult, even unbearable, for them. In the course of our investigations,

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we recorded three cases of protracted antagonism between a group of employing families and the occupational caste families employed. In one of them the dissatisfied employer agreed to retain the family on its promise of doing better work in the future. In another the caste people arrived at an amicable settlement by attaching another family to the employer, and attaching the dismissed caste member to a newly-settled family in the village. The third one dragged on for a little less than four years, and, yielding to the pressure and persuasion of the village elders, the caste agreed to give a substitute. The employer in this case was a hot-headed farmer, but he was a man of some wealth and considerable influence, and as such he could secure the effective intervention of the village elders in his own favour.

According to our informants 'the system to-day is not what it was a decade or two ago'. Many attribute this change to the spirit of individualism which is now manifesting itself in several walks of life in the countryside, and is bringing about changes in the established patterns of life. 'In former times,' said an agriculturist, 'these low classes knew their position and behaved themselves well. If they worked satisfactorily they were treated by us very well. In fact, with the passage of time, our relations became more and more intimate. I remember those days when a barber's son would come into the courtyard, offer salutations to us and say "Uncle, the headman has called you" or "Mother, the ceremony in the neighbour's house is about to start and they are awaiting you." In many cases they were just like the members of our family, and although both parties maintained the traditional caste distance, we could always take each other into confidence even on matters of a delicate nature. But now things have changed. Those boys don't want to work here. They want to go to the city. They are not satisfied with the traditional arrangements of payment; and so there is difficulty.' However, the system still continues more or less in its established, traditional form. Urban contacts, education or attraction of something better or more lucrative, may distract a young man, causing him to refuse to replace his old or deceased father's services with a family to which they were attached, but one of his poorer and less ambitious brothers or cousins will always be willing to take up the work.

We shall now examine the main economic functions and activities of the major caste groups in the village.

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ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

THE BRAHMIN

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There is only one Brahmin family in the village. The head of this family enjoys considerable local prestige owing to the fact of his birth, and also because he is a substantial landowner. He is the local priest as well as an astrologer. People consult him regarding the suitability of proposed marriages, and when negotiations are completed they seek his astrological calculations regarding an auspicious date and time for the wedding itself. He officiates at the marriage ceremony among the higher castes. On childbirth he is consulted about the planetary position at the actual time of the baby's birth, and its astrological implications for the child as well as for the parents and the other members of the family. If the reading indicates any difficulty, the Brahmin is often commissioned to offer special worship and perform the necessary rituals to ward off the evil. Similarly, after a death the Brahmin is consulted. If it is found that the time of death was inauspicious the members of the household may be asked to leave the residence temporarily, for a period of three to six months, according to the advice of the Brahmin. These consultations on the occasions of birth and death are generally sought only by the people of higher castes and by those who are well-to-do. Prescribed fees have to be paid to the Brahmin in cash for these consultations. Indirectly, the Brahmin contributes also to the agricultural activities of the community. He advises the agriculturists on when to start sowing at the beginning of the agricultural year. He is also consulted regarding the auspicious dates for starting weeding and harvesting. The date of the New Eating ceremony for the different families in the village is fixed by him. For these consultations no one pays him in cash. He visits the houses of his agriculturist clients fortnightly or once a month, especially in the harvesting season, and is customarily given a certain quantity of grain by each family.

THE KOMTI

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The Komtis are traders. They also function as village moneylenders. They keep a permanent small shop at some central point in the village, and also attend the weekly markets in the neighbouring villages. They generally sell provisions for cash, although things may also be bought on credit by those who are known to

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the shopkeeper and are willing to pay slightly higher prices. They advance money to the people for buying bullocks and agricultural implements. A mortgage is not insisted upon in all cases, but the rate of compound interest which they charge is often exorbitant. The Komtis also advance seed grain to the people. For this, too, they charge a heavy interest. Loans are often taken by people against the mortgage of land or a part of the crops, depending upon the sum of money which they borrow. In Shamirpet the Komtis seem to be the only caste whose monopoly has been seriously affected by the change of times. To-day Shamirpet has in all thirteen shops. If we do not take into account some of the petty shops, four of these belong to Komtis, two to Muslims, two to Toddy-tappers and one to a goldsmith. Even in the field of advancing cash and seeds for agricultural purposes, the Komtis have to face the competition of some of the comparatively rich Reddi and Muslim cultivators.

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THE KUMMARI

In Shamirpet there are five families of potters, with fourteen people actually working at the wheel. Each family is attached to some agriculturists in the village, and it periodically supplies them with a certain number of earthen pots for domestic use. Every two or three years they also supply the agriculturists with large baked earthen bins for storing grain. For this they do not expect a cash price. At the time of harvesting the potter visits the fields of the family to which he is attached, and is given *bheek-bali*, that is his share of the new crop. The quantity of grain that is given away depends on the size of the land cultivated, and also partly on the owner's financial circumstances. On the occasion of rituals connected with birth, marriage or death a supply of new pots is expected from him. Tradition has prescribed the minimum payment required for these services, although on happy occasions people often give a little more. If he can arrive at an agreement with the other occupational castes, such as the barber, the washerman and the weaver, he will offer them his services in return for their occupational services to his family. The details are fixed by the parties concerned, and often considerable haggling and making of charges and counter-charges against one another go on. Notwithstanding this, the system works quite satisfactorily, for out of forty-four cases of such mutual arrangements studied very

323 564 [465] [476]

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323 564 closely at Shamirpet only in six were the relations finally broken off on account of dissatisfaction to either or both parties. Non-agriculturists and such occupational castes as do not have arrangements with the potter buy their requirements from him for a cash price. The Kummari families of Shamirpet have more clients and customers in some of the neighbouring villages which have no potters' families living in them.

THE GOLLA

[360] 233 564 476 The shepherds occupy a block of their own in the village. Some of them cultivate small land-holdings, but the major source of livelihood for all of them is their traditional occupation of keeping herds of goats and sheep. They may keep one or two cows and buffaloes besides these herds which are their livelihood. They have an elaborate lore regarding these animals, and they are experts in caring for quite large herds. They train country dogs to help them in this, and with their aid prevent the goats from going [182] astray when they are taken out for grazing in the forest. By turns the Golla families in the village contribute goats or sheep for sacrifice in the village ceremonies. For this they are not paid. With this exception, they carry on all other transactions with the village people in cash. When people buy goats and sheep, the owner of the animal is always paid in cash. For goat's milk they expect spot payment, but arrangements for weekly or monthly payments may be made in the case of regular buyers. However, in one respect they may also enter into an agreement with the agriculturists which may entitle them to a small share of each harvest. After the harvest, when all the crops have been reaped, the agriculturists ask the Gollas to graze their herds on their fields and keep them penned in during the night. As there is very little fodder in the fields, the shepherds take the goats and sheep out for grazing in the nearby forest, and during the night keep them in the field. [241] The urine and dung of the herd is believed to be good manure, and as such this service is much in demand by the agriculturists. The shepherds often fix days with the agriculturists, and each one has his turn only on a limited number of days. According to the nature of agreement between the cultivators and the shepherds, the payment is either in cash or the latter collect their dues from the fields at the time of harvesting.

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THE SALE

The Sale consider themselves superior to the other artisan castes. Nowadays they no longer work on the basis of affiliation to the village agriculturists. According to an old informant, 'In the good old days when the Sale used to spin their thread in addition to weaving cloth, they also entered into a definite arrangement with the agriculturists, as most castes do to-day. They supplied us with a certain length of cloth every year, and in return we gave them some grain at each harvest. But now times have changed. They buy yarn manufactured in the mills, weave fancy cloth and sell it for cash.' The weavers have now practically abandoned the traditional system. Only with certain occupational castes do they arrive at a working arrangement under which, in return for their services, they give them an agreed length of cloth. In the course of our investigations we found that such arrangements existed between weavers on the one hand, and potters, barbers and washermen on the other.

THE GAONDLA

The villagers in this area are very fond of *sendi*, or fermented palm juice. The Gaondla shops are the centre of attraction in the evenings for men—young and old—as well as for many middle-aged and old women. This caste has the monopoly of tapping the different kinds of palm trees, and also of selling the fermented juice, and has admirably succeeded in maintaining it, notwithstanding the introduction of the system by which government leases trees to the highest bidders irrespective of their caste. In Shamirpet, so far, there has been no challenge to their monopoly; although occasionally the Madigas and other poor people steal juice from the pots tied to the trees by the Gaondlas. The Gaondlas first mark out the trees to be tapped, then actually tap them in the afternoons and evenings, and tie pots at the points where each tree has been tapped to collect the dripping juice. Early next morning they go round to these trees again, climb up, and bring back to the village all the juice collected during the night. This is kept by them in large earthen pots and retailed to customers on demand, expecially in the afternoon and in the evening. One of the Gaondla families in the village has a government contract for other liquors and intoxicants. In addition to the fermented palm juice, that shop also sells several other varieties of liquor obtained from distilleries

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in Hyderabad. Payment is generally in cash, and only in exceptional cases may a credit account be maintained.

THE PANCH BRAMHA GROUP

In an earlier chapter mention has already been made of the group of artisan castes who designate themselves as Panch Bramha and maintain a certain degree of exclusiveness from the other Hindu castes. Out of these, two groups, namely, the Wadla (carpenter) and the Kammari (blacksmith), enter into relations of permanent affiliation to the agriculturists. Under this system, they have to supply new agricultural implements periodically, and look after their maintenance and repairs. In return for these services they get a share of the crops which they have to collect from the fields when harvesting is in progress. In addition to this, they practise their own occupation independently. All their services to non-agriculturists, as well as their services of a non-agricultural nature, must be paid for. The carpenter makes the wooden marriage-post required for several of the rites of Hindu weddings. For this he is paid a small fee prescribed by tradition. The blacksmith repairs and periodically supplies new iron agricultural implements, but in this case the agriculturist concerned has to supply the iron, charcoal and a labourer to work the bellows. The other three groups, that is the goldsmiths, workers in bell metal and carvers of images, specialize in fields which have little or almost nothing to do with agriculture; and as such they carry on their crafts independently.

THE SAKALI AND THE MANGALI

The barber and the washerman have no direct contribution to make to the agricultural pursuits of the landowners, but their services are required so often by the agriculturist, especially in their socio-religious ceremonies and rituals connected with birth, marriage and death, that the agriculturists find it more convenient to have families from these castes permanently affiliated to their households. For their normal services all the year round, that is for shaving and hair-cutting, or for washing clothes, they collect their share after each harvest. Other services, especially those connected with socio-religious activities, are generally provided for in the rituals themselves, for at several points in their progress these castes have to be given something, either in cash

or in kind. In the course of a long ceremony, two or three times they may get money, twice or thrice some grain or a few brass or bell-metal utensils, and ultimately a set of new clothes. Like the other castes, the barber and the washerman also work independently outside the system of these traditional arrangements.

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OTHER CASTES

Before describing the system of family affiliation between the Madiga untouchables and the agriculturists, brief mention should be made of the other castes in the village.

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There is only one family of Katike (Hindu butchers) in the village. In point of social status this family ranks equal to the Kapu group. The head of the family slaughters goats and sheep and sells meat to the villagers. The Muslims slaughter their goats and sheep separately or buy their requirement of beef from the market in the city. Shamirpet is largely a Hindu village, and partly out of regard for the sentiments of the majority community, and partly to avoid trouble, the Muslims do not slaughter cows in the village.

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The solitary family of the Darzi (tailor) with an old sewing machine is obviously a new addition to the population of the village. Even by modest city standards the abilities of this tailor in his craft must be regarded as rather crude. Yet he has a fairly good business in the village. Except for the well-to-do people, and a few others who maintain regular contact with the city, all others either buy cheap ready-made clothes, or they get their tailoring done by this man in the village, who also attracts considerable custom from nearby villages.

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The families of Vaddars (stone-workers) always have sufficient work, either in Shamirpet itself or in some of the neighbouring villages. Those who can afford a house of a superior type have it built of stone. Use of bricks is very rare in this part of the country and thus practically all substantial houses in the village are of stone. The rocky surroundings of the village provide an ample supply, and the Vaddars, adept in the traditional technique of breaking and shaping stone, turn it into a useful building material. Because of their crude technique the work of the Vaddars is very hard indeed and entails considerable physical exertion. Payment for this work is generally on the basis of piece wages. In the busy agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra wages.

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agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra wages.

The Erkalas earn their livelihood through a variety of means. The menfolk are hunters. They are also adept in the use of snares and traps. They train hunting dogs and use them effectively for chasing and tracking wounded animals. When they succeed in getting some game, they retain a part of it for their domestic consumption and sell the rest to the villagers. The women beg in the countryside by singing songs and narrating legends. They also do some fortune-telling. Family earnings are supplemented by basket-making, a task at which both men and women work. They also rear pigs.

THE MADIGAS

The Madigas are the lowest caste in Shamirpet. Economically they constitute the poorest section of the community. While the Malas, who are also untouchables but a degree higher than the Madigas, either cultivate their own land or work as farm labourers for daily wages, the Madigas affiliate themselves to the households of the substantial agriculturists in the village. According to the size of the land-holding of the cultivator, one or more Madiga families permanently attach themselves to him. At every stage of agricultural operations during the year the attached Madiga, and his wife and children, work in the fields of their master. They are not paid any daily wages. After the crops are harvested they have to go and 'beg' in the master's fields or threshing grounds. The conventions of the community have prescribed the rates of payment, mostly on the basis of the area of land under cultivation and the yield during the particular harvest. Thus for a certain area a basic minimum must be given; but if on account of good crops the yield has been high it is expected that the affiliated Madiga family would be given a proportionately larger share. In former times there used to be considerable compulsion, and, being in no position to protest, the Madigas had to slave for their masters, who could be quite ruthless. If the master was kind and considerate, they regarded it as their good luck. On the whole it was advisable for them to tolerate even a bad master, for any protests or refusal to do the allotted work on their part would eventually have meant their being forced to leave the village. Now, of course, conditions have changed, and Madigas do not any longer put up with indig-

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nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. But they have several other additional means of subsistence open to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village. As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner. From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes. Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

ment, classified in government land records as belonging to this village, approximately 20·4 acres are covered by streams and small rivers, 25 acres by unmetalled roads and footpaths and 61 acres by irrigation channels. Thus apart from the 58 acres which provide the site for the village and the two hamlets attached to it, 106·4 acres are covered by these footpaths, channels and streams. The total land area of the village according to government records is 5,777 acres. Out of this 2,012 acres are uncultivable; 162·8 acres being covered with rocks and shrubs. In all 3,765 acres are under cultivation in the village: 3,339·5 acres are classed as 'dry land', for this area is irrigated entirely by the rains; and 425·6 acres are classed as 'wet land' as extra irrigation is available. Although the dry land occupies a proportionately wider area, it is much less productive than the wet land. In 1951–52, out of the total village land revenue of Rs. 9,137 (Hyderabad currency) only Rs. 3,982/4/- were derived as revenue on dry land, the rest came from wet land. The wet land is further classified into *ābi*, *tābi* and *do fasla* land. In the *ābi* land seeds are sown in the rainy season (June to July) and harvested in mid- or late winter (November to January). This type of land occupies 131 acres and yields a revenue of Rs. 1,332 per year. In the *tābi* land sowing is done in winter (October to November) and the crops are harvested in summer (April to May). *Tābi* land covers 162·4 acres in the village and yields a revenue of Rs. 1,868/12/0 per year. Finally 63·5 acres are classed as the much prized *do fasla* or two crop land. As the very name suggests, crops are sown and harvested on this land twice every year. Notwithstanding its small area this land yields a revenue of Rs. 1,208/12/0. All this wet land is irrigated by channels from the Shamirpet tank. Mention may also be made of another 68 acres, which are irrigated by small privately owned tanks and wells and bring to the government a revenue of Rs. 745/12/0 per year. Wet land is very much desired by the cultivators because of its high productivity and requirement of comparatively low investment. According to current valuation average wet land sells at Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 per acre.

It would only be natural to expect that in a primarily agricultural community the number of professional cultivators and others directly dependent upon agriculture should be the highest. Table I shows the number of people who are wholly agriculturists, partly agriculturists and partly field-labourers, and partly agri-

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culturists and partly dependent for subsistence on other crafts and professions:

TABLE I

Number of Families and People Depending on Agriculture as the Main Source of Livelihood.

Nature of agricultural work	*Total number of families*	*Total number of persons*	*Men*	*Women*	*Children*	*Number of people actually working*
1. Agriculturists (depending only on the cultivation of their land)	129	713	226	231	256	336
2. Partly agriculturists and partly field-labourers	154	803	249	271	283	493
3. Partly agriculturists and partly dependent on other crafts and professions	59	305	89	105	111	170

From the above it will be clear that 336 people actually employed whole-time in agriculture maintain 129 families consisting of 713 people. The other class is more numerous. In it 493 people working together maintain 154 families comprising in all 803 people. These partly cultivate their own fields and partly work as labourers with other agriculturists. The third category includes those who are partly agriculturists, and derive a part of their subsistence from some other craft or profession: 59 families having in all 305 people constitute this group.

The remaining fraction of the village population consists of people who contribute indirectly to agriculture or who have a function in some other field of community life. Table II gives the number of families and people in other occupations.

The figures in Tables I and II are for the main village of Shamirpet and do not include the agriculturists and occupational castes from the hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli, which are regarded, in land records, as parts of Shamirpet.

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241 Out of a total of 3,765 acres of land under cultivation, the residents of Shamirpet are cultivating approximately 3,000 acres.

TABLE II

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Craft or profession	*Total number of families*	*Total number of persons*	*Men*	*Women*	*Children*	*Number of people actually working*
1. Potters	5	21	6	7	8	14
2. Carpenters	4	15	5	5	5	5
3. Blacksmiths	4	28	8	11	9	8
4. Washermen	7	31	7	8	16	18
5. Toddy-tappers	16	99	29	34	36	53
6. Shepherds	21	108	31	42	35	69
7. Barbers	2	11	2	4	5	8
8. Goldsmiths	2	13	4	6	3	4
9. Stone-breakers	3	16	5	5	6	10
10. Erkala hunters	5	16	6	6	4	11
11. Traders and Shop-keepers	13	81	22	22	37	27
12. Government servants	46	211	70	60	81	90
13. Others	7	33	10	12	11	14

423 An analysis of the pattern of land-ownership in the village reveals the following:

i. A fourth of the land is owned by 1 family having 800 acres.
ii. A fourth of the land is owned by 8 families having 100 acres each.
iii. A fourth of the land is owned by 20 families having 40 acres each.
iv. A fourth of the land is owned by 160 families having 5 acres each.

The headman of the village is the biggest single land-owner. He belongs to the Reddi caste which is the dominant section of the group of agricultural castes in this area. The second category includes, besides the Reddis, two Muslims—one of whom is the Patwari of the village. Even in the third category approximately 40% of the land is held by the Reddis; the rest being shared by

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other castes, especially the Brahmins, the Komtis, the toddy-tappers and the shepherds, as well as the Muslims. This category also includes two Malas and a Madiga—all three belonging to untouchable castes. The land in the fourth group belongs to several different castes. However, many of these families possess only small fragments of dry land which are quite inadequate for their needs and can in no sense be described as 'economic holdings'.

The above figures have been taken from government records. While the possession of land sold to persons outside the kin-group is given after the completion of the necessary legal formalities, the division of shares from the family land does not necessitate this and in consequence we find that the land shown in the name of one person in the official records may actually be in the possession of several families. This may be illustrated by two examples. E. D. R. has four acres of dry land and six acres of wet land recorded in his name in government registers. The dry land and three acres of wet land are under his exclusive possession. This land is cultivated by him; and the entire harvest belongs to him. But the other three acres of wet land are divided into four pieces. One of these fragments is cultivated by E. D. R. himself, one by his cousin S. R. who is E. D. R.'s father's elder brother's son. The other two fragments are cultivated by E. R. and N. R. whose position is a little unusual. In the life-time of E. D. R.'s grandfather they 'came to his house' for suitor service. After serving the family for a stipulated number of years they were married to the daughters of the family, but continued to live there to assist the old man in his cultivation. After the death of E. D. R.'s grandfather they established separate houses of their own, and are now in exclusive possession of these fragments of land which belonged to E. D. R.'s family. From the above it is clear that although the land records show the land as being in the possession of E. D. R. alone, it is in fact possessed by four different families. The Madiga untouchables were given two acres of land as a reward for the services which they render to residents of the village and touring government officials. Official records show this land as being in the possession of one family: in point of fact, it is shared by as many as seven families.

Seceding members of a family get a share of the family's ancestral land. Fragmentation follows this division of ancestral

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

428 property. For many years, however, the land continues to be in
423 the name of only one member of the extended family in the government records. The division of land, cattle and effects takes place under the supervision (and with the advice) of some of the village elders, and the terms and conditions agreed upon at this time are generally respected by the seceding units of the family. In the course of our investigations only three cases came to our notice in which inconvenience was experienced in the working of arrangements thus made. This necessitated the entry of the divi-
423 sion into legally valid documents and government records. Thus, it is clear that while government records show only 189 families as owning land, actually the number of those who possess their own fields is larger. If we do not take into account the houses in the two neighbouring hamlets, Shamirpet proper has 380 houses. Each house represents a family, elementary or joint. Out of these, 240 families have some land of their own, although from among them 60 families possess only tiny fragments. Among the other families some have only dry land, some have very little wet land, while some have highly fragmented land which often lies in many different corners of the village. This still leaves nearly 140 landless families. From these we can eliminate about 20 government officials who are not a part of the permanent population of the village; and about 10 others who have an occupation or calling which gives them a sufficient income to maintain a reasonably comfortable life according to prevailing rural standards. Eliminating these, we have some 110 families that are landless. These are in addition to an equal number of families who have insufficient or uneconomic holdings.

427 Those who have no land, as well as those who have very little land, are left with the alternatives of either working as whole-time agricultural labourers or of cultivating land taken on lease (*kaul*). Persons choosing the second alternative, either pay the owner of the land a fixed sum of money every year, or they give him a quarter or one-third of the produce. Absentee landlordism is almost negligible in Shamirpet, and those who own the greater part of the village land themselves want to cultivate their best fields. Thus only inferior quality land can generally be had on
425 lease. With hard work and financial investment this land can be
427 improved, but unfortunately this is impeded by several factors. If the same person continues to hold the lease for certain fields for

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a number of years, according to law he acquires semi-proprietary rights over them. The landlord does not want this to happen, and so with a view to safeguarding his own interests he leases out his land to different persons in different years. A short-term lease is naturally not conducive to land improvement, for the person cultivating the land does not risk any investment in it. If he does improve it, in one of the following years the landlord may lease it out to someone else who offers to pay more than the person who improved the land. Secondly, those who hold most of the agricultural land in the village are interested in maintaining a supply of cheap agricultural labour, without which it would be impossible for them to cultivate their extensive fields. They benefit more by cultivating their land with the help of this labour, than by leasing out their land. If they leased out all their surplus land the cheap labour supply would appreciably diminish, and for want of competition wages of those who were still available would rise. To avoid this they choose to leave some of their land uncultivated, and thus we have the paradox of having in the same village many land-hungry families and several hundred acres of uncultivated land.

The land belongs to the family, and normally the head of the family exercises control over it. On the death of the father, the land and other agricultural property—such as tools, implements and livestock—are distributed equally among the brothers. Provision is made for the marriage of unmarried daughters as well as for the maintenance of the minor sons of the deceased. In very special cases, with the consent of all the brothers, a widowed sister is also given a small share. But this is a gratuity rather than a rightful share.

The agriculturists have considerable sentiment for their land and cattle. If adversity compels them to sell some of their fields or cattle, the day when this is done becomes a day of semi-mourning for the household. The hour of transfer is indeed a sad one, and the farmer will complete the necessary formalities with a heavy heart. For several days the family atmosphere remains overcast with gloom. The womenfolk may even wail and shed tears of real grief. In the sentiments of an Indian peasant, the Earth occupies a mother's position and parting with a fragment of it is nearly tantamount to separation from the mother. It is surprising how cattle become almost members of the agriculturist's family, and how

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425 their separation by death or selling causes so much sorrow among the peasants.

423 435 Land is indeed the most precious and coveted possession of the village people. With the exception of women's ornaments, land and cattle are almost the only property they have. With the overall increase in general price levels in recent years, the price of land has also risen. The following table will give an idea of the average prices of different grades of land in 1939 and in 1950.

TABLE III

Prices of Land in 1939 and 1950

Type of land	*Price per acre in rupees*					
	1939 *Grades of land*			1950 *Grades of land*		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
1. Dry land	60	40	18	220	170	75
2. Wet land	250	150	90	1,200	800	480
3. Garden land	300	240	110	1,500	1,200	550

243 434 I propose to examine the standards of living, and relative earnings and expenditure of the different levels of the population in a subsequent chapter. But a consideration of the economics of agriculture will not be out of place here.

The two major crops grown by the people of Shamirpet are rice and millet. Table IV gives the averages per acre of gross income, total cost and net income, in the cultivation of millet, particularly *jawar*. Tables V and VI give similar figures for paddy, for single crop and double crop lands respectively. The figures have been worked out from a survey of a 50% sample of village families cultivating the three different categories of land. Figures are given to the nearest whole number.

TABLE IV

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Millet

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 140	Rs. 64	Rs. 76
B	„ 82	„ 40	„ 42
C	„ 62	„ 30	„ 32

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TABLE V

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Paddy (One-crop Fields) 243 434

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 420	Rs. 180	Rs. 240
B	„ 310	„ 160	„ 150
C	„ 200	„ 120	„ 80

TABLE VI

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Paddy (Two-crop Fields)

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 530	Rs. 220	Rs. 310
B	„ 420	„ 200	„ 220
C	„ 380	„ 190	„ 190

If we work out the averages for the different items of expenditure incurred in agricultural activities, we find that the expenditure on seeds is the most important single factor, accounting for nearly 60% of the total amount spent. Land revenue, wages for hired labour, maintenance or hire of plough and cattle, and interest on loans and capital investments are the other important items of expenditure. Manure and land improvement between them account for only about 7% of the sum spent. Table VII gives the averages of expenditure on the items mentioned above, according to our field survey.

TABLE VII

243

Item of expenditure	*Percentage of total expenditure*
1. Seed	58
2. Land revenue	9
3. Hired labour	6·5
4. Maintenance and/or hire of plough cattle	5·5
5. Interest on loan and capital investments	4
6. Manure	3·5
7. Agricultural tools, repairs and field improvement	3·5
8. Miscellaneous	1

In the pages that have preceded, the position of land as a factor in village agriculture has been briefly examined. Some general observations have already been made about labour, and I shall return to it presently. Here a passing reference should be made to the factors of capital and organization.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

511 426 Analysis of the family budgets of the agriculturists in the village revealed that 10% of them were surplus, 24% were balanced and the rest were deficit budgets. Exact figures regarding the extent of indebtedness could not be obtained as the people invariably sought to conceal information on this subject. According to our rough estimate, 55% to 60% of the families are indebted. As relatively few persons can get agricultural or land improvement loans from the government at a reasonable rate of interest, and as there is no co-operative society in the village, most people have to take recourse to the money-lenders either in the village or, preferably, in a neighbouring one. Petty loans may be obtained from well-to-do shopkeepers and peasants. The rate of interest varies greatly. For large loans a mortgage is generally insisted upon, and anything between 6% and 12% compound interest is charged. For petty loans interest is charged at the rate of 2 annas per rupee per month. If ornaments or other valuables are pawned, the rate of interest is reduced even for the smaller loans. Borrowing in kind also takes place. Seeds are often obtained on loan, and are returned after the harvest with 25% interest. In several cases the indebtedness of the family could be attributed to over-spending in socio-religious ceremonies and litigation rather than to agricultural needs.

241 432 The organization of agricultural pursuits rests mainly on the head of the family, although grown-up sons—if they are living with the parents—are also consulted. When buying or selling land the advice of the elders of the extended family is always obtained. This has to be done before mortgaging family property against loans. The scope for individual initiative and innovations is very limited, for the system of agriculture still largely follows the traditional patterns and is governed to a great extent by the agricultural lore passed from generation to generation through oral tradition.

241 465 Most agriculturists can manage the cultivation of their fields with the help of family labour. The traditional system on inter-caste relations secures for them the specialized services of the occupational castes. The more well-to-do landowners have Madiga families attached to them. However, the migration of some Madiga families and concentration of considerable areas of land in the possession of a few families make it almost essential for many agriculturists to employ additional labour. In the busy season even

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ordinary cultivators have to employ casual labour. The rates of daily wages have now increased considerably. In 1939 a male labourer was paid 3 to 6 annas a day, while a woman was paid 2 to 4 annas. In 1951, men were paid between 1 rupee and 1 rupee 8 annas per day, while the women got 8 to 12 annas per day. Rich landowners employ labourers on the basis of an annual contract also. Rates of payment vary with the age, ability and experience of the person employed; and also partly with the financial position of the employer. According to our statistics wages differ from Rs. 280 to Rs. 120 per year, and may be paid in cash or kind. Depending on the agreement the employee may be paid a cash monthly salary, or he may be paid a part in cash and a part in grain. Very often the agreement includes the following in the wages for the year: an agreed sum at the end of the year, one or two meals a day or a specified quantity of grain every week, and a set or two of new clothes and footwear or a blanket. As a rule advances are drawn from time to time, and when they exceed the stipulated sum the labourer has to agree to work the following year also to repay the debt.

3. THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR

The agriculturists in Shamirpet follow the local almanac. Most of their moves in farm activity depend upon the position of the stars in the sky. According to this almanac a month is divided into two *katis*, each with a duration of approximately fifteen days. Each of these divisions bears a name which indicates a particular position of the stars. According to the traditional agricultural lore of the people the different *katis* are suitable for different kinds of agricultural activities and provide the agriculturist with a schedule for the different stages of his work in the field. Of course, he also takes into consideration other natural factors, such as the possibility of rainfall in the immediate future; but in general his moves follow the time-tested schedule of the Hindu calendar. Muslim agriculturists too follow this calendar and share with their Hindu neighbours their agricultural folklore.

In late summer (i.e. the end of May) the agriculturists keep their fields clear for ploughing in anticipation of a light shower of rain. Invariably there is some rainfall during this period which softens the ground and makes it possible for them to start ploughing. With the advent of this eagerly awaited drizzle the farmers

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241 can be seen carrying their wooden ploughs and driving their pairs of bullocks to the fields. No time must be lost, for the hardening of land may render ploughing difficult and this may eventually result in late sowing.

241 787 About this time they go to the Brahmin to fix an auspicious day for planting vegetables and creepers in their backyards. The Brahmin consults his almanac to find out a day on which the stars of the person and the constellation in the sky match, for such a day is believed to be most suitable for sowing vegetables. Fortified with these astrological predictions, the Hindu agriculturists make initial preparations for planting these backyard crops. Muslims and poorer Hindus do not avail themselves of the services of the Brahmin priest. Beds and pits are kept ready well in advance, and on the appropriate day suggested by the Brahmin (or fixed by the family if the priest has not been consulted) seeds are sown. In the rainy season almost everyone grows some vegetables and creepers, and these are in most cases the only vegetables regularly eaten in any part of the year. The favourites among these vegetables are: runner beans, snake-gourds and pumpkins. Bottle-gourd and sponge-gourd are planted a few days later. Okra, bringals and some other green vegetables are also grown.

241 Later, when more showers have fallen, the agriculturists hasten to sow maize and millet in the fields. A late variety of rice, locally known as *samber*, is sown in carefully made beds to be transplanted into regular fields later.

In the first two weeks of June operations started in late May are continued. Light showers at this time are further utilized to complete the ploughing. Sowing of maize is also continued. Late varieties of paddy are now directly sown into the fields. Fifteen to twenty days after sowing they visit the fields to remove the weeds.

[132] In the second half of June the rainfall is generally regular and satisfactory. During this time people must complete their sowing of *kharif* crops such as maize and millet. Ground-nut, linseed and other oil seeds are also sown during this period. All these crops are grown on dry land as they do not require any extra irrigation.

241 For a month and a half after this the sowing of paddy is continued. At this time mostly coarse and medium varieties are sown. These include two mixed strains developed by the Department of Agriculture, Hyderabad State, and are locally known as paddy

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nos. 12 and 19. A month after the sowing, weeds are removed from the fields. Labour is usually hired for weeding the wet fields, but in the fields on dry land this is done with a forked plough designed and used specially for this purpose. Immediately after the weeding they proceed to manure the fields. Many people now use an artificial fertilizer known as 'paddy mixture', which they buy from the Agriculture Department of the Hyderabad State government. On wet land some people sow fine and sweet-smelling late varieties of rice also.

The harvesting of the *kharif* crops, as well as the other first crops, has to be completed by October or early November. This is indeed the busiest season for most cultivators. Between the harvesting of these crops and the sowing of *rabi* crops (such as gram, castor, etc.) and the second crop of paddy the interval must be as short as possible. They have to expedite the former, in order that sowing for the new season may not be delayed. As a general rule the sowing of *rabi* crops precedes the second sowing of paddy in the wet-land fields.

With the slow advent of winter the village witnesses considerable agricultural activity. The *rabi* crops, i.e. gram, castor, chillies, mustard, tobacco, *til* (sesame), onions, garlic, coriander, *methi* (fenugreek) and several varieties of oil seeds are now sown. All these are dry land crops. With the exception of chillies, onions, garlic, tobacco, coriander and *methi*, which are sown near wells and are irrigated roughly once a week by the Persian-wheel, or by large leather buckets raised by bullocks, the other crops do not require any irrigation. Most of these crops are ready for harvesting in three to five months. Mustard, gram and coriander are ready in three months. Castor, chillies and tobacco take four months. The oil seeds take longer and may be harvested in the fifth or in the beginning of the sixth month. With the completion of the sowing of these crops, agriculturists take in hand the sowing of the second crop of paddy. Fields are flooded with water from the irrigation tank, ploughed and kept ready for sowing well in advance of the actual sowing time. If the flooding of the fields is not possible on account of the low water-level in the tank, showers of winter rains are awaited. For the second crop an early variety of paddy is generally chosen. This crop ripens in three to four months and does not make heavy demands on the limited irrigation facilities available in the village.

24/ 461 As these crops become ready for harvesting, the annual cycle of agricultural activities comes very near to completion. When the harvesting is over, the farmers get a brief spell of rest and leisure. Now and then they go round the fields and remove the weeds and other wild plants. Their work during this part of the year does not necessitate hard manual labour. In a leisurely way they take in hand activities of a preparatory nature which are a prelude to their major agricultural work of the rainy season and winter. Manure from cow-dung pits is carried to the fields and is evenly spread there. Grass and other wild plants growing in the fields are removed. The land is kept ready for ploughing in a month's time. In a few days the signs of approaching rains compel them to cast off their lethargy. The preparations for ploughing inaugurate a new circle of annual agricultural activities, and the advent of late summer rains sends them back once again into the fields.

4. CATTLE AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS

[241] 231 Agriculture in the village still largely follows the age-old pattern. Even to-day old style bullock-drawn wooden ploughs are used by the agriculturists. In such a system the value of draught cattle is very great indeed, for efficient farming under these conditions depends to a very great extent upon the availability of good bullocks. Some agriculturists use male buffaloes for ploughing the fields, but bullocks continue to be their favourites. Cows and she-buffaloes are kept for milk. The shepherds keep large herds of goats and sheep. Some Muslims as well as Hindus, with the exception of the Brahmins and the Komtis, may also keep a few goats. Pigs are kept only by the Erkalas. Among domestic pets, dogs are popular with every section of the village population. The number of cats in the village is fairly large, but they are not kept as pets. Some people keep parrots in cages, and teach them to utter a few words. Three Muslims have domesticated partridges. A Hindu shopkeeper has a tiny blackbird in a cage hanging in front of his shop. Poultry is kept by all sections of the village population, except the Brahmins and the Komtis. In addition to the usual fowls, four families have ducks and turkeys also.

In connection with this study a survey of village animals was undertaken in May 1951. The result of the survey is summarized in the following tables:

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TABLE VIII

Cattle in Shamirpet

Type of animal	*Bovine*	*Bubaline*
1. Work animals, over three years of age	285	75
2. Animals in milk	7	17
3. Milch animals gone dry	18	71
4. Animals under one year of age; both male and female	152	69
5. Cows not fertile or heifers	186	8
	648	240

TABLE IX

Goats and Sheep

Animal	*Number*		
	Age up to 1 year	*Age between 1 and 3 years*	*Age over 3 years*
1. Goats (*a*) male	9	21	9
(*b*) female	5	149	1
2. Sheep (*a*) male	13	85	5
(*b*) female	11	297	2

TABLE X

Pigs and Poultry

Type	*Number*
1. Pigs	58
2. Fowls (*a*) male	52
(*b*) female	232
(*c*) chickens	105
3. Ducks	14

From Table VIII it will be clear that for the 3,000 acres of agricultural land there are only 560 plough animals in the village. As cattle work in pairs for ploughing there are only 180 units available in the village for this purpose. Each unit has to plough a little more than 16 acres, and this is really too much for the animals which are, according to the report of the Veterinary and Animal Husbandry unit working with our team, 'in a poor condition—weak, emaciated, ill-nourished, ill-housed and uncared for'. In recent years liver fluke and fascioliasis have impaired the health of the cattle and exposed them to attacks of various other

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231 diseases. Plough-cattle are on the whole better looked after. But the neglect of the cow, traditionally regarded as 'the mother', is indeed pathetic. Absence of good breeding bulls and lack of grazing grounds further account for the poor condition of the cattle. In the absence of a good pedigree bull, scrub bulls of no particular [311] description are allowed to move freely among the cows. According to village land records there are 1,482 acres of pasture-land in the area surrounding the settlement; but this land is almost always auctioned to contractors from outside the village. As these pastures are not available for grazing to the village cattle, they roam about the shrubs and rocks around the village and eat whatever fodder is available there.

241 The shortage of draught-cattle is a serious handicap to the pros-
231 perity of average peasants in the village. The well-to-do agriculturists always have a sufficient number of cattle to meet their own agricultural requirements. But the average and poorer peasants find great difficulty in tilling their fields in time with the limited number of their own or hired cattle. Dependence on the monsoons obliges them to make certain variations in their agricultural schedule to fit in with the uncertainty of the rains. Some of their operations must precede the first rainfall; others must follow it almost immediately. For some days during the busy season this causes great pressure on available resources in men and cattle. The cultivators who depend on hired cattle or who practise co-operative lending and borrowing of cattle cannot take the best advantage of the first rains, and this enforced wait results in untimely sowing and poor crops.

234 The absence of good milch cattle affects the nutrition of the
146 people. In May 1951 the total daily yield of milk in the village
235 was about 14 lb. only. Earlier it has been pointed out that most people in the village keep poultry, but in general its quality is poor, and the production of eggs is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 1,400 a year.

5. OTHER ECONOMIC PURSUITS

224 Before we pass on to the other occupations brief reference should be made to some common exploitative activities of the people.

Hunting is done regularly by a very limited number of people. Only the Erkalas have adopted it as a part of their profession.

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They mostly hunt small game, and are adept in the use of traps, snares and dogs. At the time of these investigations there were six guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shooting. Similarly, fishing is done by very few people, mostly by some young Muslim men. They do not use fishing nets and traps, and practically the only method employed by them for catching the fish is that of using the rod, hook and bait. The large tank in the vicinity of the village could afford a good supply of fish, but the absence of the fishing caste in the village population leaves this possibility almost unexplored. Fishermen from the neighbouring villages, however, periodically come to the tank.

The surroundings of Shamirpet offer very few opportunities for the collection of wild food. Around the village there are not many fruit-bearing trees. Mango and *jamun* (rose apple, *Eugenia jambolana*) fruits are mostly eaten while they are still unripe by the village boys. Parties of children and young people periodically go to pick wild berries when they are in season. These are mostly eaten on the spot. When wild figs are ripe children collect and eat them. Another item of food eagerly sought by everyone is the *chikur*—tender tamarind leaves. These leaves are curried, as well as pickled and preserved. Honey is collected by some men of lower castes and inferior social status, whenever they can spot a comb. Medicinal herbs, roots, tubers and barks are collected according to need.

Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic organization of the community, the traditional occupations and functions of the different castes have already been described. With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

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and some of the occupational castes, four different types of economic dealings have been mentioned: a system of family affiliation under which the family of the occupational caste attaches itself to a family or families of agriculturists for rendering to them services in their agricultural pursuits, similar affiliation for performing definite functions in connection with socio-religious rites and ceremonies, barter of professional services between occupational castes, and finally the rendering of services within the domain of caste monopolies for cash payment. Six occupational castes assist the agriculturists by rendering them services within the field of their functional specialization. It will be interesting to analyse the exact contribution made by each of these four types of economic dealings to their total earnings. The averages in the following table have been calculated from family budgets of the different castes in question. Where the number of families was small, such as among potters, carpenters and blacksmiths, 100% sample was taken; in others a 50% random sample was taken. However, it is necessary to point out that the budgets were made mostly on the basis of verbal estimates of the families. Only substantial payments received during a period of three years were checked. In making these calculations income from the cultivation of land belonging to the family as well as from agricultural labour lying outside the occupational specialization of the family have not been taken into account.

TABLE XI

Caste	*Percentage of income from:*				
	Traditional system of family affiliation	*Services at socio-religious ceremonies*	*Barter of occupational services*	*Services for cash payment*	*Miscellaneous*
Potter	18	3	1	78	–
Carpenter	60	1	2	36	1
Blacksmith	60	–	2	37	1
Barber	40	12	2	43	3
Washerman	30	10	2	55	3
Madiga	50	8	–	40	2

From the above table it will be clear that the carpenters, blacksmiths and barbers derive 63%, 62% and 54% respectively of their total income from one or more types of traditional arrange-

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ment. As all the Madiga families in the village are not affiliated to the agriculturists, in these calculations their average income from these sources comes to only 58%, although a few decades ago, when the traditional system worked better, it must have been considerably more. The potters earn much more by selling their earthenware in the markets than by their traditional arrangements with the families of agriculturists. Similarly, some of the washermen have now a clientele in the city. Twice or thrice every month they collect clothes from them, delivering at the same time the previous washing. The barbers have a limited number of clients in the neighbouring villages. All the castes in this group derive an appreciable portion of their total earnings from private work done outside the system of traditional arrangements.

The economy of the village is only partially self-sufficient. The traders, both Komtis and Muslims, buy their goods wholesale from the city and retail them in their shops in the village. People often buy their requirements from the city if they happen to go there. They frequently visit the weekly bazaars also. The weavers buy their spindles from Hyderabad wholesalers, and depend for the sale of their cloth on the cluster of several nearby villages. The customers of the goldsmith are also distributed in several villages of the neighbourhood. The Gaondla produces all the fermented palm-juice required in the settlement from the trees around the village, but he has also to keep a certain quantity of liquor distilled in the city for such customers as may order it occasionally. The occupation of stone-breaking takes the Vaddars to several villages in the neighbourhood where there are no members of their caste. Finally, Madiga families acquiring a reputation for their skill in curing and tanning hides, or in their leather-work, are also commissioned by outsiders occasionally to do some work for them.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Ritual Structure

1. THE CHARACTER OF RELIGION

771 A TEXT-BOOK knowledge of the religious lore of India, and an acquaintance with her ancient classics and their modern expositions will hardly give us a true picture of the actual religious beliefs, thoughts, feelings and practices of the people now living in the countryside. A classification of their religious beliefs and ritual is not an easy task. Folklore and myths, religious teachings of saint-poets, and contacts with persons having knowledge of scriptures and popular religious books have all influenced their religious ideology, and consequently their religion is a mixture of animism, animatism and polytheism, with the occasional appearance of monotheism also. To these must be added a living faith in spirits, ghosts, demons, witches and magic. The complex of all these diverse factors constitutes the picture of the supernatural world as it is understood by the people in the countryside. Tenets of classical Hinduism having an all-India spread are mingled with the regional religious beliefs and forms of worship current among the Hindus of the Deccan plateau. Several cults and worships of a purely local nature add further to the complexity of the beliefs and ritual system of the community. A wide variety of cults is observed by the family, some by the village as a whole; and still others by individual caste groups.

771 What is the attitude of the individual towards religion in
779 general? And what is his attitude towards the rituals and cults organized by the different units of the community? An attempt to answer these questions will greatly help our understanding of the character of religion as accepted and practised by the people.

Shamirpet is predominantly a Hindu village. The Muslim sec-

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The Muslim section of the population belongs to the Sunni sect and follows the religious pattern laid down in the Koran as interpreted by the founders of this sect. A devout Muslim is expected to offer prayers five times a day. In Shamirpet this would be the exception rather than the general rule. Some of the Muslim elders offer prayers twice a day, some only once and the rest are contented with their weekly prayers on Friday. The Mulla, the Muslim priest in the village, is the only person who offers the prescribed prayers every day. Fasting during the month of Ramzan is undertaken by a very large number of Muslims, but those maintaining it without a break until the end of the month would not total even a quarter of that number. The Muslims have a high degree of community-consciousness, but in Shamirpet it does not find expression in the form of intense religious devotion among the adherents of the Islamic faith.

With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti castes, the Hindus have no fixed time for daily worship. The number of people who visit a temple or shrine every day is negligible. But festivals and ceremonies are observed with unfailing regularity. Otherwise the gods are remembered only at times of disease or difficulty. As a rule, only some of the elderly people devote themselves to 'the daily duty of remembering the creator'; the younger people 'have much else to do'. They participate in ceremonies, partake of the festival feasts, and assemble to listen to the reading of the holy books and to the recitation of mythological legends by professionals when they happen to visit the village. The tasks of remembrance and repentance are postponed for old age. Among both men and women, only the elders seem to talk about 'the change of times' and 'the decline in the religious attitudes and ethical standards of the people'. In the everyday thought and speech of the younger generation there is very little of religion; and little conscious effort at seeking any deep religious experience or thrill is to be found among them. In the life of the community under observation, we noticed only two exceptions to this. One of these is the *Urs*, a semi-religious fair, commemorating Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine with some reputation for being a holy man. This fair is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also. The second is the annual worship of a village goddess organized by the village. On both these occasions several people are temporarily possessed by the spirit

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771 of Jalal Miyan or by one of the goddesses. Going into a trance
796 these people speak for the spirit which possesses them. The other
787 people who are present there make offerings to them, seek solutions of their pressing problems and difficulties, and request them to remedy their ills and worries. Considerable enthusiasm is in evidence among them at this time. With these exceptions there is very little religious thought, talk or worship in normal life.

779 However, both Hindus and Muslims have a degree of fatalism
777 and demonstrate a spirit of resignation towards predestined facts
775 ordained for them by the supernatural forces of the world beyond. People can often be heard to remark, 'If it is written in our fate, we must submit to it. Human effort cannot alter the will of God. What is predestined must have its course.' But this fatalism makes its appearance only when the people have tried their best to solve the problem and having spared no effort still find themselves no nearer a solution. Coupled with this concept of fate is the Hindu doctrine of *karma*. According to this concept, which takes for granted the phenomenon of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth, our actions in the past life determine the character of our present life, and our actions in this life will determine the character of our future life. The village people clearly reconcile and synthesize these two views into a practical precept: the course of our present life is largely predestined on the basis of our acts in the past life, but by acting 'rightly' in this life we can materially influence the course of our life after death.

779 The rural ethic lays great emphasis on 'acting rightly', that is
775 on the observance of traditional norms; because it is the only way
772 to achieve happiness and prosperity in this life, and more than that to ensure the destiny of the soul after death. The problem of the future plays a very significant part in the ordering of life. Both Hindus and Muslims believe that death is not the end; there is something beyond it. Both attach great importance to the destiny of the soul after death. While the Muslim expects to remain in his grave until the Resurrection, when on the Day of Judgement he will be assigned to heaven (*jannat*) or hell (*jahannum*) according to his deeds, for the Hindu life is practically an unending process. After death one either goes to heaven (*swarga*) or to hell (*narka*), or one takes re-birth. Depending on one's actions in the past life, one may be born into one of the castes higher or lower than one's caste in the previous life, or even into some other lower species

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of the animal kingdom. One should therefore endeavour to go to heaven or to secure re-birth in a respectable caste and good family. In the course of our investigations we found very few people who had even a hazy notion regarding the higher Hindu concept of *moksha* or salvation which secures the emancipation of the soul from all worldly obligations and ensures that it shall cease to take birth again and again in different shapes and forms. But the desire to go to heaven or to ensure a better birth is universal. From one's childhood, one keeps on hearing, often colourful and dramatic, accounts of heaven and hell. 'We shall have to account for our actions before God. We can deceive our family, our village, our caste, and even the established authority, but we can never deceive God. He has the record of every little thing that we do, and after death His agents will decide whether we go to heaven or to hell', is the refrain in the talk of most of the people when they are asked to explain their belief regarding the future of man after death. Descriptions of heaven and hell are vivid and imaginative. 'In heaven you have only to desire a thing and the next moment you find it there', said one of our informants. 'There is peace and plenty in heaven. All people live in luxurious palaces where an army of countless servants looks after all their comforts. There you have the choicest foods, and the best of everything,' explained a Reddi cultivator. A Madiga's picture of heaven was somewhat different. He said, 'When you go to heaven you have a comfortable house fitted with chairs, soft beds and velvet cushions. And you get all the rice that you want to eat, and all the sweets. And you can do what you like for there are no administrative or village officials to curse you and abuse you.' The descriptions of hell are fairly standardized. 'Hell is an awful place. It has several compartments, each one worse than the other. In one compartment roaring fires are kept eternally burning, in another there are deadly snakes, scorpions and crocodiles; then there is a large tank—several miles long—filled with pus and foul-smelling blood, swarming with maggots and hideous insects; and there are hundreds and hundreds of such compartments each with a different torture and punishment awaiting the sinners. According to the nature of their sins, wrong-doers are thrown into one of these sections to suffer the penalties for what they have done. They cry and scream and weep, but the warders in God's prison are merciless. The more the sinners cry, the more they are tortured.' The

above account represents a fairly typical description of hell which one often hears in the village community. Through conversation, folktale, myth and legend these ideas are implanted fairly early into the minds of the village children, who start life with a fear of sin. But by the time they reach the age of undertaking wild adventures these fears are diluted, and the gruesome accounts of hell no longer hold their spell of horror over them. As old age approaches, bitter memories of failures and frustrations accumulate and the flesh does not have the energy to undertake fresh adventures; people slowly begin turning their attention to thoughts of life after death. As an illiterate informant pithily put it: 'While youth lasts, passions rule the actions of man. While property lasts, the glitter of gold makes a man blind. But in old age, man laments for what he did in his youth. With his dim vision, he can no longer see the maddening glitter of gold. Then his thoughts turn to religion.'

The concept of *dharma* is also important, as it covers all the phases of the human life-cycle and fixes several details of intra- and inter-group life. *Dharma* has often been translated by Western writers as 'religion', but this translation hardly conveys the original meaning. It will perhaps be more appropriate to describe it as '*the* way of life' or 'that which is right'. Acceptance of caste traditions and the general rules of piety, observance of fasts and feasts, rigidly following the norms governing the *rites de passage* and undertaking pilgrimages to places of worship or for bathing in holy rivers, can generally be said to constitute the *dharma* of the people. Special worship and rituals may be performed to attain certain special ends. It is through *dharma* that one can look forward to shaping one's destiny. The concepts of *pap* (sin) and *punya* (merit), and of ritual pollution are fundamental to the wider concept of *dharma*. Certain things must not be done by any member of the community irrespective of his caste because they are sinful. Murder, extreme cruelty and violence, and incest can be placed under this category. There are certain other things which must not be done by certain castes, or by certain individuals in particular conditions. Sexual relations or inter-dining with a person of lower caste will lead to impurity. A woman in menses or a family immediately after childbirth and death remains in a state of ritual impurity for a specified period. After certain bodily excretions such as those of fæces, urine or semen, a prescribed

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bath or wash is necessary to remove the impurity caused by the act. Non-observance of these rules will have a polluting effect; and according to the nature and degree of pollution purificatory rites will have to be undertaken.

Belief in ghosts and spirits is universal. They are feared and propitiated. Strange mystical power pervading certain objects is recognized, and fetishes and amulets are eagerly sought. Witchcraft is often suspected, and three or four people in the community are believed to possess magical powers.

Clearly, Hinduism as it is practised in the village is not the Hinduism of the classical philosophical systems of India, for it possesses neither the metaphysical heights nor the abstract content of the latter. It is a religion of fasts, feasts and festivals, in which prescribed rituals cover all the major crises of life. Worship and propitiation of gods and spirits follow the annual round of festivals and the ritual of the human life-cycle. Disease and difficulty may also necessitate invoking assistance from these sources.

In early childhood religious instruction through legendary tales and anecdotes exercises its influence on the developing mind of the child in whose thoughts and world of fancy these ideas linger on. Youth brings in its wake a more worldly and materialistic outlook towards life and its pleasures. Thoughts are turned to religion when the evening of life approaches, partly to postpone the final moment of departure as long as it could be, and partly to ensure the future lying beyond the point of death. Analysis of life-histories reveals that spiritualism cannot be said to be the keynote in the life of the community; far from it the religion appears to be a practical one. It strengthens and fortifies the individual and the group in situations where technical competence and practical intelligence are of no avail, and at the same time acts as a bond of cohesion for maintaining the structural unity of the society.

2. BELIEF: GODS AND DEITIES

The Muslims believe in one God, and follow the way of life laid down for them by their Prophet. They all belong to the Sunni division, and as such differ from the Shias and other splinter divisions of Islam in respect of the interpretation of their holy book as well as in several details of belief, ritual and ceremonial. Almost all the Muslims of Shamirpet have been converted to Islam from

Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations.

RITUAL STRUCTURE

795 Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations. They
776 do not believe in any of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, nor in any of the later incarnations; but they share with the Hindus a living faith in the existence of malevolent ghosts, spirits and witches.
[621] They participate with the rest of the community in village ceremonies and sacrifices. To ward off cholera, plague and smallpox, they too think that it is necessary to propitiate the local deities and goddesses.

779 Village Hinduism is not easy to describe. It is an extremely
184 elastic religion, and within its all-India framework admits of a
614] considerable degree of regional and local variation. In his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, M. N. Srinivas has introduced the useful concept of 'spread', and split up village Hinduism into 'All India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and 'Local Hinduism'.

776 The people of Shamirpet worship all the major gods of the
171 Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his
771 numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. The
171 concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their consequences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth also have such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

778 All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

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mention in Hindu scriptures. Being the most important river of the Deccan region its significance is very great to the Hindus of this area.

Along with the great gods of all-India Hinduism the people also continue to observe cults associated with regional and local deities and goddesses. The nature and characteristics of these goddesses differ widely in the different culture-areas of the land. Some of the goddesses listed below are commonly found in the Telugu-speaking areas, particularly in the Telangana districts of Hyderabad. Their main characteristics according to the residents of Shamirpet have also been mentioned.

They are:

1. Pochamma—goddess of smallpox.
2. Mutyalamma—goddess of chickenpox.
3. Balamma—goddess of fertility whose wrath causes sterility in women.
4. Mahakalamma—goddess of cholera.
5. Durgamma—goddess presiding over the destinies and welfare of the village.
6. Maisamma—goddess protecting the village boundaries.

Besides the above, certain other goddesses are also worshipped. Important among them are Ellamma (for the cure of boils), Pinamma (when naming a child after one of his deceased grandparents), and minor goddesses of the fields who protect the crops. To these must be added several other named and unnamed deities and goddesses whose worship is confined only to the village of Shamirpet.

All the characteristics of Hinduism having an all-India spread, described above, are in evidence in the religion of the people of Shamirpet. There is a small Shiva temple near the house of the Brahmin; another with several images on a hillock by the side of the Deshmukh's house. There are two platforms in the village on which the monkey god Hanuman[1] is lodged. In many clean caste houses there are images or pictures of some of these gods. Those

[1] Hanuman, the 'Son of the Winds', was one of the monkey helpers of Rama in his search for Sita when she was abducted by the demon Ravana (according to the epic poem *Ramayana*). Modern tradition seeks to interpret the Monkeys and Bears of this story as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Deccan at the turn of the Christian era.

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who have images of deities bathe them every day and make offerings of food. They are often described as 'family' or household gods. The pictures are worshipped on the occasions of festivals. In the neighbouring village of Aliyabad there is a temple of Rama. Besides these, there are several shrines of the village goddesses. Eight of these are important. Two shrines are dedicated to Maisamma—the *Gadi Maisamma* protects the house and dependants of the village headman, and the *Katta Maisamma* lodged near the tank protects the village boundaries and presides over the agricultural prosperity of the community. Pochamma too has two shrines—one near the houses of the Vaddars and another between the living quarters of the Madigas and the Erkalas. The shrine of Dugamma near the village post office is also important. There is one shrine each for Mahakalamma, Mutyalamma, and Pinamma.

People eagerly take the opportunities of attending religious fairs, and of going to holy places for a dip in one of the sacred rivers. The major centre of pilgrimage in the Telugu-speaking parts of Hyderabad is Bhadrachalam where there is an old and impressive temple by the side of Godavari. Those who can afford to and have the inclination go to the other places of pilgrimage having country-wide recognition, such as Allahabad (Prayag) and Benares (Kashi).

3. THE RELIGIOUS YEAR

Three major types of religious ceremonies and festivals are observed in the community; family ceremonies, village ceremonies, and caste ceremonies. The Muslim section of the village population has its own family festivals and some communal ceremonies. As pointed out earlier, they participate with their Hindu neighbours in the observance of common village ritual.

HINDU FESTIVALS

Feasts and fasts form an important part of Hindu religious life. Festivals are spread evenly over the whole year. Apart from village ceremonies, agricultural ritual, and special worships organized by some castes individually, there are several festivals which may be observed by most Hindu families, irrespective of their caste

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and social status. Important among these are: *Ugadi* (Telugu New Year's Day), *Rama Navami* (birthday of Rama; also regarded as his wedding anniversary), *Teli Ekadashi* (fast in honour of Vishnu), *Nagula Panchami* (worship of the cobra), *Rakhi Purnima* (day for the renewal of the sacred thread), *Krishna Ashtmi* (birthday of Krishna), *Chauti* (birthday of Ganesha, son of Shiva), *Petramasa* (day for offering water to the spirits of the ancestors), *Dasara* (celebration commemorating Arjuna's victory, with the help of Krishna, over the Kauravas), *Deepavali* (celebration commemorating the defeat of the demon king Narkasura at the hands of Krishna), *Til Sankranti* (day of the winter solstice marking the change of season, when days start gradually getting longer), *Shivaratri* (fast in honour of Shiva), and *Holi* (bonfires to commemorate the burning of Kamadeva, the god of love). In addition to these there are some festivals which are observed only by the higher castes, more particularly by the Brahmins, Komtis and Reddis. Important among these are: *Neela Gauri* (worship of Gauri, wife of Shiva, observed by Brahmins only), *Narsimha Jayanti* (day of Vishnu's incarnation as Narsimha—part human and part lion god, observed by Brahmins only), *Shravana Somwar* (Mondays in the Hindu month of Shravana, when Brahmins and Komtis observe a fast), *Ananta Chaturdashi* (the day when Vishnu incarnated himself as Ananta; observed only by Brahmins), *Kartika Purnima* (day for the worship of Gauri, observed only by Brahmin, Komti and Reddi women), *Vasant Panchami* (worship of household gods by Brahmins only), and *Rath Saptami* (worship of the Sun by Brahmins only). Two important agricultural rites observed by the families of cultivators are the First Sowing and the New Eating (Kottalu); each observed twice every year to inaugurate sowing operations and commencing the eating of grain from the freshly harvested crops. Ceremonies organized by the village as a whole are: the *Pochamma* festival (in honour of the goddess of smallpox), the *Batkamma* festival (in honour of Gauri; observed by village women) and the *Maisamma* festival (in honour of the goddess protecting the village boundaries). The different caste groups residing within the village have several caste festivals and ceremonies. For example, on the Dasara day the occupational castes worship their implements; the Gollas—caste of shepherds—have the festivals of Saudamma, Mallamma and Maude-Pochamma, all connected with their traditional occupation, and the untouchable Madigas have cults and related

796 folk-plays concerning Jamavanta, their legendary hero and founder of the caste.

I do not propose to give minute ethnographic details regarding the festivals enumerated above. The brief accounts that follow are intended to illustrate the nature of the festivals and their place in the annual round of activities in the community. The mythological background of these festivals has been recorded from oral [805] tradition and not from Hindu scriptures. Hindu months, according to the Western calendar, would be:

Hindu Month	*Corresponding English Months*	*Hindu Month*	*Corresponding English Months*
Chaitra	March–April	Ashvina	September–October
Vaishakha	April–May	Kartika	October–November
Jyeshta	May–June	Margashirsha	November–December
Ashadha	June–July	Pushya (Pousha)	December–January
Shravana	July–August	Magha	January–February
Bhadrapada	August–September	Phalguna	February–March

The festivals are described in their chronological order:

Ugadi. Ugadi, the Telugu New Year's Day, is an important festival. It is observed on the first day of the Hindu month of Chaitra. Although it is observed by all the Hindu castes generally, its significance for the Brahmins, Komtis, Reddis and the Panch Bramha group is greater.

The day previous to Ugadi the Panch Bramha groups worship their implements and renew their sacred threads, which they alone wear, apart from Brahmins and Komtis.

On the Ugadi day itself people get up early in the morning. Women sweep the courtyard, sprinkle cow-dung mixed in water, and then draw decorative designs with flour or coloured powders. Men go out to collect mango leaves and *neem* (margosa tree, *Azadirachta indica*) twigs; make festoons (*toran*) by stitching these together in a long string, and decorate the front portions of their houses with them. The potters supply each household with two earthen pots: one large, another small enough to act as a lid for the larger. Each family expects these pots from the potter attached to it. All members of the family, except the sick, take their bath on this day, and gather together inside the house. In the room where the gods of the household are lodged the earthen pots are placed [272] in a central position. The large pot is filled with a sweet drink made by mixing jaggery, tamarind pulp, slices of raw mangoes, grated coconut and other spices. It is topped by the smaller pot.

An earthen lamp is lighted and kept near the pot. Vermilion and turmeric paste are applied to the pots. The assembled members of the household then bow down before the images of the gods and pray to them for the prosperity and well-being of the family. If the family does not possess any images, the ceremony is generally performed in the main room of the house and people bow down in front of the pots 'with the thought of the gods in their minds'. A special kind of bread, with a sweet stuffing inside, is made in all well-to-do homes. Among the poorer occupational castes and the untouchables this is not done. Instead they visit the houses to which they are attached and are given a portion of the sweet bread and the drink. 796

The Brahmin family observes the festival in a more elaborate way. The images are bathed and dressed. Along with these the holy books in the possession of the family are also worshipped. 796 787

In the evening people gather together in front of the Deshmukh's house. All the responsible village elders are expected to be present on the occasion. Also the families of other major agriculturists are represented by one or more persons. The Brahmin consults his almanac and makes predictions for the year. Should they expect bumper crops this year? Or do the stars indicate scarcity and famine? Will the year be good for the health of the residents and their cattle? Or is there any apprehension of epidemics? What will be the general price-level in the market? Is there any fear of accidents—of snake-bite, drowning, lightning, etc? These and allied questions are covered by the priest in his forecast. Other questions of popular interest are referred to the Brahmin who tries to answer them on the basis of his astrological calculations. People soon break up into small groups, talk in a reminiscent mood about the years that have gone by, and comment upon the shape of things to come as indicated in the Brahmin's predictions.

Rama Navami. This festival is celebrated on the ninth day of the Hindu month of Chaitra. It is observed only by the Brahmins and Komtis, and by a few other enthusiasts belonging to some of the upper castes. Adults keep a 'fast' on this day; but this fast does not necessitate total abstention from all food. Fruit, milk-preparations, sago and cooked tubers can be eaten after the midday worship of Rama. In a fast like this it is necessary to abstain from cereals, lentils, everyday vegetables and common salt. In general 796

796 only the adults are expected to observe this fast; but the novelty of the food which is given to all those who are fasting induces many children also to undertake it. At midday an image or picture of Rama, standing in a clean, central part of the main room is worshipped for a short while; offerings of the special food cooked for the day are placed before it, and all members of the family bow down to it asking for forgiveness and blessings. Most people break their fast in the evening to partake of a special meal comprising rich dishes and delicacies.

Neela Gauri. The observance of this festival is confined only to Brahmin women. On the third day of the Hindu month of Vaishakha, a large earthenware pan is filled with several kinds of soil—such as black earth, red earth, earth from an ant-hill and manure, and nine different grains are sown into it. The sprouts are supposed to represent Gauri, wife of Shiva, and are watered and worshipped daily for a month. Offerings of jaggery and gram soaked in water are made every day.

Narsimha Jayanti. This festival is observed in honour of Narsimha —an incarnation of Vishnu in a half-lion, half-human form—on the fourteenth day of the Hindu month of Vaishakha. In Shamirpet it is observed only by the Brahmin family. Some members of the family observe a fast on this day. At midday an image or picture of Narsimha is worshipped and offerings of jaggery and gram sprouts are made to it.

Toli Ekadashi. Brahmins, Komtis and some Reddis observe this fast on the eleventh day of Ashadha in honour of Vishnu. In the Brahmin family all adults are expected to observe this fast; among others only a few responsible people keep it. Although foods permissible in fasts can be eaten on this day, some people make it a total fast and do not take any food or water until the evening. Images of Vishnu and his incarnations are worshipped at home and at the village shrines; and offerings of coconut, dates and a preparation of gram and jaggery are made.

Nagula Panchami. On the fifth day in the month of Shravana, this festival is observed by the Brahmins, Komtis, Reddis and some other higher castes. On this day *all* Hindus are expected to observe the taboo which forbids the use of an iron girdle (*tawa*) for making bread. Even those who do not observe the festival itself refrain from using one on this day. In the families observing this festival, generally one adult member of the household fasts until the com-

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pletion of the worship of the cobra which takes place some time in the afternoon. Coconut, puffed rice, milk and a preparation of gram and jaggery are all arranged on a plate, and taken to an ant-hill by the person observing the fast. The ant-hill is supposed to be the abode of the cobra. There he lights a lamp and makes an offering of small quantities of the food brought on the plate. While returning home he keeps on dropping a grain or two of puffed rice all the way. A special sweet dish of rice and milk is prepared for the principal meal on this day. 796

Rakhi Purnima. Observed on the full-moon day in the month of Shravana, this festival has special significance for the Brahmin, the Sale and the Gaondla. All castes wearing the sacred thread change their old threads and wear new ones on this day. Some of the occupational castes, especially the Sale and the Gaondla, tie multicoloured threads to their professional implements. Normal economic and occupational activities are stopped on this day, and a feast comprising some sweet and rich dishes is a special feature of it.

Shravana Somwar. A half-day fast is observed on Mondays in the month of Shravana by the Brahmins and the Komtis. Those who are especially keen may observe a similar half-day fast on Saturdays also. The evening meal on such days almost always includes a sweet dish.

Krishna Ashtami. Observed on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Shravana, this festival resembles in all essentials that of Rama Navami described earlier. The principal worship takes place at midnight, the hour when Krishna—an incarnation of Vishnu—is believed to have been born. A sweet preparation consisting of jaggery, spices, and herbs—similar to one given to women after childbirth—is distributed at this time among those who attend the midnight worship. On the following day a fast is observed, and is followed by a feast in the evening.

Chauti. Chauti, observed on the fourth day in the month of Bhardrapada, is an important festival. This ceremony is observed in honour of Ganesha, the son of Shiva. On this and the three days that follow there is considerable festivity in the village.

With the exception of the untouchable Malas and Madigas and the semi-tribal Erkalas, in all other Hindu castes this day is celebrated with considerable enthusiasm. Those who can afford to, buy images of Ganesha from the shops in the city; those who

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796 cannot, make clay images at home. These idols are placed prominently in the front or central part of the house. The Brahmins and Komtis first clean the place where the idol is to be lodged, besmear it with cow-dung, then spread some soft sand over it. On this sand they place some leaf-plates, spread rice on them and cover the rice with a new cloth. The idol is placed on this cloth. Among the other castes the idol is placed either on a bunch of mango leaves kept on the floor, or else on a wooden seat. A sacred thread is put on the image, and finally it is marked with vermilion and turmeric. With this it comes to possess life as the deity starts residing within it.

A little lamp is lighted and kept burning in front of the image. At the time of the principal worship which differs in various families, flowers of several varieties are placed on and around the image, vermilion and rice (the latter made yellow with turmeric) are sprinkled on it, and *laddus* (little sweet balls of gram fried in syrup) specially made for the day are offered to the deity. When this is done all members of the household bow down before the idol. Many people express their wishes, which they then expect will be fulfilled with the blessings of Ganesha.

The image is allowed to remain in its place for three to twenty-one days, and is worshipped every day. When it is removed from its place, it is taken to the village tank and immersed in water.

Two special features of this festival deserve to be noted. First, some of the occupational castes worship their tools and implements. For example, the washerman applies vermilion and turmeric pastes to the large earthen pot in which he boils the clothes, and also to the stone on which he beats them clean. The barber does the same to his razors and scissors. The weaver worships the [821] paraphernalia of his caste occupation. Secondly, it is believed that seeing the moon on the Chauti day is inauspicious, for anyone who does so may be falsely implicated in theft. But if anyone does see the moon, it is not difficult for him to undo its harmful effects. If he is abused by someone, the ill effect of his having seen the moon can be cleared. Thus in order to be abused by others people seeing the moon on this day indulge in practical jokes and cause offence to them in various ways. In return they are favoured with the abuse which expiates their sin.

Ananta Chaturdashi. Ananta Chaturdashi is observed on the fourteenth day of Bhadrapada by Brahmins only. On this day Vishnu

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is worshipped. Incense is burnt by putting *ghee* (clarified butter) on a fire in front of Vishnu's image. Two red threads are tied by the Brahmin, first to the arms of the image, and a little later, after being removed therefrom, to his own arm. 776

Petramasa. The last day of the dark fortnight in the month of Bhadrapada is dedicated to ceremonies in honour of the ancestors and the deceased members of the household. In fact the whole fortnight preceding this day is occupied by this activity, for water must be offered to the dead on the *tithi* (the lunar day corresponding to that of their death). Among the higher castes, if the family can afford it, the Brahmin is invited to officiate at these rites. Those who cannot afford it, and people of the lower castes, manage it themselves. On the Petramasa day itself cooked rice, curds and several other preparations are offered to the deceased members of the lineage. Gifts of money, grain and vegetables are made to the Brahmin and the Jangam. 761 793

If there was a death in the family in the preceding year, during the Petramasa fortnight on the lunar day of death, an elaborate rite is performed to call home the spirit of the deceased and lodge it with other ancestor-spirits in one corner of the house. For these rites different branches of a family gather together under one main roof.

The Malas and Madigas as well as Vaddars and Erkalas do not have an elaborate observance. However, the first two make small gifts of money to the Jangam in honour of their dead, if the Jangam visits their houses.

Dasara. This festival is observed in the village both individually and collectively. All Hindus bath early in the morning. The Brahmin and the Komti worship a bunch of *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*) leaves along with the images of gods; others worship only the deities. Observed on the tenth day of Ashvina, Dasara is regarded as a non-vegetarian festival. With the exception of Brahmins and Komtis, who are vegetarians, the other non-vegetarian castes make it a point to cook some meat dish on this day. At midday people worship the gods in their houses. 796

In the afternoon the Brahmin visits the Deshmukh's house, and worships a bunch of *shami* leaves and the headman's ancestral weapons. In the meantime a flag is hoisted on the central flag post near the police station. Madigas beat their drums and people start collecting. When all the responsible village elders assemble

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796 there the procession starts in the direction of the Hanuman shrine outside the village. The Madiga drum-beaters are at the head of the procession. At some distance from them are the Deshmukh, the Brahmin and the other elders. These are followed by the other villagers. At the shrine the Brahmin worships the *shami* leaves 796 and the goddess Durga. When the worship is over people snatch 554 the leaves. Then follows the important social act of exchange of 578 these leaves and a friendly embrace. Between castes of equal social status and between persons of equal kinship and age status within the caste itself, the exchange is on a basis of equality. For example, A will take a few leaves from B; and B will take a few from A. The two will then lock each other in an embrace for a few seconds. On the other hand, people of high caste will give some leaves to those of the low and untouchable castes; and the latter will respond by bowing down to touch the feet of the former. In the case of the untouchables this is a symbolic gesture, for they touch the earth near the feet of their superiors and not the feet. Within the caste itself the nature of this exchange is determined by the age and kinship status of the persons concerned. As a general rule elders and persons with a recognized superior status give some leaves to the juniors; and the latter, in their turn, bend down to touch the feet of their elders. On this day people are expected to forget their quarrels of the last year, and to meet each other in a spirit of friendship. In fact, many petty differences are forgotten, and several people who were hitherto not on speaking terms resume normal friendly relations again.

796 *Deepavali.* Deepavali or the 'festival of lights' is one of the most important Hindu festivals and is observed throughout Hindu India. The celebrations extend to two days—the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the dark fortnight of the month of Ashvina. On the first of these two days, known as *Narka Chaturdashi* or *Bhogi*, Hindus get up very early and have their bath. Women in the higher castes, especially among Brahmins, Komtis and Reddis, take lighted lamps on a plate and, waving them before their husbands, perform the *arati* rite otherwise reserved for gods. This has to be completed before the break of dawn. Later in the day images of gods and deities in the house are worshipped and specially cooked dishes are offered to them. In the evening a large number of little earthen lamps are lighted and arranged in front of the house; in other parts of the house, too, one or more of these lamps

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are kept. Some people worship Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, on this night; others do so on the second day. The Komtis, who are a trading caste, regard this worship as the most important in their religious year. 796

The second day is the day of Deepavali itself. Hindus wash their cows and bullocks, and put multi-coloured decorative marks on their bodies. Tinkling bells and other decorations are tied round their necks. A gruel is made and served to the cattle on this day. In the evening rows of lighted earthenware lamps are arranged in front of each house; some also being put in other parts of the house. In some families Lakshmi is worshipped on this day.

On both these days delicacies and rich sweet dishes are prepared. There is no fasting, for Deepavali is regarded as a festival for feasting.

Kartika Purnima. This is observed on the full-moon day in the month of Kartika, mostly by the Brahmin, the Komti and some women of other higher castes. Women keeping the fast take their bath early in the morning, apply turmeric paste to their bodies and wear yellow clothes. Later in the day they worship the sacred Tulsi plant (basil) and offer it twenty-one threads, twenty-one flowers (each of a different kind, if possible) and twenty-one garlands. In well-to-do homes the Brahmin priest is invited to officiate at this worship.

Til Sankranti. Sankranti (winter solstice) inaugurates the gradual lengthening of days, and is celebrated by all sections of the Hindu population of the village. While Brahmins, Komtis and Reddis observe it as a *lomulu* (*vrata*) or an occasion for special worship, in the other castes it is just an occasion for feasting.

In the higher-caste families observing special worship on this day, the women take their bath early in the morning. They apply turmeric paste to their bodies. For the worship itself two things have to be done. On a spot swept, cleaned and smeared with cow-dung, five new earthen pots are put. These contain sweet balls of *til* (sesame), pieces of sugar cane, country plums and other available fruit. Nearby, four lumps of cow-dung are placed, forming the corners of a rectangle which are then joined by new thread. Inside the rectangle a fire is lighted, and on it some milk is set to boil. This milk is allowed to overflow, and the direction of overflow is carefully noted. If it flows in a northern or eastern direction it is regarded as auspicious. Later some quantity of rice is

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796 cooked in this milk, and a sweetening—sugar or jaggery—is added to it. Small portions of this preparation are offered to the five earthen pots, and to the household gods and ancestor spirits.

In families which do not have this elaborate worship, women cook rice in milk, which is later offered to the household gods. Sweet balls of *til* are made and distributed by all families of means. Meat-eating sections of the population consider it essential to have a rich meat dish on this day. In fact some lower castes, such as the Vaddar, the Erkala, the Mala and the Madiga, do no more than have a meat preparation for their principal meal.

Vasant Panchami and *Rath Saptami*. Observed on the fifth and seventh days respectively in the month of Magha, these festivals have a special significance only to the Brahmins. On *Vasant Panchami* day the images are carefully cleaned and dressed in new clothes. The main worship on this day is that of Shiva. On the *Rath Saptami* day, on the other hand, the Sun is the principal god to be worshipped. In addition to the Sun, Vishnu and the Tulsi plant are also venerated.

Shivaratri. With the exception of a few Reddis, all Hindus in Shamirpet observe this festival in honour of Shiva on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Magha. A day prior to the festival the Hindus clean their houses. On the Shivaratri day itself they get up early in the morning. Men take their bath, women sweep the courtyard, sprinkle on it water mixed with cow-dung and make decorative designs with flour or coloured powders. After finishing this they too have their bath. Clothes and household linen are also washed. Those who can afford to, put on new clothes on this day.

This is an important fast. Those who observe it are not supposed to eat or drink anything until the worship, which takes place late in the afternoon at about 4 p.m., is over. For this worship most of the clean castes go to the village shrine where there is a Shiva *lingam*. Each family is represented by one or two responsible adults; women go only when there is no male member in the house. They take with them, on a plate, a coconut, a cucumber, boiled sweet potatoes and a preparation of gram and jaggery. These are offered to Shiva at the shrine. After bending down in front of the symbol of Shiva the people return home with their plates and the food offerings. Now they can eat, but their food must not contain everyday preparations of cereals and curries. Mostly they eat boiled sweet potatoes and cucumber. Some of the lower castes,

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especially the barber, the washermen, the Vaddar and the Erkala, 796
do not go to this Shiva shrine; but instead they go to a deserted shrine outside the village. Although this shrine has no *lingam*, they make their offerings here. On the other hand, untouchable Malas and Madigas do not go to any shrine, and make their offerings of food in the name of Shiva in some corner of their houses.

Most people consider it desirable to keep awake for the whole night following. None should go to bed until midnight at least. For this reason a programme of dramatic performances, or of singing devotional songs, is invariably arranged by a group of village youths.

Holi. Holi is the last major Hindu festival of the year. It is observed on the full-moon day in the month of Phalguna. Five days before the festival there is a sudden burst of activity among the village youths and boys, who start collecting wood and piling it up in a central place in the village. Stealing of fuel—especially wood and cow-dung cakes—is socially approved; and the young people show considerable ingenuity in this respect. By the Holi day they arrange a sufficiently large pile of this fuel, to be able to light a really big bonfire. As the prestige of the village youth depends on the size of the bonfire, they work hard to make it impressive.

In the evening at about 7 p.m. the Madigas beat their drums and go round the village collecting more fuel from the residents. It is all systematically arranged and the pile is made ready for burning at the auspicious moment, previously fixed. The carpenter makes a crude wooden image of Kamadeva (the god of love) and places it on the pyre. Between 9 p.m. and 10 p.m. the Madigas start beating their drums near the pyre. Women begin to come to the spot, bringing in their hands plates with burning earthen lamps and several preparations of food. On this day the Brahmin officiates for his own caste as well as for the Komtis; and the Kummari (potter) officiates for the rest of the community. In fact, the Kummari dominates the scene. When the Kummari women have brought their food offerings and placed them near the pyre, the headman of the potter's caste worships Kamadeva and offers small portions from these plates. The Brahmin does the same on behalf of the two twice-born castes of the Brahmins and the Komtis. The Kummari goes round taking little bits from the plates of all

796 the others and offers them to the god of love. Imitating the ritual of cremation, then, the Kummari goes round the pyre thrice sprinkling water, sets fire to it and breaks the earthen pot. Men make a funny imitation of the sounds made at the time of the funeral and the crowd bursts into loud laughter. People wait for an hour or so and go home with some ashes from the pyre. They must be careful, for the young men of the village are still active, and such objects as wooden bedsteads, fences, doors and logs of wood are eagerly sought by them and thrown into the burning pyre.

Next morning Madiga drum-beaters and village watchmen go from house to house and beg for money. People start playing *holi*. Until mid-day they throw dust, mud, cow-dung and earth at one [602] another. Those standing in joking relationships with each other often engage in vigorous jest and banter. The singing of vulgar songs by men is permitted. At midday people bath and take their meal. Later in the afternoon they play *holi* again; but this time they only throw coloured powders and coloured water at each other.

New Eating. Twice every year, after each harvest, the 'New Eating' ceremony is arranged to initiate the eating of grain from the recently harvested crop. No particular day is fixed for it, and each family arranges it according to its own convenience. New paddy from the recently harvested crop is mixed with some old paddy, and is pounded and husked. If a family has no new paddy —and many non-agriculturists and agricultural labourers often do not—they borrow it from a neighbour. After being husked the rice is cooked and sweetened with jaggery. This is then offered to the gods and ancestor-spirits in the house, and later eaten by the members of the family. Prior to this ceremony, the eating of any grain from the new crop is forbidden by custom.

Muslim Festivals. Before coming to the common village festivals, it is necessary to describe briefly the festivals of the Muslims. With regard to religion and ritual the Muslim element in the village population has a separate identity of its own.

The Muslims observe seven important festivals. They are *Moharram, Meelad Sharif, Giarwin Sharif, Shabe Miraj, Shabe Barat, Ramzan* and *Id-uz-zuha*. These festivals follow the Muslim calendar, and unlike the Hindu festivals, which always occur in the same season, their time varies from year to year.

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Moharram. On the tenth day in the month of Moharram, Imam Hussain, the grandson of Mohammed, was put to death in the plains of Karbala after being denied food and water for three days. Moharram is observed in honour of this martyr and his associates. On the Moharram day symbols of Imam Hussain and his family, known as *alums*, are taken out by the Muslims in a procession to a nearby river or tank. All along the route they beat their breasts and cry aloud 'O, son of Ali' or 'Hussain, Hussain' and wail over the martyr's death. *Tajia* or large paper models of his tomb are also taken out and immersed in water. In all Muslim households a sweet drink either of water and sugar, or of milk and sugar, is prepared and distributed among friends and relations. The giving of alms and charity on this day is believed to contribute greatly towards ensuring one's future.

Meelad Sharif. Unlike Moharram, which calls for mourning, Meelad Sharif is an occasion for rejoicing, as the Prophet Mohammed was born on the twelfth day of the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal. On the eleventh and twelfth days of this month people observe a fast. Muslim priests visit their homes, and passages from the Koran are read. Flowers and sweets are distributed in the name of Mohammed. The celebrations are continued for a month; although the festivities are at their peak on the two days mentioned above.

Giarwin Sharif. This is an important festival for the Sunni sect of the Muslims. It is observed in honour of Abdul Kader Geelani who belonged to Mohammed's generation, and was regarded as a very pious and holy figure. On the eleventh day of the month of Rabi-us-sani, the Muslims of Shamirpet fly the flag of Abdul Kader on their houses, and offer sweets, flowers and prayers in the name of their hero.

Shabe Miraj. On the twenty-sixth day of Rajjub, accompanied by an angel, Mohammed is believed to have visited the seven heavens and hell. Later it is said that he had an audience with Allah himself. To celebrate this event, this day is expected to be spent in meditation and prayer. If possible people keep awake for the whole night saying prayers and asking for Allah's blessings.

Shabe Barat. On the night of the fourteenth day of Shaban, Muslims offer sweets and bread in the name of their deceased kin. They visit their graves and offer flowers and prayers. It is believed

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769 that on this day the spirits of the dead come out to see their relations and to receive presents from them. Later all Muslims—men and women (if they are not in their menstrual period)—say their prayers and ask for God's blessing for their long life. Also they read the Koran. This night is important in that it is now that Allah determines the course of the lives of his followers for the coming year.

796 *Ramzan.* Ramzan is the most important month in the religious year of the Muslims. As far as possible, people try to fast for the whole month. They can have food before dawn and after dusk, but in between even a drop of water is not permitted. During these days one should devote as much time as possible to meditation and prayer. The twenty-sixth day of the month is specially important because it was on this day that 'Mohammed received the Koran from Allah'. People wear new clothes on this day, read the Koran and say their prayers. There is considerable enthusiasm in evidence as all Muslims—men, women and children—say their prayers and seek God's blessings. The month-long fasting ends on the day they see the new moon. The next day is spent in festivity and is known as 'Id-ul-fitr'. People breakfast early and wear their best—possibly new—clothes. The men go to the mosque for their Id prayers. After the prayers they go round to their friends' houses meeting and greeting them. On this day and on the two days following a sweet preparation consisting of vermicelli, milk and dates is made, and portions of it are sent to friends and relations. It is desirable that those who can afford it should distribute 2½ seers of grain per head to the poor and the needy.

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Id-uz-zuha. This festival is celebrated on the tenth day of the month of Zilhij. People get up early in the morning and without breakfast go to the mosque for their prayers. When they return home they sacrifice goats in the name of God. The general rule is that one goat is sacrificed in the name of each member of the family; but if this is not possible financially, a goat each may be sacrificed for each adult member of the household. Of course, even this is too much for many of the poorer Muslims, who sacrifice just one goat on behalf of the whole family. The meat of the sacrificed animals is cooked and people have their breakfast. Then they go round to meet and greet their friends. Delicacies and meat dishes are prepared in fairly large quantities and distributed among friends and relations.

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Village Festivals

In the foregoing pages we have briefly described the major family festivals of the Hindus and Muslims. Some of the Hindu festivals, particularly Dasara and Holi, are partly communal also, as at one stage the entire Hindu section of the village community participate in them. In the Dasara procession several Muslims also join in. Hindus do not spare their Muslim friends from the Holi colour-throwing. Similarly, Hindus co-operate in the Moharram procession of the Muslims. On the Id day Muslims meet all their friends—Muslim and Hindu alike. But there are some festivals which must be described as 'village festivals' as they do not occur in the regular religious calendar of the Hindus and Muslims; and are generally celebrated by the village community as a whole. The festivals of Pochamma, Batkamma and Maisamma are important celebrations in this category. Pochamma and Maisamma festivals are observed by the village as a whole. Batkamma festival is observed by the Hindu women of the village. The untouchable Mala and Madiga women who cannot join the groups of clean-caste women observe it separately. To these must be added the fair of Jalal Miyan which is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also.

Pochamma Festival. The annual worship of Pochamma, the goddess of smallpox, is organized by the village community on a Thursday or Saturday in the month of Shravana. The actual day for the ceremony is fixed by the village elders in consultation with the Deshmukh and the Brahmin priest.

A day previous to the celebration the Madiga drum-beaters go round the village announcing the programme for the morrow and asking the people to get ready. The Kummaris clean the shrines of Pochamma, Mutyalamma and Mahakalamma. The Sakalis (washermen) whitewash them. Village youth construct small leaf sheds in front of the shrines. Wives of the Talaris (village menials) sweep and besmear with red earth the ground around these booths.

Early next day people start making preparations for the worship. It is necessary that every family prepares its *bonam* for the day. For this they cook rice in a new earthenware pot obtained from the potter; remove all soot from the exterior of the pot, apply vermilion and turmeric paste to it on all sides, and then close its mouth. This decorated pot containing rice is known as *bonam*.

796 Most people prepare it in their homes; but some prefer to do so near the shrine itself.

Early in the afternoon the Madigas go to their own Pochamma shrine, which is near to but quite separate from that of the other shrine belonging to the rest of the community, and offer their *bonams* to the goddess. They worship her, and sacrifice goats, sheep and fowls. Some are possessed by the goddess at this time. But they have to hurry back as their presence is required for the procession of the other castes. In the meantime the Kummari (potter) who officiates as the village priest for this ceremony goes round the village collecting from every house oil for burning lamps near the shrine, and rice for preparing the *bonam* on behalf of the whole village. The rice thus collected is cooked by the Kummari women in a huge pot near the shrine.

An hour before the scheduled time for worship, the Madigas start beating their drums at a central place in the village. People start collecting there with their *bonams*. Some carry these on their heads; others take them to the shrine in bullock carts. The Madiga drum-beaters walk at the head of the procession, followed at some distance by the Deshmukh and other respectable people and village elders, and then by the common people of the village. By the time they reach the shrine some people are possessed by the goddess. At the shrine, the Kummari first offers rice from the common village *bonam* to the goddess. After doing this he withdraws himself from the scene for a short while to enable the Brahmin and the Komti to make offerings from their *bonams*. Then the Kummari firmly establishes himself as the priest, and offers rice from the *bonams* of all other castes. In this, precedence is given to superior castes in a very rigid way. One after another, castes lower to each other in the traditional hierarchy are called upon to come forward to make their offerings. Within a caste itself, people occupying a superior status in respect of their position in the village organization, age and wealth are given precedence over the less favourably placed members of their group. This often creates difficulties, and is instrumental in causing tensions and enmities between different castes or between different families of the same caste. Alongside the offerings of rice; goats, sheep and fowls are sacrificed on behalf of the different families. The Golla shepherds present a specified number of goats and sheep every year to the community which are now sacrificed on

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behalf of the entire village. The head and the forelimbs of the sacrificed animal are left in front of the shrine; the rest of it, along with the *bonam*, is carried home by each family, and when all the sacrifices are over the people return home and feast on the rice and meat. 796

Muslims also participate in this festival. They do not believe in any Hindu gods, but are as afraid of the village gods and goddesses as the Hindus. However, they do not participate in the worship; sacrifices on their behalf are made by the barber or the washerman.

Batkamma Festival. The first nine days of the month of Ashvina are observed as days of festivity with singing and dancing and the worship of Gauri by the Hindu women of the village. Women from the two highest castes, i.e. Brahmin and Komti, do not participate in the dancing, although on the last day they too go out for the final worship with the rest of the village women. Similarly, women from 'respectable' families refuse to join in the dance; and, being untouchables, Mala and Madiga women cannot join the clean-caste women in their dance. Thus the two highest and the two lowest castes keep away from the major part of these celebrations, and so also do the women from urbanized and respectable families. The mythological background of the festival is not clearly understood by anyone: all they know is that during this period Gauri, the wife of Shiva, was piqued by her husband, and that it is to please her that they dance. 796 562

For the first seven days women mostly dance in small groups in their respective living-quarters and lanes. On the last two days women from different quarters of the village form small parties of twelve to thirty and dance in front of all the important houses; for this they get small presents of grain or money. In the evening at about 4 p.m. they arrange various kinds of flowers into beautiful designs on their plates and proceed in a procession towards the tank. At this time Brahmin and Komti women also join them. Near the tank these plates containing flowers are placed on the ground in the centre and the women dance around them. In this dance the Brahmin and Komti women do not participate. When the dance is over the flowers are immersed in water. Then a small portion of a sweet dish prepared with gram and jaggery is also put in the water and the women return home. This is done 796

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796 on the eighth and ninth days, which are the last days of the festival.

Maisamma Festival. Maisamma protects the village boundaries and ensures the fertility of the fields. An elaborate ceremony is performed in her honour whenever the crops are very good and demand an expression of special gratitude. This festival is not an annual feature in the life of the community and is celebrated only every three or five years.

The days for the celebration are fixed by the village elders after mutual consultation and agreement. The details are often finalized by the village council, which also decides the basis on which subscriptions will be raised from the different families in the village. When there are only a few days left for the festival, preparations for it are taken in hand under the supervision of some enthusiastic youths. For this festival several castes living in the village have to make their special contributions. For example, the Kummaris contribute the earthen pots and officiate as the priest; the Sakalis (washermen) whitewash the Maisamma shrine; the Mangalis (barbers), along with the Sakalis, sacrifice the goats, sheep and fowls; the Wadlas (carpenters) contribute the flag-posts; the Kammaris (blacksmiths) provide the iron fitting to these posts; the Sale (weavers) give cloth for the flags; the Darzi tailors the flag; the Gaondlas (toddy-tappers) provide the fermented palm-juice required for the worship; the Gollas (shepherds) have to contribute the goats and sheep for sacrifice on behalf of the entire village; and finally the Madigas play their [262] musical instruments. The agriculturists provide the funds. Brahmins and Komtis, being vegetarians and averse to animal sacrifice, pay their share of the subscription, but otherwise keep away from the festival. The Muslims contribute towards its expenses and are present at the time of worship.

The festival lasts three days. On the first day an earthen pot is filled with fermented palm juice, marked with vermilion and turmeric, and carried in a procession to the Maisamma shrine to the accompaniment of Madiga drums and pipes. The Kummari officiating as the priest offers it to the goddess and distributes it later among the people present there. On the second day families of agriculturists, as well as some others, cook rice near the shrine and offer it to Maisamma. The third day is reserved for the final worship and for the making of sacrifices. People go in a procession

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to the shrine led by Madiga drum beaters. The Kummari burns incense, and sacrifices on behalf of the village the goats and sheep contributed by the Gollas. The animals are killed by the Sakali and the Mangali, but their heads and forelimbs are offered to the goddess by the Kummari. This is followed by sacrifices on behalf of families who, in fulfilment of a promise or in anticipation of a favour from the goddess, have brought a goat, sheep or fowl to be sacrificed. At this time some people become possessed by the goddess and go into a trance. Late in the evening the people return home and have a feast of rice, meat and other delicacies. 796

Urs of Jalal Miyan. Village Muslims have a tradition for holding semi-religious fairs in honour of holy persons who have had some association with their locality and who have given proof of their supernatural powers by doing some minor miracles. Every winter the Muslims of Shamirpet arrange a fair near the tomb of Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine. On the day of the fair a green cloth is spread on the tomb and green flags are hoisted near it. Shopkeepers from Shamirpet and nearby villages set up their shops on the open ground nearby. When people assemble there in the afternoon, incense is burnt near the tomb and flowers and food are offered to Jalal Miyan. The Mulla reads from the Muslim scriptures. If possible Muslim singers are invited from the city to sing religious songs. On this day also some persons are possessed. People having difficulties or some pressing problems seek remedies and solutions from those who are possessed by the spirit of Jalal Miyan. The fair sometimes includes a programme of country sports, acrobatic feats, singing by young men of the village, and even dramatic performances. Although it is primarily a Muslim fair, Hindus attend it in large numbers.

Analysis of this summary survey of the religious year in the community reveals that the Hindus and the Muslims have two practically independent ritual systems, which have very few points of contact. Muslims participate in the common village ritual, but they do not actually perform any worship. However, most of them share with the Hindus the general belief-pattern associated with these cults. On a social basis, the Muslims join in the Dasara procession of the Hindus; the latter join in the Muslims' Moharram procession. The two groups participate almost equally in Jalal Miyan's fair; but the Hindus do so not for a religious motive, but 796 563

for the sake of the fun that they expect to find in the fair. A closer examination of the Hindu festivals and ceremonies reveals that a large number of all-India Hindu festivals are observed in the community; but a good many of these are restricted to the 'twice born' castes of the Brahmin and the Komti. Some of them are observed by a few other higher castes, or often only by a few 'respectable' families in these castes. Ceremonies and worship connected with these festivals are conducted by the Brahmin in castes occupying a level higher than that of the Sakali and the Mangali (excluding the Panch Bramha group). The Sakali and the Mangali invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, or else they manage with a caste priest. While the Brahmin and the Komti, of all the castes, are most interested in a majority of the festivals of this category, in the common village ritual they are passive and distant observers. In the two major festivals of the village, which involve considerable inter-caste co-operation, it is the Kummari[1] who officiates as the priest and not the Brahmin. The bulk of Hindus celebrate relatively few of the all-India festivals with great enthusiasm, but it could be said that groups occupying higher rungs in the ladder of caste hierarchy are found to observe more of these festivals. In fact the higher the status of a caste the greater is the number of these that it observes; and thus we find the Komtis observing more of these festivals than any other Hindu caste, with the sole exception of the Brahmin who, being of a superior caste, observes a few festivals more than the Komti. The local village cults are still living and vital. In them the participation of the two highest castes is nominal; but that of the other castes complete. The Kapu group of agricultural castes occupying an intermediate position in the caste hierarchy participate in both sets of rituals with equal enthusiasm.

4. RITUAL OF THE LIFE CYCLE

The basic pattern of ceremonies connected with the major crises of life is the same in all sections of the Hindus in the village community; but in the minor details of the ritual there is considerable difference in the practices of different castes. More than this, even within a particular caste the rites and observances are not identical, for in some respects individual families have their own traditions. In the course of our field-work we found the catalogu-

1 [i.e., member of potter caste.--ANALYST]

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ing of these variant customs quite a stimulating, though somewhat tedious, task; but a full ethnographic record of them will be out of place here, and only a broad outline of the essentials will be presented, to illustrate their place in the socio-religious life of the Hindus. As the Muslims differ from the Hindus vitally in respect of their *rites de passage* their observances will be described separately.

Birth. On the birth of a child the mother, as well as other members of the family, is ritually impure. On the third or fifth day after the birth the *purudu* rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of all members of the family except the mother. The mother continues to be ritually impure for twenty-one to thirty days. On the twenty-first day—in some castes on the thirtieth day—the name-giving ceremony of the child takes place. The mother is bathed. The child's head is shaved, and it is put in a cradle. If it is the first child, or the first son, relations from other villages are also invited to participate in the name-giving ceremony. Friends and neighbours from the village itself are always invited. Women sing songs suitable for the occasion. If an ancestor is believed to have taken re-birth the newborn is named after him; otherwise the elders, after mutual consultation or at the suggestion of an important and influential relation, decide upon a name for the child. The name is announced to the assembly of men and women present. Singing is continued for some time longer. The ceremony ends with a feast for relations and some very special friends.

The Brahmin may be consulted for his astrological predictions regarding the future of the child, and also regarding the implications of the position of the stars at the time of birth for the members of the family. On this occasion the Komtis, the Reddi agriculturists as well as other higher caste Hindus with urban contacts may also invite him. Women from the barber's caste act as midwives among all the clean castes; untouchables manage with experienced women from their respective castes. Services of four other castes are essential: the barber for shaving the child's head, the washerman for washing the linen and clothes before the twenty-first day ceremony, the potter for the supply of new pots for ritual purification, and Madigas for playing musical instruments. Payments for these services are prescribed by tradition; and are both in cash and kind.

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844 Among the Muslims an expectant mother is sent for the birth of her first child to her parents; subsequent deliveries generally take place in her own home. During her confinement she is attended by a professional midwife. An amulet is often tied to the
846 mother's waist to facilitate delivery. Within a few hours of its birth the child is bathed and clothed. His grandfather or an elderly relation says the prayers. A date is then dipped in honey and a drop or two of that honey is put into the mouth of the newborn child. Milk should not be given to the child before this has been done. On the sixth day the *chhatti* ceremony is performed.
[431] For this relations from both mother's and father's side are invited. They bring with them gifts for the child, comprising of sets of new clothes, dolls and playthings and possibly a silver spoon. The child
553 is dressed in new clothes. On the seventh day its head is shaved, and the elders give it a name. Depending on the means of the family, feasts are given to friends and relations on the sixth and seventh days, The mother continues to be out of the normal round of life for forty days. On the fortieth day she is bathed. The midwife is given her remuneration on this day. Once again there is a feast, and presents may be given both to the child and to the mother.

881 *Pre-puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus, the Brahmin and the Komti perform the sacred thread ceremony for the boys before they attain puberty. At these rites the Brahmin priest officiates. The Panch Bramha group of artisan castes also perform this rite; but they do not invite the Brahmin. Their caste-priest conducts the ceremony.

852 In the Muslim community a boy must be circumcised any time between the age of two and ten. A few relations are invited for the occasion, the boy is garlanded and then the operation is performed. It is usual to give small presents to the boy at this time.
[869] Another pre-puberty rite is the *bismilla* ceremony done both for boys and girls. This initiates the child's religious instruction, for from now on it is taught the alphabet and is gradually enabled to read the Koran. In Shamirpet the *bismilla* ceremony is performed for all Muslim children, though relatively few of them learn to read the holy book.

881 *Puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus the girl's first menstruation is attended by elaborate ceremonies. She is secluded for five days, and at the end of this period is bathed and dressed in new clothes.

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For three to ten days the household gods, as well as those at the family's favourite shrine, are worshipped. For the latter the girl is taken out with the village women in a procession, and the Madigas are summoned to play their musical instruments. With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti, in all other castes the women from the neighbourhood assemble every afternoon for singing and dancing at the house of the girl for whom the ceremony is being performed. Among the Muslims, at the time of first menstruation the girl is secluded for seven to eleven days. At the end of this period she is given new clothes, which she wears after taking her bath. 881

Ear and nose boring of the girls is done before the age of puberty among both the Hindus and the Muslims. But this act has no religious rites attached to it. 852

Marriage. In the community people are as a rule married when they are adults; only in some cases are adolescents married. Child-marriage is rare. Out of 380 first marriages investigated by us, only 14 could be described as child-marriages. 582

Among the Hindus, negotiated marriages are common. People show an unmistakable preference for cross-cousin marriage when the subject is discussed with them; but out of the 340 Hindu marriages analysed by us, only 18% were cross-cousin marriages, the rest being negotiated marriages into unrelated families. Muslims permit both parallel and cross-cousin marriages, and indeed regard them as highly desirable. Our sample of Muslim marriages is not quite adequate, but out of 40 marriages fully investigated 19 were between cousins. Among the agriculturists, and to a lesser extent among others, it is necessary for the girl's parents to pay a dowry to the boy. This accounts for the relatively few marriages by service. When the parents of the boy are too poor even to arrange for the normal expenses of an average wedding—involving expenditure on the buying of clothes and ornaments for the bride and bridegroom, marriage feasts and other incidental expenses—the boy may serve with his prospective father-in-law for a stipulated period, at the end of which the latter marries him to his daughter at his own expense. Marriages by exchange may be arranged between two families to economize on the dowry; and further they may be celebrated at the same time so as to complete two weddings for the expense of one. Cases of run-away marriages occur at times, but they are 583

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
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583 regarded as breaches of the established rules of society and treated accordingly.

585 It is difficult to summarize the rites and observances involved in a Hindu marriage, for they differ greatly from caste to caste, and from family to family. Here only a very general outline can be given.

The wedding takes place in the bride's house, on an auspicious day fixed by the two parties on the advice of the Brahmin priest. The bridegroom's party, consisting of relations and friends, leave their village in good time to arrive in the bride's village at least a day before the actual date of the marriage. On arrival they are received with great ceremony by the bride's people, and are lodged in a house kept vacant and clean for their use. In the courtesies that are exchanged it is necessary to make some special effort to keep the bridegroom's mother and sisters pleased for any dissatisfaction to them is likely to lead to trouble which may hold up further rites. While the bridegroom's party try to settle down in their house, the bride's people finalize the arrangements for the first dinner. When everything is ready word is sent to the bridegroom's party. After the dinner nothing remains to be done on that day. The guests return to their temporary abode; the hosts get busy to make everything ready for the rites of the next day.

[515] When the next day arrives the bride's mother and other female relations carry water and twigs to the groom's mother and other guests so that 'they may wash their mouths'. A little later breakfast

[776] is sent to them. The first major rite for the day is the worship of the bride's *kula-devata* or family god. In this both the bride and the bridegroom participate. The second major rite is known as *lagnam*, which must be performed at an auspicious hour determined by the Brahmin on the basis of his astrological calculations. The bride's party go in a procession to bring the guests to the marriage shed. At the appointed hour the *lagnam* is performed by chanting religious verses. The bridegroom ties a necklace of black beads round the bride's neck. This necklace symbolizes her married status, and she should not be without it unless she is widowed. He also puts rings on the second toes of her feet. Before the tying of *mangalsutra* (black beads) the two have to promise to stand by each other through all phases of life, for the mutual satisfaction of bodily, economic and spiritual needs. But the marriage is not yet complete. To put the seal of religious authority on it, the important

rite of *seshakeman* must be performed. For this the bride and bridegroom are seated before a fire, sacred verses are read, and incense is burnt. This completes the marriage. Later the bride and bridegroom are seated facing each other for dinner. The ground around the wooden seats on which they sit is decorated with multicoloured designs. While eating the two are encouraged to throw a few morsels into each other's plates. Several minor rites follow. In one the newly-married couple are asked to address each other by using personal names. The bride has to show great reluctance in doing this, for a wife generally does not utter the name of her husband. She is given a doll, symbolizing a child, and is asked to entrust it to the care of 'its father' on the pretext that she has to cook or to do other household work. The next day, after a few minor rituals, the girl is 'given away' to her husband and his parents. This is done to the accompaniment of heart-rending and pathetic songs. The father asks her to regard the home of her father-in-law henceforward as her own home; and never to do anything—in thought, word or deed—that might bring discredit to her parents. He then begs the girl's father-in-law to treat her well, to ignore her faults, failings and shortcomings, and to teach her the ways of their family. The girl goes away with her husband. In her new home she has to go through a series of rites, worship of the family god and feasting. After three to seven days she returns to her parents for a brief stay.

Among all the castes the general tone of marriage ritual suggests the influences of Sanskritic rites, but the Brahmin does not officiate at the marriages of all castes. He is invited by the Komti, the agricultural castes, the Kummari, the Golla, the Sale and the Gaondla. The barber and the washerman invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, otherwise they manage with their own caste-priest. The Panch Bramha group has its own priests. The other groups occupying lower positions in the caste hierarchy invite a specialist from their own caste to officiate at the ceremony. Naturally recitation of sacred verses and marriage formulae from the scriptures is confined to ceremonies conducted by the Brahmin; in the other castes, while the pattern followed is essentially the same, the Sanskrit chants are absent. Other occupational castes whose co-operation is required in the ceremony are: the barber, the potter, the Madiga and the carpenter. The barber assists the parties during negotiations, carries their messages,

585 distributes invitations, offers his occupational services in matters of haircutting and shaving, and at the wedding itself, at the time of important rites during the night, holds a lighted torch. The potter supplies the large quantity of earthenware needed for the different [533] rituals as well as for cooking. No marriage ceremony can be performed without the essential instrumental music played by the Madigas. The carpenter has to make the marriage-post, and other wooden fixtures as well, if they are required. The marriage rites require small payments to these occupational castes in the course of the ceremony itself. At the completion of the ceremony, depending on the means of the family, they are paid once again for their labours.

586 Divorce and widow re-marriage are allowed in all castes
587 except the Brahmin and the Komti. Divorce or 'driving away the wife' is not very common. In the 380 marriages studied by us there were only 79 cases of desertion and divorce. In all such cases the elders, the village council and the caste council intervene and the parties involved in the dispute have to abide by their decisions.
595 Brahmins do not conduct the re-marriage of widows. Polygyny is permitted among the Hindus; but it is rare. At the time of our investigation there were only seven polygynous Hindu homes in the village.

584 Among the Muslims the standard marriage ritual prescribed by Islam is adhered to with some regional and local variations. Marriage negotiations are initiated by the boy's people, and when they are successful a date for the *nikah* (rites of marriage) is fixed
585 by them in consultation with a Muslim marriage priest. Four days before the actual wedding preliminary rites are started. The ceremony opens with the rite of *manjah* in which the womenfolk of the two sides grind turmeric in their respective homes, and playfully throw turmeric and coloured water on each other in their separate groups. On the second day the groom's people go to the bride's home with gifts for her. These gifts include jewellery, clothes and bangles. The bride is then garlanded by a responsible person from the groom's side; and a little later, with her mother's permission, *missi* (a thick black paste) is applied to her lips and teeth. This symbolizes the actual beginning of the wedding rites. On the third morning, the bride's people (with the exception of her mother) go to the groom's place. They take presents for the bridegroom, and he is garlanded by a younger sister or cousin of

1: Dube E-6 (1961-62) 1965 AW17 Telugu AW17
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the bride. The girl and the boy are seated opposite each other, 585
but are separated by a screen. The bride's sister or cousin asks the groom to extend his hand towards her so that she may apply *henna* (a perfumed paste) to his index finger. He refuses to do this unless she promises to be his slave. When he does give her his finger, she catches hold of it, and lets go of it only when he promises to be her slave. Later turmeric paste is applied to the bride and she is attired in her bridal clothes. At the appointed time the groom is brought on a horse or in a decorated carriage by his people in a procession. The bridegroom finds the main entrance closed. It is opened by the bride's brothers when small gifts are offered to them. The *kazi*, Muslim priest, solemnizes the marriage by reading the prescribed words of *nikah*. The signature of the bridegroom is obtained on a document which embodies all the terms of the marriage contract, including the *mehar* (alimony) which he will have to pay if he leaves his wife. While this is being done the bride remains inside. Her father and some responsible elders then go to her and say, 'You are being married to X, with a *mehar* fixed at Rs. —. Are you willing to be his wife?' Her consent is necessary; although she often indicates it not by saying 'yes' but by crying. The bridegroom's mother puts a necklace of black beads around the bride's neck, and a nose-ring in her nose. Ceremonies of fun and frolic follow. The two are seated on a decorated bed, but a screen is held between them, and they throw rice at each other. Then the screen is removed and a mirror is placed between the two. The groom is asked to read some passages from the Koran and to see the reflection of his wife's face in the mirror. Later the bride is given away ceremonially by her parents to the head of the bridegroom's family. The procession for going home is formed by the groom's party, and the newly-married couple are taken in a decorated carriage. More rites follow at the bridegroom's house, where the two have to wash each other's feet. During all these days feasting goes on, to which friends and relations are invited. On the final day an elaborate feast is given. Later, in a day or two, the bride is taken back to her parents' home. There the bridegroom's people are received with great courtesy and are given an impressive feast.

Islam permits polygyny, and a man can have up to four wives. 595
In Shamirpet, however, there were only three polygynous Muslim 586
homes in a total Muslim population of 340, at the time of our

595 586 investigations. Their social system and usage permit divorce, and clauses pertaining to alimony are embodied in the written marriage contract. In actual practice, in all cases of desertion and 'running away' these conditions are not adhered to very strictly, and compensation when paid is substantially less than the figure mentioned 585 in the contract. As pointed out earlier the marriage rites are conducted by the *kazi*, who is invited from the city for this purpose.

761 *Death.* Both Hindus and Muslims understand the physiological causes of death. It is generally attributed to natural causes, such as disease or old age; but in all cases where the circumstances or manner of death are unusual it is attributed to supernatural factors, such as wrath of gods and ancestor-spirits, witchcraft and black magic.

764 Among all the Hindu castes, the dead children are buried. The Brahmin and the Komti as a rule cremate their dead, except in cases of death from snake-bite and smallpox. Among the other higher castes both cremation and burial are practised. It is usual to cremate the aged as well as the rich and the influential. In the lower castes such as the Sakali, the Mangali and the Erkala, as well as among the untouchable Malas and Madigas, burial is more common. Soon after a death, word is sent round to relations and friends in the village and also in the neighbouring villages. The corpse is washed, clothed and tied on to a wooden or bamboo bier. It is covered with a new cloth, and decorated with flowers. If the family can afford it Madigas are called to play their musical instruments, which they do walking at the head of the procession. The bier is carried by four people on their shoulders. As they proceed slowly towards the graveyard or the cremation ground, people keep on repeating some solemn slogans, such as 'the name of God alone is true' or 'be truthful and your salvation will be assured'. When a person is to be cremated, his or her son, or in the absence of a son a younger brother or some other near kin, carries an earthen pot with fire in it. Midway between the house and the burial ground the bier is placed on the earth for a few minutes' 'rest', and then carried on. Before putting it on the funeral pyre or in the grave, the son, or a near relation of the deceased, goes round the pyre (or grave) three times sprinkling water all around it. The body is then put on the pyre with the bier, or is taken from it and put in the grave. A near kinsman sets fire to the pyre, or

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puts a few handfuls of earth in the grave. In the case of a burial all persons present at the spot take a hand in filling the grave. When the pyre is burnt half-way, or when the grave is filled up, the people return home, bathing on the way. 764

What happens to the soul of the dead? If the death is on an auspicious day and time, the soul goes straight to the Supreme Being; ordinarily it hovers round the house—mainly on the roof, above the main entrance—for eleven to thirteen days. This is the stereotype description; but further analysis reveals a rather diffused belief-pattern: (i) near the place of burial or cremation the person dwells in a ghost-like form; (ii) the soul goes to God, where according to the deeds of the deceased in his life-time it is sent to heaven or hell; (iii) it takes re-birth, often within a few days of the death—as a human being or in some other species; (iv) it can be called back through prescribed ritual to reside with the other ancestor-spirits in the house. Some of these explanations appear to be contradictory, but people believe in them all at once. 775

On the third day after death the first purificatory rites take place, involving the cleansing of the house, washing of all household linen and clothes, and the throwing away of all earthen pots used for cooking or for storing water. On the eleventh or thirteenth day further purificatory rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of members of the household. On this day food and water are offered to the soul of the deceased, near relations have a hair-cut and bath (on the death of the father or mother all the hair on the head as well as moustache and beard must be shaved) and a feast is given. Among the higher castes a Brahmin belonging to one of the nearby villages comes and conducts the rites on this day; others follow their own caste customs. These higher castes collect the bones from the cremation ground and immerse them in a holy river—generally in the Godavari, which is the nearest to Shamirpet, but in exceptional cases in the Ganges, which is regarded as the holiest of all rivers by the Hindus all over India. As pointed out earlier, in the Petramasa fortnight water is offered to the ancestor-spirits; and during the first Petramasa after death the soul of the deceased is invited to 'come back' and is lodged with the spirits of the other ancestors in one corner of the house. 768 765 769

Abnormal deaths require a special treatment. A woman dying 800

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Abnormal deaths ... special treatment. A woman dying
766 in pregnancy, a young man dying without sexual satisfaction, or a person dying without having satisfied any of his deep cravings, will all experience difficulty in their rehabilitation in the supernatural world, and their souls will keep on returning to the world
[775] of the living periodically. These are the persons who often turn into ghosts, reside permanently in the village and create difficulties in the normal life of the community. To undo their evil special skills must be employed.

764 Muslim death customs differ from those of the Hindus. The toes of the corpse are tied together with a cord; and a small bundle of salt is placed on the stomach to prevent its swelling. Friends and relations gather together and make preparations for the funeral. A new cloth, to cover the body, is bought, and the communal wooden box used for carrying the dead to the graveyard is requisitioned. The corpse of a man is covered with three pieces of cloth; that of a woman with five pieces. Camphor powder is sprinkled on the forehead, eyes, palms and legs of the deceased. It is customary to sprinkle some perfume also. Relations and friends have a last look at the deceased, and then put the corpse in the wooden box. The box is lifted by four men, and carried to the mosque by the male relations and friends. As they go, people keep on repeating, 'There is no god except Allah'. Funeral prayers are said there, and the procession resumes its journey towards the graveyard. The corpse is put in the grave, passages from the Koran are read, and then the grave is filled up. All those who accompany the bier put some earth in the grave, reciting passages from the Koran. When this has been done, all step forty paces from the burial place, and return to it again saying prayers (*fatiha*) for
765 the deceased and invoking the Almighty's blessings for him. For two days after the death 'there must be no fire in the hearth', and food for the bereaved family is sent by near relations. On the third day prayers are said in the mosque and, later, flowers are placed on the grave by the relations of the deceased. This is done on the tenth day also. On the fortieth day all those who have participated in the funeral assemble together. Prayers are said again, and some people go to lay flowers on the grave. This is followed by a dinner. On the occasion of the death anniversary, flowers are again laid on the grave, prayers said, and a dinner is given in memory of the deceased.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

5. RELIGION IN DISEASE AND DIFFICULTY

In the two preceding sections an attempt has been made to present the ritual cycle of the community covering firstly the festivals and ceremonies within a normal calendar year, and secondly, the rites and observances concerning the major crises of life. These cycles are rigidly observed, as their observance constitutes the *dharma* or the appropriate way of life, and leads to the prosperity and well-being of the family as well as to a desirable future for the individual after death. With the exception of these festivals, under normal conditions of life, there is very little spiritual or devotional activity in the community. But persistent difficulties, uncommon diseases, and frequent deaths turn the people's thoughts to supernatural factors; events are interpreted in terms of supernatural interferences, and are sought to be remedied by magico-religious procedures.

Most of the common diseases are interpreted as a 'fault in the physical system', and are treated with herbal medicines or modern drugs obtained from the dispensary. Common colds, headaches, fever, stomach-ache, scabies, gonorrhoea and syphilis are regarded as natural diseases, and an effort is made to cure them with medicines. But persistent headaches, intermittent fevers, continued stomach disorders, rickets and other wasting diseases among children, menstrual troubles, repeated abortions, etc., are attributed to supernatural forces. In all such cases medicinal cures as well as propitiation of the 'unseen powers' are attempted simultaneously. Similarly, such calamities as the failure of crops, total blindness, repeated failures in undertakings, deaths of children in quick succession and too many deaths in the family within a short time are taken to indicate 'misfortune' and 'the handiwork of malevolent supernatural forces'. Smallpox, cholera and plague are always attributed to the wrath of various goddesses. For these diseases worship is regarded as the only remedy; and no medicines are administered to the patients.

What are the major factors that cause these difficulties, distresses and deaths? In the village community they are attributed to one or more of the following:

(i) The wrath of ancestor-spirits.
(ii) Unfavourable stars.
(iii) Ghosts and spirits.
(iv) The wrath of gods.
(v) Black magic and witchcraft.

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If ancestor-spirits are ignored and 'not given their due' they warn the family by causing some minor—but noticeable—trouble. It is for the members of the family to take this 'timely warning' and remove the cause of the ancestors' anger. Failure in this often leads to serious consequences and irreparable losses. Ill-luck and misfortunes persist all along the way of a person whose 'stars are unfavourable'. Hysteria, fits and 'possession by spirits' are the result of hostility of spirits and ghosts. The village goddesses are known for their violent temperament and retaliate quickly and severely, even for minor offences against them. The all-India gods are comparatively pacific; and punish people only for 'gross disrespect' shown towards them. Enmity may lead to the use of black magic or witchcraft, which may be the root cause of the trouble in many cases of persistent disease and ill-luck.

Most of the cases need the diagnosis of a specialist. Sometimes the ancestor-spirits convey their anger in dreams to some member of the family. Often the ghost possessing an individual reveals its identity through its victim. But in other cases a proper diagnosis is necessary. Why is the ancestor-spirit angry? What should be done to pacify it? How could the evil influence of unlucky stars be averted? Only the Brahmin or a local seer can answer these questions. For undoing the evil influence of spirits and ghosts the services of a competent specialist must be sought. Similarly, the hostile magician or witch must be matched by a more powerful magician.

The ancestor-spirits are not very difficult to please. When the cause of their anger is known, an apology followed by worship is often enough to appease them. Fasting, repentance and food offerings are generally enough to please the gods. Goddesses are more difficult, and require the sacrifice of a fowl or goat. Unfavourable stars require fasting, worship and certain ceremonies following the recommendations of the Brahmin. The giving of alms to the Brahmin and the poor generally follows these ceremonies. Several different techniques can be employed to keep ghosts and spirits in check, and for counteracting black magic and witchcraft. As far as possible, 'all the reasonable demands of a ghost should be fulfilled', but if it still persists in its mischief 'it should be tied down' and 'kept in captivity'. Against sorcery and witchcraft drastic steps are required. For action under both these categories, i.e. against ghosts, as well as against black magic and witchcraft, three

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techniques are employed: *mantram* (chants and spells), *yantram* (use of secret formulae and designs) and *chetla kriya* (counter black magic). Amateur practitioners succeed in some cases, but all difficult cases require the intervention of an established specialist. The techniques of these specialists are their closely guarded secrets.

In Shamirpet eleven people claim some knowledge of these techniques; although only three were recognized as having 'real and effective powers'. One person who claimed to be an expert in *chetla kriya*—powerful enough to use black magic as well as to counteract it—died, when this research was in progress.

Fourteen women had some suspicion of witchcraft against them, only two being regarded as established witches. A census of ghosts was difficult, but we listed more than forty of them. Four ghosts were particularly feared. The hillock to the north-west of the village was believed to be the abode of innumerable ghosts, but now it is inhabited by the ghost of a Reddi woman who died in pregnancy. She is known to have attacked several women and children. A Madiga woman who committed suicide by jumping in the well of their settlement also became a ghost. At first she went out of the village and troubled her daughter, but on being 'driven away' from there she is believed to have come back to Shamirpet. The dread of the village, however, is the ghost of a Reddi agriculturist who dwells in the eastern side of the village. Even tough young people are afraid to go 'to his place' at mid-day, dusk or late at night. A young Muslim who died without sex experience is alleged to have interfered with many young women. No effective checks have been improvised so far to keep these ghosts under control. Many others 'have been tamed'. They were the ghosts of persons from the following categories:

(*a*) Persons too much attached to sex, wealth and children.
(*b*) Persons dying without satisfying their sexual cravings.
(*c*) Pregnant women.
(*d*) Persons meeting an accidental death, by falling from a tree, drowning or by lightning.
(*e*) Persons committing suicide.
(*f*) Persons dying with an intense hatred for someone.
(*g*) Persons who have been murdered.

Serious difficulties created by supernatural agencies call for some of the measures enumerated above. For getting over minor

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787 difficulties, and for the fulfilment of comparatively simple wishes, recourse is taken to other methods. Fasting on a certain day in honour of a particular god or goddess for the satisfaction of a specific desire (or for overcoming a difficulty) is very common; and women take recourse to it quite often. Thus when T. was involved in a law suit, both he and his wife used to fast on Monday, and pleaded with their family god to get the court decision in their favour. Promising a food offering, sacrifice, or fasting for a specified period on a certain day, in return for the fulfilment of a wish is also resorted to. E. R.'s daughter was seriously ill and there was no hope of her life. E. R. went to the shrine of the goddess to whom her family was attached and said, 'Mother, we have always worshipped you. My daughter is on the point of death. I cannot bear to let her go before me. Save her and I will sacrifice two goats in your honour.' The girl recovered and E. R. did sacrifice the promised goats. S., a Komti woman, was worried because her daughter's husband was 'going astray'. She promised her family god: 'If you join what is breaking I shall fast on Mondays for three months and make offerings to you on all days of the fast.' The husband after a while, again started taking an interest in her daughter, and true to her word the mother kept her vow. When the wishes are not fulfilled people curse their luck, blame their own past actions, and reconcile themselves to the unfavourable attitude of the gods. 'All that we can do is to pray and worship. It is for the gods to hear or not to hear us. What else can we do? How can we have a quarrel with them?' would typify the average man's attitude in all cases where the powers of the supernatural world do not yield to their prayers and offerings.

751 176 The Muslims too have faith in ghosts and evil spirits. Their methods of dealing with them are similar to those of the Hindus. In addition they read passages from the Koran and invoke the assistance of their sages and seers. For overcoming minor ailments and difficulties they eagerly seek amulets from holy persons.

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Web of Family Ties

In the social structure of Indian village communities the family occupies by far the most important place. It derives its significance not merely from its economic functions and its dominant role as an agency of socialization and social control, but its ritual importance is also very great to the average Hindu.

Classical Hinduism has prescribed four stages of life: celibacy (*brahmacharya*), family life (*grahastha ashrama*), resignation (*vanaprastha*) and renunciation (*sanyas*). In the first stage a person acquires concentration by controlling his instincts and impulses so that he may be able to dedicate himself to the pursuit of learning. This is the formative period of life, and in it a man is expected to equip himself for the proper discharge of his social responsibilities. In the second stage he enters life and begins to share his social obligations. Now he must marry and beget children. This is the creative period and covers a very considerable part of a man's life. The last two are the contemplative stages. As a preparation for the ultimate renunciation of worldly goods and worldly connections, he should first cultivate an attitude of detachment and devote himself to reflection. When this has been achieved, the time will have come for him to renounce formally all his possessions and relations. In contemporary rural India very few people can understand or explain the social philosophy that lies behind this system of *ashramas* or the 'stages of life', but its essence has reached them for countless generations through oral tradition and through the teachings of numerous saint-poets and has thus become ingrained in their thought-pattern and value-structure. Sex indulgence among children is socially disapproved in the Indian countryside. Marriage is universally regarded as

1: Dube E-5 (1951-82) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

829 natural and necessary. Only morons and cripples remain single.
[581] Though it is rare for people to renounce their home and property
[556] in old age, old men and women excessively attached to material
[788] goods come in for a good deal of criticism, and people often remark about them, 'Will they carry their wealth with them to the other world when they die?' It is at this time that their thoughts turn more to religion and to the destiny of their souls in the future life, and it is now that they generally undertake pilgrimages to holy places. In a sense the broad essentials of the philosophy of the *ashramas* can be said to permeate the life and thought of the Hindu villagers. The village Muslims share these social attitudes with their Hindu neighbours. With conversion to Islam they have changed their religious faith, but in the socio-cultural spheres of life they still continue to have more or less the same basic attitudes as the Hindus. In their family ethics and ideals the two groups demonstrate considerable similarity.

581 To the village people the necessity of both marriage and family
842 is self-evident. It is necessary that the family line should be continued. A male heir must be left. An unmarried person past the
[595] marriage age is an object of pity. A couple without a son are unhappy. Childlessness and inability to produce a male child on the part of a woman often lead to a polygynous household. Marriage is regarded as essential among all the castes and social groups in the village. In a community of 2,494 persons, demographic survey reveals the presence of only two single persons—both women. One of these is a deaf-mute; the other has been a victim of epileptic fits from her childhood and has in addition the unenviable reputation of being a thief. For the clean-caste Hindus the continuity of the family line is necessary for a further reason.
[769] A male child must make a ceremonial offering of water to the spirits of his deceased parents and ancestors, without which their souls may not have peace. The untouchable castes as well as the semi-tribal groups also have this ritual in a modified form. The Muslims neither have this belief nor any attendant ritual, but they too share with the Hindus the sentiment against childlessness.

1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

596 The patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint family is the normal type of family unit met with in this part of rural India.

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WEB OF FAMILY TIES

When a son-in-law settles with his wife's parents, we occasionally get examples of matrilocal residence. But this is rare and is largely confined to the cases of a few orphans and children of very poor parents who take recourse to the method of suitor service for securing a wife and then continue to live with their parents-in-law. The joint family is approved by social tradition. The following table illustrates an ideal joint family:

	Paternal Grandparents Parents	
Brothers and their wives	Ego : Wife	Unmarried sisters
Nephews Nieces	Sons and their wives	Unmarried daughters
	Grandchildren	

It is indeed difficult to locate family units in which five generations live together under the same roof. In the villages of Andhradesa, particularly Telangana, it is impossible to find a family in which all nuclear families of three generations share a common house. Among the higher castes of the Hindus such large joint families are still met with in the small towns and cities, but they are not often seen in the villages. In actual practice joint families in this part of the country are much smaller units, and often they consist of parents and their married sons and their wives and children, or of brothers and their wives and children. While joint families are regarded as ideal, it is common for sons to separate from their parents within a few years of their marriage. As a result of this separation they start as an elementary family, which comprises at first only the husband and the wife. This elementary family gradually becomes larger as children are added to it. When sons grow up, get married and continue to live with their wives in their parental home the unit can once again be classed as a joint family. In this connection case-histories of one hundred and twenty families from the village were examined. In 34% of the cases sons had separated from their parents within two years of marriage. Thirty-six per cent separated between two and three years after marriage. Separation took place after three, but within five years of marriage in 28% cases. Only 22% of the sons were still found to be living with their parents five years after their marriage. As most marriages are between adults, effectiye married

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life begins almost immediately after the marriage ceremony, or at the most within six months. For the purposes of the above analysis, the year when their effective married life started has been regarded as the year of marriage.

Further analysis of the case-histories reveals an almost uniform pattern of development in a majority of cases. For a year or so after his marriage a son continues to live with his parents. His wife also lives with him. Domestic quarrels and dissensions develop within this period and compel him to start thinking about separation. In some cases this takes place in the course of the next year; in others it may take three to five years. Those who can hold together for five years generally continue to live under the same roof peacefully for a much longer period. Nevertheless, separation is known to have taken place in some cases even after ten to fifteen years of living together.

A young married man separating from his parents or brothers generally maintains close connections with their family or families. However, as the immediate cause for separation is often a quarrel or an acute difference of opinion, for some time the separating families continue to have strained relations. They may not even be on speaking terms. With the passage of time much of the bitterness of the dispute wears off and cordiality gradually returns to the different branches of the same main family. When the relations between the main family and the seceding family are once again cordial, they start taking interest in each other's affairs and problems. Ceremonies, feasts and festivals bring them all together. Rites connected with the major crises of life are great occasions for family reunions. Particularly in the event of death old quarrels and misunderstandings are generally forgotten and all near-relations assemble for the last rites. In the rituals that follow the presence of all the branches of the family is regarded as obligatory, and the absence of anyone at such an occasion is bound to be viewed very seriously. This would almost always lead to a permanent breach of relations between the absenting unit and the other units of the same family.

In this context it is necessary to point out that an equivalent of the term 'family' is used in the community to denote three different social units, each varying from the other slightly. It may mean: (1) the elementary family or the 'house', (2) the extended family unit, or (3) a still larger group comprising the near-

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kin on the paternal side. The composition of the family differs in different cases. In many cases it consists only of the husband and wife, their sons and unmarried daughters. In others one or both of the parents, unmarried brothers and unmarried sisters may also belong to this unit. Brothers and sons often establish their independent houses after marriage. In the same way, old parents may come to live with their son who had separated from them a decade or two earlier. 590

The *peddamanshi* or literally the 'big man' is the head of several family units which together constitute this extended family or allied families. In a still wider sense, family may include another category of near-kin who are one degree removed from the cluster of allied families.

In the diagram (overleaf) lines show the relatives who constitute the allied families, and dotted lines show the near-kin. Only unmarried girls belong to the family. On marriage they become members of their husband's family.

Each elementary family can be regarded as an independent unit of the extended family or the allied families. In everyday life it is practically free from the control of the other units of the allied families. Ordinarily these branches meet only on ceremonial and ritual occasions. Importance of the solidarity within the allied families is emphasized, and it is expected that any major decision will not be taken by any branch without consultation with the senior members of these allied families. Selling or buying land, starting litigation, obtaining large loans from a money-lender, leaving the village permanently for settling down in a different locality, and fixing the date and time for socio-religious ceremonies are among the subjects on which prior consultation with the senior members of the allied families is regarded as necessary. In any case the *peddamanshi* or head of these allied families should not be ignored. Often it is not difficult to get his permission and blessings; but people ignoring him inevitably come in for social censure. If the elders find the arrogance of the younger members too great they generally express their dissatisfaction and disapproval in their talk with the other people in the village. Their refusal to participate in a socio-religious ceremony of one of the branches of their family will cause a minor sensation in the village, and the comment of the society will generally be against the junior member who ignored the elders. If the affairs of any branch are in a [626]

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DIAGRAM SHOWING THE ALLIED FAMILIES AND THE NEAR-KIN

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bad way, the elders of the allied families are expected to intervene. Scandals or dishonourable behaviour in one unit are likely to spoil the name of all the allied families, and as such tradition enjoins elders to advise, warn and even admonish the erring members. A young man given to excessive drinking, gambling or any similar vice would often be admonished by the elders of this extended family. If he cannot keep his wife under control, or if the quarrels of the two become very frequent and too public, the neighbours would convey the information to the elders of the extended family and expect them to use their initiative in putting things right. In all such cases they will be within their customary rights if they intervene. They can demand that their advice is heard and followed.

Within the family unit the eldest male is generally regarded as the head. His wife or the next senior male is given the second place. A respectful son very often describes his old widowed mother as the 'head' of the family. However, in many cases the *de facto* head of the family may be a son under whose guidance and supervision the land is cultivated or the craft or profession of the family is practised. Parents dominate the scene in their youth and early middle age. With approaching old age they gradually recede to the background. Nominally they remain the heads of the family, but their sons are left more or less free to conduct the management of the family property and profession as they like. As long as the father remains the real head of the family, the internal management of the family remains the charge of the mother. Sons are expected to obey her and the daughters-in-law are expected to carry out her instructions. Any failure or reluctance on the part of a daughter-in-law to carry out the wishes of her mother-in-law leads to constant quarrels and complications, and in many cases to ultimate separation. Between sons and daughters, as a rule, preference is shown to the former, but if the sisters have considerable seniority in age, their younger brothers are expected to respect and obey them.

In the village community of Shamirpet, which has considerable variations of caste and class, and significant differences in education and urban contacts, it is only natural to expect great variations in the family ideals and ethics of the different groups. In the themes of their idealizations, the different sections of the population show striking similarities; but in their attitudes and reactions

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to specific social situations the different levels present remarkable contrasts.

For the purposes of such comparison, the population of the village may be broadly classified into three levels:

(1) *Upper Level*: comprising the 'twice born' castes of Brahmins and Komtis; rich Reddis and Muslims; and others who have had urban contacts or education in the city.

(2) *Intermediate Level*: all ordinary agriculturists; clean occupational castes and Muslim tradesmen constitute this group, which is by far the largest in the village.

(3) *Lower Level*: all the poorer sections of the population, such as the untouchable Malas and Madigas, and semi-tribal Vaddars and Erkalas, as well as poor Muslims, can be placed in this category.

With their urban contacts and education, as well as considerations of 'respectability' befitting their class, the people on the upper level set sufficiently high standards of behaviour. The stereotyped idealizations of the other two levels of population closely resemble the ideal-patterns of the upper level.

All three levels regard solidarity, co-operation and understanding as the essential attributes of the family that may be regarded as a model for the whole community. The ideal family should work on the principle of 'one for all, and all for one.' Different members of the family should function like an organized team, and have mutual trust and understanding. Toleration, goodwill and a sense of give-and-take among its members are necessary for the well-being and prosperity of the family. On the other hand, dissensions, conflicts and lack of understanding lead a family to its downfall.

There is unanimity in all three levels that the structure of the family is founded on its recognition of four basic principles. These are:

(1) Respect for age.
(2) Respect for position in the scale of kinship.
(3) Superiority of the male.
(4) Necessity of keeping certain family matters confined to the responsible members of the family, or at the most, within the family.

Further, in all three levels the importance of compromise as a

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tool for correct ordering of intra-family relations is emphasized. Mediation and reconciliation are regarded as the best methods of getting over family difficulties; timely partition of property and separation as the next best.

The people in the upper level not only believe in these ideals, but most of them consciously strive to achieve them in actual practice. A Brahmin will lose respect in the community if he gives up these noble ways and starts imitating the 'animal-like ways' of people on the lower levels. Prosperity of the Komti traders and money-lenders can be built up only when the whole family makes a concerted effort for it. A family of substantial agriculturists can further augment its land and improve its financial status by working hard as a team. This is equally applicable to both Hindu and Muslim agriculturists. People with urban contacts and education have also an urge to rise higher; and that necessitates solidarity, co-operation and understanding within the family. Great emphasis is laid here on correct behaviour towards different members of the family according to their age and kinship status. Disagreements must be expressed through permitted ways. Abuse and foul language should not be employed in referring to or addressing the elders. Any form of physical violence against them would be unthinkable and would cause great resentment in the other members of the family. Women on this level are generally kept confined to the home. Among the Muslims they observe strict *purdah*; among the Hindus for considerations of respectability it would be improper for them to go out to work. Thus they are largely confined to their houses. They have some ornamental value; nevertheless, in the entire social setting the comparative superiority of the male is latent. Family secrets on this level are always discussed in hushed tones, and all possible efforts are made to prevent them from leaking out. When husband and wife quarrel, the angry outburst must not be heard outside the home. If the husband beats the wife, her crying should not be loud enough to attract curious sympathizers into the house. The amours and intrigues of a member of the family, if they cannot be stopped, should at least be kept secret, and efforts should be made to prevent them from developing into open scandals. Mediation or arbitration by family elders is often effective for settling disputes within these families. If the misunderstandings and consequent difficulties seem to be beyond repair, property is gracefully

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829 partitioned, and separation granted to the members who want to
565 secede from the family. This is sought to be done in an orderly
593 way, and every possible effort is made to ensure that the differences within the family do not become the subject of local gossip.

When we consider the actual behaviour of the people on the intermediate level, we find that many of these ideals are very considerably diluted. The value of solidarity is understood, but the willingness to make concessions and personal sacrifices for the sake of the family is not sufficiently strong to make it really effective. Age is generally respected, but in angry outbursts abuse
[201] may be showered on parents and uncles. Unable to control his temper one may even spit at them, or throw dust at them (symbolizing their burial, and thus indirectly wishing their death), or strike them. It would probably be necessary to express some sort of an apology for this unbecoming behaviour later, but the unrepentant individual can repeat it when he is provoked again. This type of behaviour is confined to a few individuals, and is socially criticized but none the less tolerated. Here too the superiority of the male is insisted upon, but the woman also works and is not tied down to many of the shackles of respectability. She does not lose face if she is beaten by her husband semi-publicly; occasionally she hits him back. She expresses her anger or suffering by running back to her parental home. In many cases some effort is made to conceal family secrets, but when passions rise, a father and son, or two brothers, but more often a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, will openly quarrel in the courtyard or the village lanes, and in the course of the hearty exchange of abuse these secrets may be broadcast by them at the top of their voices. Family differences are discussed privately and occasionally in public as well, but even when property is divided and separation is completed, mutual bickerings and exchange of harsh words continue for several months in most cases.

829 On the lower level the 'ideals' get diluted so much that it is
593 difficult to find any traces of them in actual practice. Division of property and separation at this level are so frequent as to reduce
562 the conception of family solidarity to practically a meaningless
829 ideal. On ritual occasions, respect is shown to people on account of their age or kinship status, but in everyday life one can ignore these considerations with impunity. Although theoretically the woman is inferior, at this level she enjoys much more freedom. She

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can work for wages and has considerable freedom of movement. Sexual lapses on her part are more liberally viewed. If the husband beats her, she too can beat him. If the abuses of her husband are loud, hers can be louder still. She can leave her husband and take another with comparative ease, and without any social stigma. This would permanently lower the status of persons on the upper level, and would be commented upon very adversely in the intermediate class. The family secrets are announced to the outside world by the members of the family itself in their open-air quarrels. Compromises are often made through mediation and arbitration, but may be disregarded with comparative ease after a few days.

It is probably needless to say that the above three levels are not fixed, nor are they exclusive. Modern education and other modern means of communication—especially the cinema—often infuse a spirit of romantic individualism into the youth of the upper level, who, rather than working for family solidarity, often disintegrate it. Education, urban contacts, 'disgust with rustic ways', and desire for greater respectability according to accepted social standards in some cases set in motion efforts at vertical movement in families on the lower levels.

2. INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY

HUSBAND AND WIFE

According to the traditional norms of the society a husband is expected to be an authoritarian figure whose will should always dominate the domestic scene. As the head of the household he should demand respect and obedience from his wife and children. The wife should regard him as her 'master' and should 'serve him faithfully'. It is the husband's responsibility to provide adequately for the support and maintenance of 'his dependants' and the wife's duty is to 'run the household frugally and efficiently'. In an ideal home 'all major decisions are taken by the husband in consultation with his wife and grown-up children', but the final say in all matters connected with the family is always with the husband. The husband should 'watch the activities and ways of his wife' as well as 'take care of the proper upbringing of his children'. The wife should 'serve her husband with loyalty and devotion'. The husband is 'superior'; the wife is his 'subordinate'. As a mark of the recognition of his superiority, the wife shows respect to her

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593 562 husband by touching his feet. She washes the husband's clothes, and eats the leavings in his plate. The husband cannot do likewise. When the wife errs, the husband reprimands her, and can abuse and beat her. However, a good wife is not expected to answer him back. Even when the husband is wrong she is supposed to bear her lot meekly and submissively. This cultural pattern is reflected in the lament of the wife over her husband's demise, when she wails, 'Where is my lord? Where is my master? Now who will support me? The shield that protected me is gone; now I am helpless.'

This, then, is the 'ideal'. Almost everyone in the village would verbalize the expected husband-wife relationship in similar words. But the reality appears to be very different; and a close study of the actual family records would reveal that these ideals are more or less a social fiction. The husband is, without doubt, superior, and has, in most families, the upper hand; but practically nowhere do we find him a completely dominant, authoritarian and patriarchal figure. Moreover, the quality of inter-personal relations between husband and wife change as they leave one stage of life and enter another.

585 593 [591] It has been pointed out earlier that married life is started by a couple under the parental roof. During this stage, at least for the first few months, they are not supposed to show any special concern for each other. The man continues to work under the direction of his father or elder brother; the woman carries out the instructions of her mother-in-law. There is hardly any opportunity for them to meet and talk during the day, and when they do meet under the cover of darkness, possibly in a separate room, the proximity of the parents' room does not allow them the liberty of engaging in audible love-play or even of talking freely. Of necessity they have to speak in whispers. The cultural pattern demands that the wife must resist the initial advances of her husband for several nights. She often feigns complete ignorance regarding sexual matters and displays horror and disgust when the husband approaches her. After two or three weeks the wife becomes more co-operative. Now sex dominates their life for the several months that follow. There is casual conversation between the two, but in 593 606 these first months household affairs are invariably not discussed by them. The husband generally speaks to her about the village affairs and his kinsfolk. He also tells her his experiences of the city.

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The girl talks to him about her childhood friends in the village and about her relations. At this stage, even if she is troubled by her mother-in-law, she would not complain to her husband about her discomforts and difficulties at home. The stereotype norms that a girl unconsciously picks up from conversation between elderly women, or consciously learns as a result of direct instruction by her mother are: 'Unless the husband is completely under your influence, do not try to take him away from his mother. When your grip over him is firm, you can persuade him to do what you like. But any premature efforts on your part will only generate distrust about you in his heart.' Thus, she begins complaining to her husband about the bad treatment that she receives from her mother-in-law and the other women relations when she is sure that the relative strength of her influence over him is greater than theirs. The husband finds himself in a dilemma. He knows that a man who 'listens too much to his wife' is an object of social scorn and ridicule. Thus if he starts taking sides with his wife, the comment of the elders would generally be against him, and even the people of his own age-group would circulate funny, but often quite imaginary, stories about his submissiveness to his wife. On the other hand, he realizes that nearly everyone at some stage has to take sides, and that even his critics have had to do so, at some point in their lives. His position becomes really difficult when he is subjected to pressure simultaneously from two directions: when the mother complains about his wife and the wife complains about his mother. To begin with, most sons ignore these complaints and accusations, and refuse to take sides. In the next stage they side with, or at least pretend to side with, the mother. For the satisfaction of the mother the son would scold the wife once or twice. If the wife takes it ill, she would refuse to speak with him when they meet in the night. The husband has then to make some efforts to console her. Often he says to her that he did not intend any of his remarks to be taken seriously. Or he may even say that the mock-scolding was meant only to satisfy the old mother. The wife takes this opportunity to narrate more accounts of sufferings that she has to undergo in the house, on account of the troublesome mother-in-law and the other deceitful female relatives. In a joint family this continues, but in a great majority of cases after some years the husband and wife secede from the main family to set up an independent household of their own.

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593 With the setting up of an independent houshold the nature of husband-wife relations undergoes a definite change. Now the two are free to run their own affairs. No doubt the husband has not now to work under anybody's supervision, but he also lacks the security provided by the joint family. Similarly, the wife has no longer to slave for her mother-in-law, but all the same she has to do the entire work connected with the running of the household. The husband is now the real head and has to work hard to provide for the maintenance of the family. The major share of the family's subsistence comes through his labour; in some cases the wife also assists him. In many families, a small part of the family's earnings may be contributed by the wife also. But the main task of the woman is to run the household and manage the domestic economy. As far as possible the house should be kept neat and tidy, children and cattle should be well looked after, and above all at fixed hours meals should be provided for the members of the family. Ordinarily a woman does not interfere with 'outside affairs', that is matters not directly connected with domestic management are believed to be the responsibility of the husband. Similarly, the husband is not expected to meddle too much in the actual running of the household. Nevertheless, major decisions connected with either of these spheres are arrived at after mutual consultation. Cases on record clearly show that in several instances a dominating wife effectively interferes in the management of 'outside affairs', and in time the husband learns not only to take her advice but to depend upon it. On the other hand, instances of the other type are not wanting, where a wife who is consistently negligent about her household duties is sharply rebuked by her husband and is made to carry out his detailed instructions regarding the actual management of domestic affairs. Care and education of the children are primarily the responsibility of the mother, but in this field the father is also expected to give some of his time and attention.

593 837 Both husband and wife watch each other's activities closely. Improvidence and spendthrift habits, excessive drinking and gambling, and extra-marital sex-intrigues to the neglect of the spouse on the part of the husband are critically watched and commented on by the wife. If mild hints do not prove effective she takes recourse to taunts and threats. One of the most important and often-used weapons in the armoury of the wife is her threat

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of running away to her parental home. She often expresses her anger and discontent by neglecting the children and other household activities. If things still do not improve to her satisfaction, she begins to protest loudly, which often ends in open quarrels and altercations. On the other hand, among the men the stereotype that by nature woman is faithless is widely believed, and while they admit that there are some notable exceptions, they nevertheless emphasize the necessity of vigilance on the part of the husband and other responsible members of the family. The suspicion regarding a woman is directed particularly against two things: namely, possibility of a sexual liaison with a 'lover', and that of her stealthily giving money and grain to her relatives on the paternal side. If he suspects his wife, the husband makes suggestive hints and veiled threats. When subsequent events confirm his suspicion, he voices his protests loudly. Now he administers threats of dire consequences, and as a foretaste of what would come if she does not change her ways, he may even beat his wife. If things do not change for the better even with this, the subsequent developments may indeed be very complicated. However, much depends on the personality and disposition of the husband. Rather than allowing the affair to develop into an open scandal, some husbands overlook occasional lapses of their wives; others are so jealous that they cannot forget an incident of this type even when the wives mend their ways and keep on taunting them.

In a joint family, the daughter-in-law does not have any independence unless she becomes the mother of two or three children. Until then she should not be found even speaking to her husband. Efforts at endearment, smiling or even exchanging fond glances would be enough to cause comment and would earn for the couple a reputation for being 'shameless'. The husband in such families often hears the complaints from both his mother and his wife, and leaves them to adjust their relations among themselves.

In the preceding section I have discussed the ethics and ideals of family organization on the three levels of village population. The authoritarian husband and the docile wife is the ideal of people on all three levels, but it is only on the upper level that we find them holding to the ideal in actual practice. Even there, the desire to maintain 'family prestige' and 'good name' forces the husband to overlook some of the faults and failings of the wife and

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593 565 837 [586] to maintain silence about them. But if affairs cross the limits of decency, or the constant misbehaviour of the wife threatens to become the subject of public gossip, the wife receives very harsh treatment and may even be driven out of the house. If she once leaves the house, readmittance for her would be practically impossible among the people of the upper level. On the other two levels, while tempers are roused very quickly and are even expressed publicly in a violent way, the reconciliation is not difficult. Faults of the wife are often openly discussed among them, and she is ridiculed in the presence of others; but she is quite readily forgiven also, and if she does not go astray again, she soon regains her former position in the household.

593 The stereotyped attitudes of wives for husbands and of husbands for wives are common for the community—as a whole. 'A woman should not be trusted. You can never tell when and how she would slip out', say the men in a knowing manner. Others add, 'Much depends on the husband. He must control his wife properly. Once he relaxes his control, then she is practically gone for all times.' The women, on the other hand, regard all men as heartless. 'It is impossible to please a husband; to-day he likes a thing very much; to-morrow he will lose his temper over it.' 'The lot of a woman is difficult. Unlucky ones receive beatings every day; the lucky ones get them only periodically. But is there a woman whose husband never beats her?' In a philosophical vein they add, 'And why not? The man works and earns. If we do not please him he beats us. Of what use are our protests? If a bullock runs away from one owner, will not its second master yoke it to a plough and mercilessly goad it to move faster? If we leave one man and go to another, what guarantee is there that he will not treat us in the same way?'

The wife does not dominate the domestic scene, but if she is tactful she can manipulate things in such a way that her husband will rarely go against her wishes. Gradually she comes to occupy a key position within the household.

581 Finally two significant questions may be raised: what type of wives do most men want? and what type of husbands do most women want? While the ideals and likes and dislikes of individuals are bound to differ greatly on the basis of their personal equations, certain attributes are considered desirable by people from nearly all the different levels of the community. A wife should be, above

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all, of a pleasant disposition, and should endeavour to keep her husband pleased. She must be 'tactful' and should be able to 'dissuade the husband from going the wrong way' without causing offence to him. This tact would be a valuable asset to her in organizing her general relations with the other members of the family. 'Foolish wives grumble and cry, and go on slaving for the household; the intelligent one wins over everyone by her pleasantness.' Then the wife must be a good housekeeper and a tolerable cook. Her economic virtues would ultimately earn for her the key position in the family. She must spend the money entrusted to her care very judiciously. She should save enough to buy her ornaments; and should lay aside something to meet unforeseen expenses. The more she can save without the knowledge of her husband, the more she will be appreciated by the elderly women. In sex she should not be passive, but should not be violently active either. 'We don't want a woman to be like a log of wood in the bed; but the aggressive ones definitely repel us', the men often remark. The women also comment on oversexed women who are shameless enough to cross the limits of womanly decency. Husbands do not want their wives to be fussy. The womenfolk seem to be well aware of this. In the words of one of our informants, 'If we nag too much, our words lose their value and our husbands make it a habit not to listen to whatever we say.'

Women's 'ideal' of a husband is a man who 'works hard and earns enough' to feed and keep the family in good clothes. If he can buy ornaments for the wife, he will be all the more admired. He should 'take an interest in his wife and children', and look to their comfort and welfare. While the women take it for granted that no husband is ever completely faithful to his wife, they resent their semi-permanent or permanent affiliations to a woman outside. They protest if his amours prove too expensive to the family. No woman would like her husband to earn the epithet of being 'a woman's slave', but neither do they want him to be overstrict and temperamental. The suggestion that a husband could be meek and docile appeared rather ridiculous to most women; what they seemed to like best was a firm, but friendly husband. A man not given to any excesses and possessing personality-traits which mark him out in the community in some way would certainly be an object of pride for his wife.

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PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 In general the attitude of the children towards their parents should be one of respect and obedience. Very early in his life a child must learn to act on the traditional norms of showing respect to different categories of people on the basis of their age and kinship status. The parents are entitled to the highest respect from the children; the latter must show it by touching their feet on ceremonial occasions. Between the father and the mother, the former symbolizes authority to a greater degree, while the constant association of the latter develops ties of sympathetic understanding between her and the children. Both must be respected, but of the two the father is feared much more. The mother is generally responsible for the upbringing of the children, but vigilance is also expected of the father, who must provide the corrective when too much leniency on the part of the mother begins to spoil the children. Of course the mother is responsible for the daily care of the children. She baths, clothes and feeds them. She looks after them during their illnesses. While she is doing her normal household work, she is expected to keep an eye on the children, and to ensure that they are kept away from mischief. Until they are about five years old, the life of the children centres around the mother. It is to her that they look for protection and help. 'When he is in a playful mood, the father may fondle the child; but it is the mother who attends to his daily routine.' 'The father,' it is said, 'loves the smiling child, but it is the mother who has to pacify it when it starts crying.'

[358] The nature of the parent-child relationship changes with the age and status of the children. The traditional themes of correct treatment during infancy and early childhood are very different from those of childhood and adolescence. Similarly, when the sons and daughters enter the phases of youth and subsequently of adulthood, the tone of the parent-child relationship undergoes a significant modification.

593 Traditional opinion regards a son as an asset; a daughter, a
842 liability. While a son 'belongs' to his parents, a daughter is bound eventually to go to some other family. Care of a daughter is regarded as 'watering a neighbour's tree'; you take all the trouble with it but its fruit goes to someone else. In a large family having many sons, a girl is definitely desired and welcomed. A family having too many daughters and no sons is unhappy, for a son is

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both a psychological and a ritual necessity. Notwithstanding this preference for sons, in actual practice no discrimination is observed in the treatment of children on the grounds of their sex.

As a rule infants are treated with affection. Until a child is four or five years old, it is mainly a responsibility of the mother. The mother nurses it whenever it starts crying indicating its desire to be fed. The child sleeps with its mother in the night and is at liberty to suck whenever it likes. Feeding of the child is primarily the mother's duty. However, when it is six to eight months old, elder sisters, female relations and male members of the household may start sharing this task with her by occasionally giving solid food to the child. While other relations give some food to the child occasionally, its attachment to the mother does not diminish in any significant way, as it is breast-fed by her until it is four or five years old. In teaching the child regular habits of sphincter control, standing, walking and speaking the mother's share is very considerable.

On the whole, an infant is the cause of delight to the family, and it is often fondled and carried about by the elders. They all invariably make funny faces and peculiar noises to make the baby smile, fondle it in many different ways, and find great enjoyment in imitating its meaningless sounds.

The situation radically changes after the child reaches the age of five or six years. Now the parents must be strong and should start disciplining it. At this stage the child finds the father an authoritarian figure and begins to fear him. The liberty that he was allowed during his early childhood is increasingly curtailed. Now the accent is on good behaviour and regular habits. The child is more frequently spanked for being troublesome. Absorbed in the care of a younger baby, the mother may often have to leave the elder child to spend most of his time in his own way. During the day-time he mostly plays out of doors with other children of his age-group. As he grows older the discipline becomes more and more difficult. At first he was punished for being 'troublesome' or for 'crying without reason', but now he has to distinguish clearly between things to be done and things not to be done. The child must be very particular about the latter. These include mostly urinating and defecating inside the house, demanding food and money at odd times too often, beating younger brothers and sisters, stealing, lying and using foul language. As a general rule, the

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lighter punishments are administered by the mother, who deals with the minor faults and offences of her children. All serious offences and persistent defiance of the mother's authority are reported by her to the father. Very often the mother's threat that she would report the matter to the father is enough to set the recalcitrant children right. In point of fact, many mothers build up the father as a figure to be feared, and in some instances the children actually tremble when they are produced before him for disobedience and other improper conduct. The punishments inflicted by the father on his children are less frequent but more severe. But from the above it should not be surmised that the children's attitude towards the father is only that of fear, for that would obviously be wrong. Fear and respect there certainly are, but not without a definite feeling of confidence and friendship for him. While difficulties are more often referred to and help sought from the mother, the father is not unapproachable, and indeed many fathers teach their children new games, make them small playthings, occasionally take them out for sight-seeing, buy them sweets and other tit-bits, and on demand give them a little money too.

During later childhood and adolescence the girls draw themselves closer and closer to the mother and occupy themselves mainly with feminine pursuits. The boys continue to maintain close and intimate relations with the mother, but her authority over them gradually diminishes. They learn to coax and cajole her. They know her weaknesses and devise ingenious ways to tease her. She often threatens to bring matters to the notice of the father, but the boys know very well that in all probability the threat will not be carried out. But during this period the father watches the development of his sons with greater interest and when complaints are brought to him the punishment is often exemplary. Traditionally this is believed to be the period when 'boys go tough' and are difficult to manage, and it is during this phase that the father must exercise tact and firmness in keeping them under control. They must keep the right sort of company, and should not be allowed to spend all their time playing and planning mischief. Even if they go to the village school, they should give some time to their traditional caste occupations. By assisting their elders and seeing them at work they should be able to acquire the fundamentals of what in all likelihood is going to be their main vocation

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in life. Indirect education through folktales, parables and songs is now supplemented by direct and conscious instruction by the parents. The mother seeks to train her daughter to be a good wife; she would often say to her, 'The husband's home is very different from the home of your parents. Here you sit down and the meals are served to you by your mother; there even if you work to the point of breaking your limbs you will not have a word of appreciation. And if you do not work, your tormenting mother-in-law and sisters-in-law will not only abuse you, but will also remember your parents in the foulest language.' Through anecdotes and reminiscences, she creates a vivid picture in the daughter's mind of what she is likely to find when she leaves her first home to enter her second and real home. As the time for the girl's marriage approaches, she finds herself attached to the mother all the more. If the father disapproves of any of the ways of the girl seriously, rather than speak to her directly, he would bring the matter to the notice of her mother, through whom he would seek to influence the daughter. Of course on minor matters he can speak to her directly. Similarly, in the case of grown-up boys, when any action more serious than a mere warning, use of strong language or giving of a threat is called for it is the father and not the mother who is supposed to handle them.

When the children enter their youth and adulthood, there are further changes in the pattern of inter-personal relationships between the parents and children. By this time the girls are married off and leave the parental home to take their place as wives in the homes of their respective husbands. For three or four years they maintain a somewhat intimate and regular contact with their parental home, and their people too are interested in their adjustment and welfare in the new surroundings. Afterwards, however, the girl gets increasingly absorbed in the affairs of her own home, and the memories of childhood friends, as well as those of her parental home, gradually recede into the background. In later years, on ceremonial occasions she returns to her parental home more or less a stranger. Not that the parents are totally unconcerned about the welfare of their daughter, or that the girl has altogether forgotten them, but the distance that separates them (in time and space) gradually takes away much of the glow and warmth of the feelings which they have for one another. On the other hand, the boys also marry and their wives come home to

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884 593 live with them. They think that this ends their tutelage under their father and establishes them as independent members of the community. The parents do not necessarily share this view, and consequently in the period that follows there is considerable stress and need for understanding and accommodation on both sides. The son is divided between loyalty to his father and his new-found desire for independence on the one hand; his affection for the mother generated by close association from the day of birth and his attraction for the wife on the other. During this stage the parents cannot punish or chastise their sons; they can at best advise [626] and warn. When repeated advice and warnings do not have the desired effect, methods of employing pressure or ridicule are resorted to. Pressure may be brought to bear on the son through village elders, other influential people and even through his friends. Stories about sons who forget their duties and responsibilities towards their parents because of their wives are legion. Socially it is bad form to be engrossed completely in the wife to the neglect of the parents; it is worse to deny them the respect and courtesy that is their due at the bidding of the wife. The traditional norms of respectful behaviour must be observed in dealing with parents. Intimate subjects, particularly those having a bearing on sex, should not be discussed in the presence of the parents. Opinion should not be proffered unless it is asked for. All forms of endearment must be avoided by the husband and wife in the presence of the elders. It is not very proper for a young father to fondle and kiss his child too often when his parents are present. Finally, parents should not be abused or beaten; as far as possible differences should be smoothed out by peaceful means. Nevertheless, when there are acute differences in the points of view of the parents and children, exchange of hot words and loud quarrels between them are not uncommon.

888 Tradition lays down fairly strict norms regarding the treatment of aged, dependent parents. A son failing in his duty of providing adequately for his old parents, and not caring sufficiently for their comforts, particularly during illness, invites strong social disapproval and comment. He is regarded as a bad example. Elders, well-wishers and friends are bound to remind him repeatedly about his obligations to his aged parents. At this stage the old people are expected not to interfere with the domestic management of the household, and as a price for this non-interference the

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sons and their wives are enjoined by tradition to forget all disputes and dissensions and 'give as much comfort to the old people in their last days' as they possibly can. 888

THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

The daughter-in-law, coming from a different family and often from a different village, finds herself in totally new surroundings in her husband's home. Now she enters the new phase of life about which she has heard so much since the beginning of her later childhood. She has now to encounter the mother-in-law for whom she has an unmistakable dread. She expects her to be wicked, cruel and heartless. She has learnt to regard her husband's sisters as cunning and deceitful, and the wives of his elder brothers as troublesome and scheming. She expects love and friendship from the husband, but has to bear in mind the oft-repeated dictum of the village women that 'all men are uncertain' and that 'they cannot be depended upon'. She expects sympathy and friendship from her husband's younger brothers and his younger sisters—from the latter only if they are not grown up and if they are not almost of her own age. With the exception of these she has either to respect or to avoid most other members of the family. She comes to her new home with considerable diffidence and fear. She knows that here all her acts will be closely watched and criticized, and she has been taught to believe that however well she may act, it will not be easy for her to please her new relations-in-law. She leaves her parental home with a sorrowful heart, and enters that of her husband full of misgivings and uncertainty. 606 607

Notwithstanding the mental picture that she has had, she finds the reception given to her quite cordial. In most homes an effort is made to create a 'good impression' on her. At least for a few weeks she has some novelty about her, and is therefore cared for and looked after very well. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law do not spare her a critical eye, but their comments are invariably made when the bride is not within hearing distance. But this phase lasts only a few weeks, or at the most, two or three months. Later she must be initiated into the ways and traditions of the household and should be taught 'how to do things properly'. Each house has some peculiarities that are distinctly its own, and in order to adjust successfully into its pattern it is necessary for the bride to know and respect these. She must learn her own part in the domestic

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606 work, and do it to the satisfaction of the hypercritical female
607 relations. If she wants to make an impression, she must relieve the mother-in-law and other elderly and important women in the house of a part of their work by undertaking to do it herself. A mother-in-law is bound to be pleased with her if she offers to massage her feet at night. 'Good mothers' often train their daughters to take recourse to these methods for making an initial good impression on the hard-to-please mother-in-law. However, in some cases a different pattern seems to be followed. Some mothers say to their daughters, 'The more submissive you are the more your mother-in-law will make you work hard. If by mistake you do her part of the work on one day, you will find that it will become a regular part of your duty from the next day. The best way is to avoid all work which is normally to be done by someone else.' This view too is not without some truth.

606 Gradually the enthusiasm for the bride cools off as she does not
607 remain 'new' for a very long time. She is expected to pass the rest
578 of her life in this house, and as such it is necessary for her to adapt herself to its ways. Her steps are watched; her contribution to the work of the household is critically evaluated, and comments are freely made to appraise her of the views of others regarding the quality and quantity of her work. The mother-in-law and the sisters-in-law keenly observe her talk and behaviour. Does she praise her parents and their home very much? If she does, the mother-in-law or one of the sisters-in-law will unearth some scandal about them. If she praises the fields belonging to her father, or even happens to mention the good food which she ate at home, her remarks would be noticed, and in return she would be taunted, either immediately, or at a suitable occasion later. Thus if she is tactless enough to say, 'I remember the rice in our house which had such a delicate flavour', in reply she would hear something like this: 'Yes, we know. In your parental house they served you platefuls of pearls and diamonds in place of rice; in this house you get only a handful of broken rice and paddy straw.' A casual remark from the daughter-in-law about her feeling tired, may be taken to mean that she is complaining about the hard work which she is made to do. The mother-in-law would retort, 'Yes, my flower, I know you are delicate. Why? In your parents' home you had dozens of servants and you did not have to move so much as a grain of rice, and here you work from dawn to midnight. They

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ought to have married you to a prince. Why did you come to a house as poor as this?' And so it goes on. The mother-in-law and her daughters, married or unmarried, form one clique. The daughters-in-law of necessity form another, but they are divided among themselves, and have rivalry, jealousy and suspicion for one another. The pattern of inter-personal relations emerging from it is very complicated. There is always considerable back-biting and telling of tales. Alliances are formed and broken periodically. A daughter-in-law working diligently to find some favour with the mother-in-law is envied by the other daughters-in-law, who never fail to find fault with her, and always manipulate things to place the blame for anything going wrong squarely on her. In a simple and casual utterance, very often, some hidden meaning is read: on the other hand, explosive remarks are couched in simple words and very innocently made. The intrigues and jealousies among the womenfolk in a joint family are the despair of men. 'If we listen even to a fraction of the goings-on in the family, we will lose our heads', say the men. Others add philosophically, 'God has made mothers-in-law to quarrel with the wives of their sons coming to their homes. We cannot help it. Men will not remain men if they cease quarrelling; we shall all become gods!'

This is indeed a very well-established social pattern. To a mother-in-law, none of the daughters-in-law is perfect, although she may have preference for one over and above the others. From the daughters-in-law's point of view, a mother-in-law would ever remain a mother-in-law: 'Good and bad scorpions, both have the sting; the difference is that the one uses it more often than the other.'

I have already pointed out that the wives of brothers living together occasionally unite against the mother-in-law, but they too have their mutual jealousies and disputes. Husband's sisters, when they are young, are often quite friendly towards their sisters-in-law, but as they grow up they 'get wings' and start indulging in back-biting against them.

The daughter-in-law must maintain sufficient distance from her husband's father and his elder brothers. Unless it is absolutely necessary they should not speak to one another, and when it cannot be helped they must communicate in the minimum of words. Familiarity or intimate talk between them is regarded as highly improper. On the other hand, with the husband's younger

606 brothers the daughter-in-law has terms of privileged familiarity,
607 and while they are not expected to cross certain limits, tradition permits them to indulge in joke and banter. Unmarried brothers-in-law provide sympathy and friendship to the harassed wife, but when they grow up they too are drawn to their wives, and the former ties of intimacy are gradually forgotten in the humdrum realities of life.

SIBLINGS

573 Social ideals demand that there should be solidarity between siblings, especially between brothers, and that they should 'love and help' one another. The older brothers and sisters, particularly the latter, must share the responsibility of looking after the younger ones with their mother. In actual practice up to the age of six or seven they are constant companions; later the sisters gradually become absorbed in feminine pursuits and are thus unable to participate as freely in the children's games as they did before, and the boys too develop greater interest in their respective play-groups. Thus, to begin with, the inter-personal relations between the siblings are closest in their early childhood, but later they develop on their own lines, and distance between the sexes increases gradually.

The older siblings can claim some 'authority' over the younger ones. When the mother is otherwise occupied or is ill, the older siblings have to look after and care for the younger brothers and sisters. Particularly the older sisters have to lend a helping hand to the mother, and very often children become so much attached to them that they come to regard them as substitutes for the mother. While siblings of more or less the same age-group have to 'help, support and defend' one another, in their dealings with the other village children, the older ones must keep an eye on the doings of their younger brothers and sisters and bring their faults to
[861] the notice of the parents. The older siblings can occasionally spank the younger ones under their charge, but they must not do it too often. In return for the limited authority which they enjoy, they have to make some concessions. When a younger sibling starts crying for something, it is expected that an older brother or sister should forgo his own share to appease him. 'He is younger; he does not understand it, but you are older and understand everything. Let him have the thing. After all, he is your brother',

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the parents often say when they want to persuade one of their older children to yield to an apparently 'unreasonable demand' of the younger. When there is a quarrel between the siblings, it is invariably the elder who is admonished. 'One can understand a young child being unreasonable, but being older you should know better', the parents would say. Younger children very often complain to the parents about the older siblings; the latter prefer to deal with them personally when the parents are away. However, if the parents are too partial to their pet child, the others conspire to put him in disfavour. Spying by the younger children, when it is discovered, is punished by the older siblings. They may boycott them, refuse to speak to them, may not allow them to partake of their share of good things to eat, and may tease them in various ingenious ways. They often have a silly nickname for such a child, or they may keep on referring to some oddity in him, and thus tease and cause offence to him constantly. When they are six or seven, brothers and sisters form different groups. Aware of the pattern of male dominance, the brothers begin to regard themselves as superior to the sisters. They dislike doing anything which is regarded as 'feminine work', and if compelled to do so do not fail to express their extreme distaste. They would prefer to do it only if unobserved by their playmates, for if one of them were to notice it the 'news' would soon spread and the other boys would have funny ditties and remarks ready when next they met him. At this stage they begin to assert their superiority over their sisters. The latter must not join them in boy's games. When they are discovered engaging in anything that is regarded as particularly masculine, they are told, 'Now go and mind the pots; there is plenty to do at home.' Family histories recorded for the purpose of this study do not reveal any permanent tender emotional ties between brothers and sisters. It has already been pointed out that a few years after her marriage a girl returns more or less as a stranger to her parental home. On the other hand, there is considerable attachment between the sisters before they are married, but in their case also it gradually wears off after marriage.

The brothers either continue to live in the same house, or, if they separate, they live in the same village. Migrations are comparatively few, and even when one of the brothers moves away he continues to maintain contact with the families of his brothers

593 still resident in the village. Tradition emphasizes the necessity of solidarity between brothers, even if they live separately. They should stand by and support one another in the hour of need.
578 Indeed, there are considerable misunderstandings and consequent quarrels between families, but they do co-operate and support one another when serious situations arise and call for such assist-
626 ance. Those who fail to rise to the occasion and do not behave in the expected way are criticized by the community and may even be admonished publicly by the village elders. However, regarding the general tone of inter-personal relations between brothers it may be said that it is not characterized by deep sentiments and affection. Understanding is desirable, but it is believed to be rather difficult to attain. However, ties of kinship inevitably bring them close to each other on ritual occasions and in moments of distress.

OTHER RELATIVES WITHIN THE FAMILY

603 Brief mention may be made here of certain other categories of relatives who live together in the same house within the joint family.

Grandparents are believed to be indulgent. It is said that they 'always spoil the grandchildren'. It is remarkable that persons who have had a reputation for being very 'strict fathers' behave in an altogether different way with their grandchildren. They are lenient and friendly towards them, and indeed take a lot of interest in them. Amusing grandchildren and being in turn amused by them is one of the favourite pastimes of the grandparents. Most of the time they can be seen fondling them or carrying them about. When their parents are angry with them, young children often take shelter with their grandparents. Very few grandparents ever complain about the behaviour of the little ones, and they would rarely spank them.

604 An uncle must be treated like the father and an aunt like the mother. But in this relationship much depends on the age and personality of the uncle. If he is nearer in age to the children than to the father, he is regarded as a superior kind of elder brother, but if he is nearer to the father in respect of age, he is feared and respected by the children. Often the children develop their pattern of relationship with an uncle on the basis of his character and personality. 'Some uncles are friendly. They allow us considerable

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liberty and shield us when parents are angry. We like them and willingly do odd bits of work for them. But others are different. They always have a frown on their faces. At the slightest pretext they are annoyed. We do their work too, but very grudgingly. We make faces behind their backs.' The same applies to aunts. Cousins should be regarded as brothers and sisters, and in a joint family they are certainly treated as such. It naturally follows from this that one should treat one's nephews and nieces as one's own children. While this is found to be rather difficult in actual practice, any favouritism and partiality to one's own children to the exclusion of the brother's children is a fruitful cause of dissension within the family.

RELATIONS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY

Affinal relatives do not maintain close contacts. They meet only on ceremonial and ritual occasions and in such meetings follow the mode of correct behaviour prescribed by tradition. A man will show respect and touch the feet of both his father-in-law and mother-in-law, but his relations with them would always be of a formal nature and would rarely be characterized by intimacy or emotional attachment. Similarly, between the respective parents-in-law of a husband and wife, the relations are rather formal. When they do meet on ceremonial occasions or visit one another, they try to be polite and consciously avoid controversial issues which may cause unpleasantness. If the father of a girl is compelled to intervene on behalf of his daughter who finds life rather difficult in her husband's home, he will exercise considerable tact and refer to the matter in a roundabout way. Amicable settlement is preferred, and all possible efforts are made to avoid a show-down.

Outside the family circle the relations between a person and his or her mother's brother are of special significance. As cross-cousin marriages are preferred in the community, a boy expects to get his wife from his maternal uncle's home, and a girl feels that she may have to go there as a daughter-in-law. With the younger brothers and sisters of his wife a man would have joking relations, and would frequently exercise the privilege of familiarity permitted to him by custom. Other relatives such as maternal grandfather and maternal grandmother are so distant, and contacts with them so rare, that there are no traditional norms regarding them.

WEB OF FAMILY TIES

602 However, in dealing with such relatives who are outside the family circle, one must observe the prescribed etiquette. They must be invited on all ceremonial occasions, and when they arrive they must be 'received well'. At the ceremony itself they should be given a place of honour befitting their age and relationship status. The relationship entitles them to hospitality, and according to the 'resources and capacity' of the family they should be well looked after when they are staying as guests. It is customary to cook special dishes in honour of such guests, and the choicest share of what is prepared is invariably given to them. Due attention should be given to their comforts for the entire period of their stay as guests in the house.

582 Among Muslims, besides cross-cousin marriage, marriage
605 between parallel cousins is permitted and indeed encouraged. As a consequence of this the pattern of inter-personal relations between the children of two brothers is somewhat different from that described for the whole community. Cousins of opposite sexes spend their childhood together with each other playing and behaving as brother and sister. At the age of eight or nine an effort is made to segregate them, but this segregation is neither strict nor complete, and they continue to meet, and if they like they can
[562] find opportunities to talk with each other. But when formal negotiations for marriage are opened, it is expected that the girl will start observing *purdah* and start veiling herself. From this time onwards the cousins should not have any direct contact. If the cousins are not to be married, they can continue as before. The correct mode of behaviour for them would be to regard each other as brother and sister.

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Muslims
Hindus

CHAPTER SIX

The Levels of Living

1. STATUS DIFFERENTIATION IN THE COMMUNITY

Six major factors contribute towards status differentiation in the village community of Shamirpet. They are:

i. Religion and caste.
ii. Landownership.
iii. Wealth.
iv. Position in government service and village organization.
v. Age.
vi. Distinctive personality traits.

Religion divides the community into two distinct groups: the Hindus and Muslims, standing out in marked contrast to each other. Hinduism is the older and longer established religion, and the majority of people in the village are Hindus. The Muslim group is largely composed of local converts, drawn from a number of castes—high and low. The Hindus naturally have a feeling of superiority regarding their religious faith and its antiquity, and do not view with favour the indiscriminate mixing of different castes in the Muslim community. But until 1948 they could not express these feelings openly as the Muslims had the backing of the State administration. The State was under Muslim rule, and being of the 'ruling race' the village Muslims were naturally in an advantageous position. They claimed superiority over the Hindus, and tried to dominate the village scene. While practical considerations forced the Hindus to remain silent, the Muslims aggressively denounced them as heathens. It had its reaction: after the Police Action, when Hyderabad was no longer a feudal

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Hindus
Muslims

Muslim State, the Hindus had their revenge by pouring scorn openly on Muslim religion and society. It was now the turn of the Muslims to observe silence, and tolerate humiliation and insults. At the time of our investigations, however, most of these passions had subsided, and no significant tensions were observed. As groups both Hindus and Muslims regard themselves as superior in point of religion. From the socio-economic point of view the Muslims can be regarded as an exclusive caste whose social standing is roughly equal to that of the agricultural castes.

Caste as a factor of social differentiation is more significant. It has been pointed out that in its structure, the caste system has definitely a hierarchical character. Between the highest and the lowest castes, there are several intermediate levels. The social status of a person is largely determined by his caste. The mere fact of birth in a particular caste gives a good initial start to some and puts obstacles in the way of others. In a subsequent chapter I propose to examine some of the stereotypes current in the village community regarding the qualities and characteristics of different castes; but notwithstanding these the relative position of the different castes in the village community is determined by the traditional scale.

Religion and caste are more or less fixed and permanent factors. While change of faith is possible, and under certain circumstances a person can even descend from one of the higher castes to the lowest, such changes are very rare. At any rate no one takes recourse to them to bring about a change in his social status. The only case of change of faith recorded by us in the village is that of the present headmaster of the school who was a Brahmin to begin with, but later embraced Islam. No case of change of caste came to our notice.

In a predominantly agricultural society it is natural to expect that possession of land and cattle would contribute greatly to an individual's social status. Birth into a family of landowners ensures that a person will grow up to be a respected member of the village community. Acquisition of land would very materially affect the social position even of a person of humble birth, and if he does not behave tactlessly it would greatly enhance his prestige. An untouchable Mala peasant is now counted among the influential cultivators of the village and is given a place of honour in its counsels. He is still an untouchable and would continue to remain

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one, but in village matters his voice is now more effective. He insists on being regarded as low and humble, never offers his opinion unless it is specifically sought, and never fails to behave correctly towards the superior castes. Through this he earns the respect and admiration of the whole community. Again, two Madiga cultivators, belonging to the lowest untouchable caste who are now well-off and own land, are never forced to do free menial work like the other poorer members of their caste.

What is true of land ownership, is true also of the possession of other forms of wealth. Different kinds of houses denote different social status. The rich and the well-to-do people live in substantially built bhawanti-type houses. The average families have *pen-kutillu*-type houses; while the poorer people live in gudse huts. Along with the house go the other household possessions. Shining brassware, items of furniture, and other similar objects add to the prestige of a family. The significance of gold and silver ornaments possessed by women is also very great in this respect. In the families on the upper level there is keen rivalry among the women to acquire more and more ornaments of precious metals, so that their 'worth' in the estimate of the community may rise. Clothing, food and the type of work done by its members largely go with the financial resources of the family. In determining the social status of a family due consideration should be given to these factors also.

In recent years government service has come to be looked upon as important and desirable. It ensures a fixed and steady income, and permits the possibility of close contact with higher officials. Because of the feudal and authoritarian tradition in the administration of the State, even the minor district officials are viewed with awe and respect by the village-folk; and as such the minor village officials and menials who, having contact with them, can possibly influence them gain in prestige among their neighbours. Persons holding very small menial posts may not win the respect of the village community in general, but within their own income—and caste group—their prestige is noticeably enhanced. Those who hold office in the internal administrative set-up of the village, that is to say the village headman, the Ganadi and the members of the village council, enjoy very considerable prestige and influence by virtue of their office.

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Age is still another important factor of status differentiation. As a general rule the aged and elderly people should be respected: they have 'the authority of grey hair' and wide experience of the vicissitudes of life. The younger members must consult the elders of the extended family in all important matters, and should give due regard to their suggestions and advice. Even where the obligations which emerge from kinship ties do not dictate this respectful behaviour, it is considered polite for young people to show regard to the elders. Intimate social relations, even outside one's family and caste, find expression in the adoption of kinship terminology and one must address the people of another family as 'grandfather', 'uncle' or 'brother' according to their respective ages. Deliberate disregard or disrespect to village elders is adversely commented upon in the society.

Finally, distinctive personality traits and possession of uncommon or difficult skills also adds to the prestige of an individual and consequently alters his status in society. Ability to talk persuasively and impressively is regarded as a definite asset. An individual's success or failure in inter-personal relations, as well as his advancement in society in general, would depend to a considerable extent on this factor. Sense of humour is an allied personality trait which is greatly admired. One who can make others laugh is regarded as highly desirable company. Special knowledge and skills contribute substantially towards enhancing an individual's prestige. Two persons belonging to the Sale caste have risen in social esteem because of their local reputation as village doctors practising the indigenous system of medicine, although the traditional status of their caste is not very high. C. R., an untouchable Madiga, enjoys some social prestige because he composes songs in the folk style. B., a barber, too has a similar reputation for being a local composer.

Four other factors should also be taken into account at this stage. They are sex, education, urban contacts and political affiliations. Of these, considerations regarding the first are ingrained in the social pattern; the other three have a comparatively recent origin. In general man is regarded as superior to woman. In the internal organization of the village all offices are held by men, and with the exception of a few families which have no adult male members, it is a man who is regarded as the head of the family. However, the status of a woman is governed largely by the

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other factors, particularly her caste, landownership and wealth, age, distinctive personality traits, and relationship to persons holding a government or village office. But within the same caste, income-group and age-group, the position of a woman will definitely be inferior to that of a man.

Education is now regarded as important, because it provides 'the key to' the understanding of the 'wide world' and equips one better to assert one's rights and claim one's due from officials and the cunning townspeople. It is easier for educated people to get government jobs. It is generally believed that they can contact and influence government officers much better than their illiterate counterparts in the village. However, most of the 'educated' people in the village had just four years of schooling in village schools. No one has so far had any higher education. At the time of our investigations four boys from the village were studying in secondary schools in the city, and they are the first people in the village to learn the English language. Economic benefits and gain in social prestige derived through modern education have made it a mark of respectability, and it is expected that in the near future a larger number of village boys will attend secondary schools in Secundrabad and Hyderabad.

Although there is considerable prejudice and scepticism among the village people regarding city ways and other urban traits of culture, in general it may be said that the village-folk acknowledge the importance and superiority of the townspeople. Those who have urban contacts seek to distinguish themselves from the ordinary village folk in their dress, manner of speech, food and recreations. Imitation of urban ways in the last decade and a half has come to be recognized as a distinguishing feature of respectable elements of the village population.

Introduction of democratic government in Hyderabad after the Police Action, has brought about a sudden burst of activity by a multitude of political parties in the rural areas of the State. Politics and elections appear to the people to be a sort of game, and they have not yet realized their deeper and wider implications. Affiliation with political parties provides an outlet to those who are ambitious and seek recognition of their importance.

Social status conferred on an individual by the caste system must be classified as 'ascribed status'. It is still a vital factor of status differentiation in the community, but the other factors leave

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554 sufficient scope for an individual to work his way towards the achievement of a new and higher status. While the social framework of caste is rigid and does not easily admit any variation in one's position in the traditional scale of social respectability, by taking recourse to the other factors a man can still improve his position and gain social prestige. In general it could be said that under the impact of modern socio-economic trends in the criteria for status differentiation there has been a swing from an ascribed status system to an achieved status system. However, the grip of the traditional system is still firm, and people from lower castes or others with humble origins must behave with considerable tact and discretion if they seek to enhance their influence and importance in the community. If such people acquire land, wealth, official position or some special skill by their own efforts, they can gain social prestige if they avoid ostentation and exhibitionism and insist on not transgressing the limits imposed on them by tradition. If such a man behaves with becoming modesty, people would say, 'Look, even wealth has not turned his head. He has not forgotten his low birth and traditional status. He is a good man. Such people always succeed in life.' On the contrary, display of self-importance and lack of courtesy on his part would lead to adverse comment. People would say, 'If a person of humble origin grows rich, his head is turned. Look at this man! Until the other day his father was a bricklayer. With a few hundred rupees in his pocket he behaves as if he owns the village.'

554 821 Birth, wealth and special personal qualities are marks of distinction, but they do not fall to the lot of the average man. The common villager regards self-sufficiency and stability as a mark of respectability. Here is a generalized picture of such a person in the words of one of our informants belonging to an average family of Reddi agriculturists: 'He is not rich, but he lives well and eats well. Quarrels are not heard in his home and there are no scandals about them. He lends to no one, but neither does he borrow from anyone. He is a contented man.' In the words of a Muslim cultivator, 'If you get enough to eat twice, if not thrice every day, if your wife and children have sufficient cloth to cover their bodies, and if you have a small house, a pair of bullocks and some fields of your own, there is nothing else that you should desire.' To quote one more informant, a Madiga untouchable: 'How many people can be rich? It is no blessing to worry half your life in order to

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amass wealth, and spend the rest of it worrying about its safety. 554
The cultivator need not be rich. It is enough if he has not to lower 829
himself before others begging for their favours.'

2. STANDARD OF LIVING: FOUR LEVELS

In Shamirpet four levels denoting different standards of living 511
are vaguely recognized by the villagers. They are:

i. Rich.
ii. Well-to-do.
iii. Average.
iv. Poor.

It is difficult to lay down any precise rules to classify the different families living in the village into these levels on the basis of their standards of living. As these distinctions are based primarily on the differences in earning, it may be generally said that families with an income of Rs. 200 per month or more would be regarded as 'rich', those earning between Rs. 100 and 200 as 'well-to-do', those earning Rs. 45 to 100 as 'average' and those earning less than Rs. 45 as 'poor'. The average family unit in these calculations consists of five—three adults and two children.

According to this test which reflects the consensus of opinion in the village, our socio-economic survey of the community would indicate the following classification of the village population:

Rich	4%	Average	34%
Well-to-do	22%	Poor	40%

The following table indicates average percentage of consumer expenditure on different items, based on the family budgets of three consecutive years of a total sample of one hundred and twenty families representing the four levels of living:

ITEMS AND PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE

Level	1 *Food (including fats and spices)*	2 *Clothing (including ornaments)*	3 *Feasts and ceremonies*	4 *Repairs and maintenance of the house*	5 *Luxuries (including tobacco and liquor)*	6 *Miscellaneous (entertainment, medicine, etc.)*
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Rich	34	15	18	11	12	10
2. Well-to-do	40	14	18	10	12	6
3. Average	48	12	12	8	15	5
4. Poor	56	10	11	5	15	3

From the above it is clear that on each successive lower level the percentage of expenditure on food—that is, on cereals, meat,

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511 vegetables, salt, spices and fats—increases steadily. The 'rich' and the 'well-to-do' spend more on clothes and ornaments: on the lower levels expenditure on these items is proportionately less. Similarly expenditure on feasts and ceremonies is proportionately higher in the two upper levels and lower in the poorer sections. Maintenance and repairs of the house and all immovable property other than agricultural land, cattle and implements necessitate a higher percentage of expenditure on each higher level successively. This is accounted for by the fact that on the lower levels people do most of this work themselves, and do not hire any labour. It appears rather paradoxical that the 'average' and 'poor' people spend proportionately more on 'luxuries', but this can be explained by the fact that tobacco and liquor are included under this head and most people in the village are addicted to the habits of smoking and drinking. Finally, under the head 'miscellaneous' —which includes expenditure on entertainments, recreation, medicine and other unforeseen domestic expenses—the 'poor' spend the least, and on each higher level the expenditure is greater.

The visible manifestations of a family's standard of living are: type of dwelling and household possessions, clothing and ornaments, nature of work done by the members of the family and diet. Brief reference has already been made to the different types of dwellings and their average possessions. In a general way it can be said that a house and its belongings indicate the owner's standard of living. Gold and silver ornaments as well as expensive clothes are regarded as marks of superior economic status. Brahmins, Komtis, rich Reddis and well-to-do Muslims are expected 'to wear clothes befitting their status'. Persons belonging to lower castes, particularly untouchables, are criticized for imitating the dress-styles of the higher castes, and even when they acquire wealth they are expected to continue the traditional style of clothing suitable for their humble social status.

In the next two sections we shall examine the division of labour and differences in diet on the four levels of living in the community.

3. WORK: DIVISION OF LABOUR

463 Division of labour in the community is governed by a variety of factors. Important among them are: caste, sex, age and social status.

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Caste is an important and rigid determinant of division of labour. Under this system several occupations have been preserved as caste monopolies, while some are 'open' and may be adopted by persons belonging to all castes. This system of division of labour by occupation has been examined at some length in Chapter III.

The factors of sex, age and social status govern the division of labour in nearly all types of work in the community. First, 'masculine' and 'feminine' pursuits are clearly distinguished: a woman doing man's work is laughed at; a man undertaking any specifically feminine tasks provides a favourite theme for popular gossip. Household work, agricultural activities, traditional craft or occupation of the family, and socio-religious rites and ceremonies are all marked by division of work on the basis of sex.

The age factor is equally important, but not so rigid. Six basic age divisions are recognized in the society: (i) 'Infant' from birth to weaning. (ii) 'Child' from weaning to about twelve. (iii) 'Grown-up boys or girls' from twelve until marriage or even a year or two later. (iv) 'Grown-up people' from twenty to about thirty-eight. (v) Middle-aged from about thirty-eight to fifty. (vi) 'Aged', over fifty. Each of these age divisions carries with it a more or less recognized status which determines the nature and quantity of work to be done by the individual in question. Only in the lower strata of the community we find the 'child' burdened with a regular share in domestic and occupational tasks. The children in the families on upper levels may occasionally do odd bits of work, but no responsibility is thrust on them. As they grow up, girls have to take an increasing interest in domestic tasks. 'Grown-up boys and girls' must seriously start 'learning to do things', and are gradually entrusted with some responsibility. However, it is on the 'grown-up people' that the main responsibility of 'doing all the work' and running the affairs of the household rests. The 'middle-aged' people continue to do a part of the practical work; but their time is more occupied by planning, direction and supervision. Depending on their age and personality, the 'aged' continue to supervise and direct the work of the younger members. As they grow older they content themselves merely by giving suggestions and eventually retire from active work or its planning, and devote their time mostly to their grandchildren.

Considerations of general social status also determine the nature

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Considerations of general social status also determine the nature
565 of work to be done by an individual. For example, a man of recognized social status will not draw water from a public well, where he could be seen doing so by others. Womenfolk from such households will not be seen collecting cow-dung from the streets, nor will they do any work in the fields.

With these preliminary observations we can proceed to describe at greater length the actual division of labour in the community.

462 The following table will illustrate the traditional division of work between men and women:

Activity	*Man's work*	*Woman's work*
(1) Domestic work (daily routine and maintenance of the house)	Occasional repairs to the house	Sweeping the house every day, and keeping its surroundings clean. Throwing away the rubbish. Sprinkling water in the courtyard and in front of the main entrance. Assisting husband in repairs to the house
	Cooking during the illness or menstrual impurity of the wife (when no other woman is available). Scrubbing the utensils during wife's serious illness	Fetching water from the well. Cooking. Serving food to menfolk and children. Scrubbing the utensils. Husking paddy. Grinding grains
	Occasionally washing his own clothes	Washing her own, as well as children's and husband's clothes
	Occasionally making beds	Making beds
	May look after children	Looking after children
	Chopping firewood and bringing it home	Collecting fuel in the nearby jungle
	Killing and cutting up goats and sheep	Preparation and storage of pickles, preserves and dried vegetables
	Marketing	Marketing, especially purchase of provisions
	Climbing trees for fruit	Collecting vegetables, picking gourds and okras from the backyard garden
	Erecting and repairing the cattle-shed	Feeding the cattle. Keeping the shed clean

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Activity	*Man's work*	*Woman's work*
(2) Agriculture	Cutting shrubs. Repairing bunds of the paddy fields. Digging earth	Helping men in disposal of shrubs and in repairing the bunds
	Ploughing	— — —
	Sowing	May help in sowing
	Weeding	Weeding
	Harvesting	Harvesting
	Carrying the crops home	Carrying the crops home
(3) Festivals and ceremonies	Decorating the house if necessary	Cleaning the house
	Arranging feasts. Distributing food at feasts. Cooking if necessary	Cooking for feasts
	Actual worship, making sacrifice and offering food	Making initial preparation for worship, sacrifice, offering of food, etc.
		Singing
(4) Birth, marriage and death	(i) Birth. Waiting outside for running errands	Attending to the expectant mother. Assisting at the time of actual delivery. Taking care of the newborn. Disposing of the after-birth. Care of the mother
	(ii) Marriage. Negotiations and settlement regarding marriage	Women consulted at all stages: final settlement generally with their approval
	Making provision of food and money	Making initial preparation for the ceremony. Buying cloth and ornaments
	Arrangements for feasts	Cooking and looking after 'internal' arrangements
		Singing
	(iii) Death. Carrying the corpse. Digging the grave or preparing the pyre	Preparing the corpse for cremation or burial. Wailing. Throwing away the earthen pots

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Activity	*Man's work*	*Woman's work*
(5) Village administration and politics	All village offices, as well as minor government offices held by men. Village council composed entirely of men	May appear before the village council only as witnesses
	Intrigue and factionalism	Generally instigate the menfolk indirectly. Quarrels among women often lead to complications in the inter-relations of men

In the above table no reference has been made to the division of labour between men and women in the practice of their caste occupations and crafts. In this sphere the role of the sexes has been defined by the traditions of the individual castes. Some typical examples will suffice. Among the Brahmins, only men perform priestly functions; women have no share in this task. Komti women may manage their shop at home, but they do not go round, as do their menfolk, setting up their shops at all the weekly markets in the neighbouring villages. Among the potters, both men and women can work at the wheel. Similarly, the caste traditions of the weavers permit both men and women to work together without making any sharp distinction between masculine and feminine spheres of activity. The same is true of the washerman's caste. Among the other occupational castes, however, the respective fields of men and women are well defined. Only men among the Golla take out their flocks and herds for grazing. Among the Gaondlas, again, only men go round the village collecting juice from the palm trees. Their womenfolk, however, assist them in fermenting it, storing it in the shop, and also in selling it. Hair-cutting and shaving are done only by males in the barber's caste. The traditional rules of the Panch Bramha group of village artisans enjoin that the principal roles in the occupations would be those of men, whilst women have only minor and secondary functions connected with them. Thus the smiths dealing in gold and silver, iron, and bell-metal, do not allow the women to work at the forge, for their caste tradition specifically lays down that this task should be done only by men. In another section belonging to the same group, the women are prohibited from handling the principal carpenter's tools. Lower down in the social scale, among

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the Erkalas, the men occupy themselves with hunting and trapping, while women weave mats and seek some additional income by fortune-telling. Among the Madigas males deal with dead animals; women come into the picture only when the meat has to be carried home and cooked. Both men and women may work at curing hides. Shoe-making and other leather-work is mainly done by men. On ritual and ceremonial occasions, musical instruments are played only by Madiga men.

Earlier it has been pointed out that men avoid tasks which are generally known as 'feminine'; and women in their turn are expected not to undertake pursuits which are traditionally regarded as 'masculine'. It is true that during the illness or absence of his wife, a man has to perform some of her domestic duties, but that is obviously a compromise with necessity. Any man taking undue interest in feminine tasks soon earns the unenviable epithet of 'half-woman', and is exposed to the ridicule of the community. Asking a man to do some feminine work would be almost tantamount to questioning his masculinity. 'Put bangles on your wrist, husk the paddy and cook the meals', is a remark often used in reproach to admonish those who lack manly qualities and courage. A woman going out of her way to do anything which is regarded as 'man's work' is noticed and adversely commented upon by the society. It is unthinkable that a woman can handle the plough. It should be pointed out here that sometimes a woman deliberately undertakes to do masculine work to 'bring home' to the husband the realization that he is not fulfilling his manly obligations and thus to awaken him to his proper responsibilities. Middle-aged women and widows can do some men's work without social censure.

Reference has been made to the six basic age divisions recognized in the community. Among the 'rich' and the 'well-to-do' families children do very little; but among the 'average' and the 'poor' they have to help the parents. Grazing the cattle, assisting parents in their work in the fields during the busy season, looking after younger siblings, and running errands are regarded as children's work. The girls have to help their mother in the kitchen. As they grow up their share in work gradually increases. Boys take more interest in 'outdoor' work, whilst girls are absorbed in the domestic routine. During this stage of life the 'grown-up boys and girls' even of rich and well-to-do families have to apply

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883 themselves to work. The major responsibility rests on the adults
[985] and the middle-aged people, and here the social status of the persons concerned will determine the type of work to be done by them.

461 This brings us to social status as a determinant in the division
566 of work in the community. The rich and influential people will not do anything which is regarded as humble or is otherwise classed as menial work. The men on this level generally 'plan and supervise', but the hard manual labour is done by hired labourers. They go to their fields, but only stand in a corner and instruct the servants. They will never be seen taking their plough and the bullocks to the field, or even participating in ploughing or sowing. The popular conception regarding women at this level is 'they sit in their homes loaded with gold and silver, whiling away their time chewing betel leaves and areca nuts.' However, even in these homes, women are never idle, for they have to do the cooking and look after the children. But considerations of respectability prevent them from doing several things which their counterparts in the lower strata of society regard as their normal day-to-day work. They can never be seen going to their fields, carrying headloads, drawing water from public wells, or washing clothes in public places. In fact they do not have to do any work outside their homes and are not expected to earn for the upkeep of the
[512] family. The rich Muslim women observe *purdah*, i.e. they never go out of their house without a veil, and considerations of respectability demand that their sphere of activity should strictly be confined to their houses. The situation is materially different in the case of the 'well-to-do' families, but no generalizations can be made regarding this level as a unit, as the social ideals and standards of different castes differ very widely. In general, however, it may be said that the Brahmin and the Komti, being higher castes and respected people in the village, more or less follow the ideals of the rich and refrain from doing heavy manual labour as well as from all other work traditionally regarded as inferior. This is true also of the Muslims on this level who, because of their urban conceptions of middle-class respectability, think it below their dignity to do any inferior work publicly. The women from the above three groups seek to emulate the examples of the women in rich families. But in the other well-to-do families belonging to the agricultural and occupational castes notions of respectability

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Muslims

relating to work are different. Among them also, labourers are hired for heavy manual labour, such as carrying loads; but menfolk do not object to ploughing their own fields, nor avoid out-of-door work. Of course, the women mainly look after the management of their household affairs and are never expected to earn for the family's support.

The conditions on the two lower levels are more or less similar to one another. Unlike the two upper levels, the menfolk from these groups can be compelled to do government work on a nominal payment. They do most of their work with the assistance provided by the members of the family itself. Even when labourers are engaged by the 'average' people, members of the family continue to work side by side with hired men and women. On both these levels women have comparatively greater freedom. They work out of doors, assist the menfolk in their agricultural activities and crafts, and go out for marketing. Women from 'average' families work mostly in their own homes and in family fields, but during the busy agricultural season they can work for wages as well. This is not regarded as derogatory in any sense. In the poor families, on the other hand, women have to work very hard for, besides doing their quota of work in the running of the home and assisting the husband in agriculture and caste occupation, they have to accept occasional work for wages. Among some of the lower castes, women are expected to work and earn for the upkeep of the family.

4. DIET

The standard of living of a family is judged very often from the quality and quantity of its food. In describing the status and standard of a family, people generally say 'they eat well', 'they live somehow, eating the little that they can grow' or 'they live like animals, eating even wild leaves, flowers and roots'. However, the basic diet of the people consists of rice, millets, lentils, meat and fish. The difference in standards of living is judged by the quantity and kind of rice eaten, the frequency of meat intake in the diet and by the use of spices, fats and oils, jaggery and sugar in the food. Green and powdered red chillies are used by all classes of people in considerable quantities. Vegetables are grown in the backyards during the rainy season, and eaten when ready. When

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262 this supply is exhausted, very few vegetables are bought for everyday home consumption. Tender leaves of the tamarind tree are curried and pickled, and are popular with all sections of the community. The poorer people collect wild leafy vegetables; those who are better off buy brinjals, okra and unripe bananas. Tea and coffee are regarded as fashionable, and are regularly used by the rich people as well as those who are educated and who have [273] had some urban contacts. With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti all castes permit the drinking of fermented palm-juice by men; in most of the lower castes women are also not denied its use. Some Muslims claim never to touch it as its use is not permitted by their religion; others drink it openly. A limited quantity of other liquor imported from the city is also consumed in the village.

Among the Hindus, the Brahmin and the Komti are vegetarians; and the eating of all kinds of meat, fish and eggs is forbidden to them. All the Hindu castes abstain from beef; although the Madiga untouchables are allowed to eat the carrion of cattle which they are expected to dispose of. The Muslims eat beef, but refuse pork. With the exception of the Erkalas and the Madigas, no other Hindu caste eats the domestic pig; wild pigs, of course, are regarded as a delicacy by all meat-eaters except the Muslims.

Milk and *ghee* (clarified butter) are greatly valued, but are difficult to get, and indeed very few people can claim to have them as a part of their everyday diet.

Very little fruit is eaten in the village. When in season, mangoes, guavas and *jamun* (*Eugenia jambolana*) are eaten by the people, more commonly by the children. The only fruit-bearing trees grown by them in their backyards are lime and drum-stick trees. Few people buy any fruit in the markets and shops of the city. Coconuts and bananas are bought for ceremonial occasions, and occasionally large varieties of mangoes too are bought from the shops.

[274] Those who can afford eat three times, others eat only twice daily. According to the seasons there are variations in the type of food and also in the time when the principal meals are eaten. The following menus will illustrate the kind of food eaten by families at different economic levels:

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RICH AND WELL-TO-DO

First Meal

Paratha (thin cakes of unleavened bread made of wheat flour, fried in edible fat).
Meat or vegetable or lentil curry.
Hot pickles.
Tea.

or

Khichri (rice and lentils cooked together with spices).
Meat or vegetable or lentil curry.
Hot pickles.
Tea.

Second Meal

Rice.
Meat or vegetable or lentil or fish curry.
Pickles.

Third Meal

Same as second, with a possible variation in the curry.

AVERAGE FAMILIES

First Meal

Millet gruel.
Chilly powder and salt.
Pickles.

Millet bread.
Curried bringals, leafy vegetables or drum-sticks.
Pickles.

or

Rice gruel.
Chilly powder and salt.

Second Meal

Rice.
Meat or vegetable or lentil or fish curry.
Pickles.

Third Meal

Same as second.

In those families which do not eat three meals regularly, rice left over from the previous evening may be eaten early in the

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262 morning; and a combination of any two menus given above may be adopted for the two principal meals.

POOR FAMILIES

First Meal

Millet gruel.
Chilly powder and salt.

or

Rice left-over from previous evening.
Chilly powder and salt or pickles.

Second Meal

Rice.
Boiled vegetables or lentils (with salt and chillies) or meat curry.

or

Millet bread.
Boiled vegetables or lentils (with salt and chillies) or meat curry.

or

Rice.
Chilly powder and salt.
Pickles.

Third Meal

Rice.
Meat or vegetable or lentil or fish curry.

262 In the making of curries the rich people use considerable
263 quantities of oil or other fats, and their choice of spices too is more varied. In the average households the curries are not so rich. Finally in the poorer sections they are more or less boiled vegetables and lentils with the addition of salt and chilly powder. It may be added that sweets do not form a regular part of the diet of the people in the community. They are prepared on ceremonial occasions, and may be prepared now and then in the comparatively richer homes. As fish and meat are very expensive, the average and poor families have to depend for most of the time on watery lentil curries or cheap vegetables.

125 The ethnographic record of the diet appeared to be so appalling
146 that we organized a comprehensive nutritional survey of the community in conjunction with our research project. This work was planned and carried out under the supervision of a nutritional expert from the Medical Faculty of the Osmania University. A

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random sample of families covering all levels of living in the community was selected, and, following the universal weighing-method, every item of the diet was weighed correctly to an ounce in these families. The International Scale of Family Coefficients was used to calculate the number of consumption units in each family, and data was carefully analysed for working out the mean intake of diet per consumption unit and the intake of calories, proximate principles, minerals and vitamins. Simultaneously, a medical examination of all members of the families selected for the survey was also undertaken; in the course of which along with height and weight measurements a general clinical examination with special reference to abnormalities of hair, eyes, skin, lips, gums, tongue, and the peripheral nervous system was done. While a detailed summary of the above survey would be inappropriate in a sociological study, some of its main conclusions will not be out of place here:

(i) The picture of nutrition emerging from the survey gives room to believe that there is mild sub-nutrition in the 'rich' and 'well-to-do' families and mild malnutrition in the 'average' and 'poor' families.

(ii) There is a sub-clinical deficiency of thiamine, riboflavin and Vitamin A. Phrynoderma of the skin, cheilosis, multiple fissuring of the tongue, gingivitis, and xerosis of the conjunctivae are fairly common in the community; their incidence being greater on the lower strata. The use of un-milled, slightly home-pounded rice explains the lack of any gross Vitamin B^1 deficiency. It may partly be explained also by the consumption of fermented palm-juice in nearly all sections of the community.

(iii) The protein intake is slightly inadequate. This is more apparent in the families classed as average and poor. In the lower income brackets the intake of fats is also insufficient.

(iv) With the exception of venereal diseases and malaria which are evenly distributed in all levels of the society, the incidence of other diseases—particularly deficiency diseases—is much higher in the lower income groups.

As a rule menfolk eat first, women follow. Children are served as soon as the meals are cooked. Among men, it is expected that the elders as well as others occupying a higher position in the scale of kinship should be served first and younger members of the family should wait for their turn. But during the busy season, or

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264 on all other occasions when exigencies of work demand it, the younger people can sit down to eat with the elders, and can even precede them. However, it is regarded as bad form for women to take their meals before the menfolk have eaten. In all the higher castes this would indeed be viewed very seriously, and a woman found to be indulging in anything like this would be ridiculed by the other family members. On the lowest strata of the society, occasional exceptions to this rule can be observed. There too it is regarded as impolite, but is nevertheless tolerated.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Living Together

1. INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS

The people of Shamirpet, like the other peasants of Andhra, exercise considerable reserve in their initial dealings with outsiders. The first impression that one gets regarding their attitude is one of extreme constriction, suspiciousness and guarded behaviour. When this initial reserve is broken down, they reveal themselves in a totally different light—as emotional, communicative, and at times even boisterous. Nearly all of them have great curiosity, and are easily attracted by anything that is even slightly uncommon or unusual. Opinions are freely expressed, and all public gatherings—big or small—are rather noisy. Middle-aged and elderly people generally have a grim expression, and it is considered a mark of respectability in women if they walk with their eyes downcast. But unobtrusiveness is not regarded as a virtue, and the people freely make comments and counter-comments on all subjects with which they may or may not have any concern. There is a great tradition for argument, which can easily drift into becoming a noisy quarrel or altercation. Tempers rise easily, and abuse may be showered volubly by both sides; but differences are patched up as easily, and it is not uncommon to see two people walking together as great friends although on the previous day they may have quarrelled bitterly on some trifling issue. In their inter-personal relations the people are hypercritical and very sensitive. This leads to a perpetual attitude of fault finding. As the people do not easily let go an opportunity of commenting on and criticizing their neighbours, their relations are never very smooth and certain. However, on occasions which demand a display of good-neighbourliness and generosity people

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come forward very readily to help those who need it. It is common to suspect others' motives; and not unusual to be always on the alert to read hidden meanings into the seemingly innocent utterances of others. Analysis of their life-histories shows that the people are not given to introspection. They are always on the defensive; but their inter-personal relations are not characterized by detachment. In their thoughts, likes and dislikes they are quite open, and all persons having even casual contacts have a fair acquaintance with one anothers' ideas and attitudes

It is not uncommon for people to analyse and describe the personality-traits of other inhabitants of the village as well as of outsiders coming into the settlement. Positive qualities, having obvious approval, find expression in such epithets as: 'good person', 'hard-working', 'honest', 'respectable', 'well-behaved', 'intelligent', 'generous' or 'large-hearted' and 'faithful'. Epithets describing negative traits which do not meet with social approval are many and varied, and among others include: 'bad person', 'lazy', 'dishonest', 'shameless', 'mannerless', 'foolish', 'miserly', 'small-hearted', 'unfaithful', 'good-for-nothing', 'liar', 'all talk but no deeds', 'ill-tempered', etc. Analysis of such traits is firmly established in the culture-pattern, and occupies an important place in the conversation of the people when they meet in small groups. Although conformity to social norms is idealized and emphasized, when there is a breach of traditional ways the person responsible likes to confess it in confidence to someone else. Long conversations and the mutual sharing of secrets are quite frequent. However, when friendships break up the sanctity of earlier secrets is not protected by any code of honour. Within limits originality and innovation are admired; but excess and ostentation soon lead to social censure and ridicule.

Subjects coming under the critical eye of society are: (i) breaches of traditional norms, (ii) display and exhibitionism, (iii) sexuality, (iv) efforts to rise in the power hierarchy, (v) conspicuous success, and (vi) originality and 'too many new ideas'. Carrying tales and 'whispering about the doings in others' houses' go on in the community on a wide scale. It is criticized by the aggrieved persons and their sympathizers, but no one regards it as inherently bad. 'Incidents' or breaches of established norms are discussed in small conversational groups at first, and the more important ones among them gradually filter through and reach the respon-

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sible village elders. Few such breaches escape the attention of society, although in many of them no action may be called for by the caste or village elders. Display and ostentation are severely criticized in the community. Individuals inviting social censure for this fault are frequently nicknamed and mimicked. The behaviour of persons who have just come into wealth or a position of authority is subjected to a particularly critical scrutiny. Sexuality, in all its different aspects, provides another popular theme for gossip. Although bragging about unusual potency and sexual adventures is very common, in general the community watches and comments upon all abnormalities, particularly excessive indulgence and lack of adequate sex vigour. The comments of the group in this sphere too are merciless. Those who are on the higher rungs of the ladder of power hierarchy jealously watch their own position, and anyone casting a covetous eye on a position of influence at once becomes the target of the criticism of several pressure groups in the community. People attaining conspicuous success are invariably the subject of malicious criticism. Their actions and speech are closely watched, and later commented upon. Opportunities for taunting them are eagerly sought, and indirect references to their humble origin are frequently made. Finally, persons having too many novel and original ideas also invite the criticism of society. While people are unsparing in their comments, they are very much reserved in their praise.

Anger is freely expressed. Loud shouting, use of foul language, and occasional physical violence are the principal channels for the expression of aggressiveness. Sentiments of love and friendship too are publicly expressed; the only exception in this case being the suppression of all sentiments suggesting sexual intimacy.

Concepts of 'manliness' and 'defending the honour' play a significant part in governing inter-personal relations within the community. It is not manly to beat anyone who is too young, too aged, weak or infirm. On the contrary, a fight between equals is always considered fair; although it may necessitate action on the part of village elders. Notions of personal and family prestige differ in different castes, as well as at different income levels. Any challenge to personal prestige or family honour is bound to arouse a violent reaction.

Truth and straightforwardness are acclaimed as social ideals; but intelligent and ingenious ways of deception too receive

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577 unmistakable appreciation. Cowardice and treachery are condemned, but people still indulge in malicious gossip and back-
152 biting. Mutual suspicion characterizes the general nature of inter-personal relations. Two families on the road to prosperity are likely to be jealous of each other; but adversity almost never fails to bring them nearer and closer. Exercising little control over their emotions, people get excited very quickly; anger and friendship are both aroused in them with equal ease.

571 A study of inter-group relations will give us a better idea of the nature and quality of the attitudes that largely govern inter-personal relations in the community. For this we shall first examine the inter-caste attitudes embodied in stereotypes, and later analyse similar attitudes and opinions covering two sets of rival groups—educated and uneducated, and those with urban contacts and those without them.

564 INTER-CASTE ATTITUDES: SOME STEREOTYPES

186 Inter-caste attitudes find expression in several stereotypes which [522] are a part of the thought patterns of the people, and find expression both in jest and banter as well as in quarrels and outbursts of anger. Among others, the following stereotypes and related anecdotes were noted in Shamirpet.

The Brahmin is 'pious from outside, but not so at heart'. He is 'tricky and calculating'. 'He instigates people, but always keeps himself in the background.'

The Komti is 'a born coward, but a shrewd business man'. 'When he says anything on oath, take it that he is telling a deliberate falsehood.' 'He spares no ingenuity to save even a counterfeit coin.' 'Gods do not penalize a Komti for telling lies, he is born to do that.' The anecdotes concerning the miserliness of the Komtis are indeed many and varied. 'If a fly falls in butter-milk, rich people will throw the butter-milk away, the poor will throw away the fly and drink the butter-milk. But the Komti squeezes out the butter-milk before throwing the fly away.' 'If a relation comes to the house of a Komti and the time of the evening meal approaches, he will think, "If this guest goes home, I shall be able to save one meal." The guest on the other hand thinks, "If I stay here a little while more, one meal will be saved at home." And a battle of wits goes on to save just one meal.' The stories of their

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cowardice are also many. 'A Komti is a warrior in words, but a rat in deeds.' 'If you strike him once he will say, "Strike me a second time and I will see." If you strike him a second time, he will say, "Strike me a third time and I shall show you what it means to beat me." You go on beating him, and all that he will do is to repeat his threats without having the courage to hit back even once.'

Of the Kapu, or agricultural castes, general public opinion seems to be good. 'They are a hard-working people, faithfully attached to the soil.' 'The Kapus are the *annadata*, literally producers of agricultural wealth. If they do not cultivate the land and produce grain, what shall we eat?' Social comment is generally unfavourable on the rich Reddi landlords who make excessive demands on the tenants.

The Kummari's place in common village talk is not very enviable. 'Living in the world of his earthen pots, he knows little of the world outside.' 'Because he works continuously at the wheel, no strength is left in his loins. No wonder, he cannot satisfy his wife.'

More than anyone else, the Golla is the butt of many cruel jokes. He is criticized for his simplicity, for his dirtiness and for his awkward gestures and rustic manner of speech. His shocking cowardice too is often commented upon. 'He tends sheep. He is no better than one of his flock.' 'The Golla is a model of cleanliness. Look at his body, it is covered with lice all over.' 'See, how a Golla talks! If you hear him from a distance you will think that he is quarrelling with someone; but no, he is discussing with his wife what to cook for the evening meal.' In animated discussion the Gollas are certainly given to much gesticulation. 'Others also gesticulate but the mannerisms of the Gollas are remarkably different.' 'In sheer cowardice only a Sale will excel him.' 'Bluff him, threaten him and a Golla will readily agree to what you say. He is too thick-headed to understand you otherwise.' 'You can never know what a Golla will do. Give him a sweet-smelling flower and he will put it in his anus.'

In the village community the Sale caste symbolizes cowardice. If anyone is afraid of going out in the dark or runs away from a fight, people remark, 'Are you the son of a Sale? That alone can explain your remarkable bravery.' This is one of the most widely prevalent and generally accepted stereotypes. Many a Sale would

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186 564 also accept it, and using different words would say, 'We mind our work and do not get mixed up in local affairs. What use is it fighting like animals?' Others generally say, 'If you strike a Komti with a stick, he will hit you back with his tongue. He has at least a store of filthy abuse which he uses as a weapon of defence. But the Sale is too timid to do even this. All that he can do is to run into his house and hide himself.'

The Gaondla, 'when he is poor, carries empty pots of palm-juice from every house; but when he amasses wealth, his head turns. Then he learns to speak the language of the urban people.'

The Sakali is 'after all a washerman. One who washes the dirty clothes of the rest of the community cannot himself remain clean.' Women belonging to this caste have a reputation for their great capacity for drinking. 'They do not require much persuasion for granting sexual favours to people outside the caste; and the devils —Sakali women—are such adepts in sexual technique that anyone falling into their clutches once remains their slave for ever.'

There are several witty stories about the status of the Mangali (barber). 'No doubt his general status is low, but he always has the advantage of the company of rich and influential men. Do you not sit with him while he is cutting your hair and giving you a shave? Even rich agriculturists have to allow him to sit near them as if he were their equal in status.' 'It is true that his status is not very high. But who does not bow to him? While cutting a king's hair the barber orders "Bend a little towards me", and the king unquestioningly obeys him. Who else can catch hold of your hair, pull your ears or slap you on the cheek? Ask a barber to cut your hair and shave you, and you will have the answer.' 'The agriculturists always have to worry about their crops—in some years they grow well, in others they do not. But there is no uncertainty about the crops harvested by a barber—the beards of his clients grow with an unfailing regularity.'

[787] The castes in the Panch Bramha group are not regarded as particularly auspicious. 'While starting on a journey if you happen to see a person belonging to one of these groups, you should take it as a sign of ill-luck. It indicates a possible failure of your mission.'

'The Mala and the Madiga will be rude if you are gentle with them, and will be gentle if you are rude to them.' 'Kick him first

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Hindus
Muslims

and then ask him to do a thing, a Madiga will never refuse. Ask him to do something in soft words and he will have a thousand excuses ready.'

Although Shamirpet has maintained, even in the worst years of communal tension, a fairly honourable record of communal harmony and the relations between the Hindu and the Muslim sections of the village population have been cordial in every sense, the two communities have some generalized notions about the inherent qualities and attributes of each other. The Hindus will say, 'The untouchables are impure, but Muslims are poisonous. If you touch a Madiga you may have to sever only the finger with which you touched him, but if you touch a Muslim you will have to cut off the arm itself.' 'The Muslims are good only in two things —they eat and copulate like beasts. Who else except a Muslim would ever think of going to bed with his uncle's daughter, who is next only to his real sister.' The Muslims are regarded as showy and ostentatious. 'A Muslim will eat stale rice inside his house, but when coming out he will apply some clarified butter to his lips. Then he will belch loudly and say, "How much fried rice and meat have I eaten to-day".' With regard to conversion to Islam the Hindus often say, 'A Hindu untouchable of yesterday becomes a Muslim to-day; and to-morrow he will start proclaiming that his forefathers lived in Arabia!' The Muslims, having for generations prided themselves as the ruling race of Hyderabad, tend to look down upon the Hindus, and make fun of their numerous gods and superstitious beliefs. On the whole the Muslims regard the other community as 'cowardly and mean'. But the recent changes in the political fortunes of the State, resulting in the end of Muslim rule, have had a sobering effect on the Muslims, and now they do not take the offensive against their Hindu neighbours, as some of them very commonly did in the period preceding the Police Action of 1948.

I have pointed out earlier that most of these stereotypes find expression in jest and banter, and occasionally in outbursts of anger. While each caste seeks to proclaim and prove its own superiority in some respect it invariably holds some generalized notions, such as those described above, about the inherent qualities of the other castes. It is believed that there can be individual exceptions to the rule, but regarding the castes themselves these stereotypes are valid. However, very few of these notions influence

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578 the general tone of life in the community. Inter-group tension between Hindus and Muslims, engendered partly by political controversies in the Hyderabad State, threatened disharmony and possible breach of peace in the village in the period preceding and following the intervention of the Government of India. The recognition of the *fait accompli* in the State by the Muslims and the change in their approach and attitude towards the Hindus soon
666 established cordial relations between the two communities. At
578 the time of our investigations the Brahmin/non-Brahmin controversy, which was governing the political alignments of people within the State to a considerable extent, had its echoes in Shamirpet also. In the Telangana area, in general, it was taking the shape of an open conflict of interest between Brahmins and Reddis. In Shamirpet the individual relations between the Brahmin household and the Reddi residents of the community were very cordial; but in the discussion of general political and social questions there was a persistent anti-Brahmin feeling. Casteism was a force of no mean significance in the first general elections under the Republican Constitution, and manifested itself in such slogans as 'Reddis must solidly stand together', 'Irrespective of party considerations Reddis must vote for a Reddi candidate', or 'Non-Brahmins must unite to strike a blow to Brahmin domination'. As the interaction between the different castes in the wider political field is still in its initial stages, the pattern of group alignments has not emerged
578 very clearly. A third factor may also be mentioned here. Under
564 the influence of the social and political propaganda of the Sched-
185 uled Caste Federation, the untouchable castes have started voicing their grievances and protests against their position in the caste hierarchy. So far these protests have been mild and verbal only. Perceiving the economic advantages of the traditional system, the untouchables have not yet seriously challenged the assumptions that underlie the structure of the community. However, the abolition of untouchability by law, the granting of equal shares to them in all public utility services, and protests against the traditional system by the more vocal and assertive untouchables have aroused some tension with regard to them in the higher castes. 'Times are changing. The untouchables were admitted to schools first, then they started travelling with us in the same railway trains and buses; and now they want to draw water from our wells and eat with us in public eating-houses. The

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government is indulging them; and for vote-getting the political parties are spoiling them. If things go on like this, in the future these low castes will want to marry our daughters and sisters,' remarked a Reddi agriculturist. Those standing nearby nodded their assent. The above remark is illustrative of the general attitude of 'responsible' persons in the higher castes.

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EDUCATED VERSUS UNEDUCATED

Adverse comments are frequently heard from the educated and uneducated people against each other. The uneducated especially have some stereotypes regarding the educated; and the latter often express derogatory opinions about the illiterate members of the community.

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Remarks echoing the following opinions and sentiments are commonly heard from the uneducated people: 'What use is education to us? After four years at the school all that our children learn is to hold a pen in their hands. What we really want them to learn is the holding of the plough firmly.' 'By learning to read a couple of books at the school the youngsters begin to think that they have in their skulls all the knowledge and learning in the world. They scoff at their parents, belittle the experience of the elders, and seem to think no end of themselves. Realities of life soon teach them a lesson. Sooner or later they repent and fall at the feet of the elders.' 'Everyone says, "Send your children to school; uneducated people are like animals; education makes them human beings." But what do we get out of education? Boys learn to read and write, but they forget the traditional ways. They do not want to cultivate the family land, and are ashamed of their traditional profession. They all want jobs in the city. If things go on like this what will be the future of the community?' 'The educated people excel each other in tall talk and boasting. They will drink, gamble and intrigue. There is nothing else that they can do.' 'What service do the educated people render to the community? They instigate simple illiterate people to quarrel, and later exploit the situation to their own advantage.' 'We village people are simple. Education makes us crooked.' In substance the average attitude boils down to this: education shakes a person's belief in the traditional ways and creates in turn new desires and ambitions; these factors operating simultaneously make the educated persons misfits in the community.

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On the other hand, the educated people think: 'The illiterate

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villagers are simple, superstitious and stupid. They believe anyone. Conditions in the village will never improve so long as they dominate the scene.' 'Without education a man is like a beast.' 'As you goad a bullock, you can goad an uneducated villager.' 'Why do petty government officers harass us so much? Only because we are illiterate.'

It may be pointed out here that so far the educated section consists only of people who have attended primary or secondary village schools for four to six years. The number of these people does not exceed eighty, and from among them also many have virtually relapsed into illiteracy. With the exception of some government officials who are not a permanent part of the village population, none has so far had the advantage of modern scientific education in one of the better schools of the city, although at the time of our investigations some half a dozen boys from the village were attending higher schools. It is interesting to note that persons having education in rural vernacular schools have the same fear, suspicion and general sentiments regarding those who have modern or 'English education', as the illiterate section of the population has about those who have a background of village education. Notwithstanding the popular prejudice against education of both types, its economic advantages as well as prestige value are now generally recognized. With the gradual improvement in the standards and practices of the schools more parents are now anxious to enrol their children there. Fears still persist, however, and people urge that, besides imparting literacy, the school should also equip them better for earning their livelihood.

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URBAN VERSUS RURAL

The general pattern of comment regarding urban and urbanized people is the same as that of the comment of the uneducated about the educated. In the context of urbanization, or even in that of the adoption of some urban traits, supplementary opinions are often added. 'We villagers are simple-hearted; but the town people are crafty, calculating and self-centred.' 'When the relations from the city come to stay with us we receive them well, and give them the choicest share in everything. But when we happen to go to them they have difficulty even in recognizing us. And they treat us as if we were an unwelcome burden on them.' 'Never trust a town-dweller, for he never distinguishes between

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truth and untruth. He is sweet when he wants us to do something for him; and coarse when the work is over.' 'The ways of city people are strange. They will go to bed even with their cousins and aunts.' 'The villager who has lived in the city for some years learns all the ways of the townspeople. He may be an insignificant menial in the city, but when he returns to the village he behaves like a big lord.'

The people with urban contacts, on the other hand, regard the village-folk as rustic and crude; and consider themselves more forward and civilized. They have an unmistakable tendency to look down upon 'these simple and uncomprehending people', make fun of their ways and occasionally exploit them by exerting undue pressure. 'These people are timid and foolish. They are afraid of anyone who can make some show of authority, and yield very easily to the pressure of officials', said a village youth when he was asked to give his opinion about his fellow villagers, who had not had the benefit of contacts with city ways.

Those who have some urban contacts are gradually coming to the fore in village leadership. They are often criticized and commented upon, but nevertheless their opinions are valued and in general the community looks to them for guidance in all situations 'where it has to face the outside world'.

2. CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND OLD AGE

This section is devoted to a brief study of the three most significant stages of life—childhood, youth and old age. While family, kin-group and caste are important units of social structure which influence the course of an individual's life-cycle, from the point of view of socialization and social control the significance of the village as a unit cannot be minimized. Apart from the family and the caste, people spend most of their time in their respective age-groups, and through this process of growing-up together, common play and participation in youth activity the people tend to have a common value—orientation and certain common basic attitudes towards life.

For the first two or three months of a child's life the mother remains almost in sole charge of it. A young mother is invariably instructed in the technique of mothercraft by an elderly female relative, but at this stage it is her responsibility to look after the

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854 needs of the child. Attention given to the infant during these months is fairly constant. Even in the poorer families the mother does not go out to work, leaving the child alone at home, during these months; although her domestic duties may require partial abandonment of the child in the busy hours of morning and evening. In the families on the upper economic levels of the community the infant is well looked after indeed; its crying is looked upon as [853] a sign of distress and everything is done to pacify it. In the matter of breast feeding no definite schedule is followed: the child is fed whenever 'it is hungry and asks for food, by crying' or when 'the mother's breasts become heavy'. At night the infant sleeps with the mother, generally with a nipple in its mouth and is allowed to [863] suck whenever it desires. Toilet training at this stage is completely neglected, and soiling of clothes does not arouse any disgust. It is taken in a matter-of-fact way, and the wet clothes are changed whenever they are noticed by the mother or any other female relative. When the child starts crying the usual way to pacify it is for the mother to offer it her breast. If this is not possible at the moment, or if it fails to achieve the desired objective, other methods may be tried. The mother, a female relation or a sibling may take up the child, mildly pat it continuously on the back and hum a lullaby to send it to sleep. It may be put in a cradle attached to a swing and rocked slowly. Another method very commonly employed by anyone who happens to be near the crying child is to distract it by making funny noises or by engaging in a one-way conversation with it. Recourse may also be taken to a gentle massage of its genitals by the mother or one of its siblings.

855 After this stage of early infancy, during the pre-walking stage, the pattern of treatment accorded to the child is somewhat different. About three months after birth the mother is called upon to take her full share of household and economic duties, and consequently she can no longer give her undivided attention to the child. Other women members of the household, particularly older sisters, now come increasingly to share this responsibility. When the child is a little older and 'it is easy to handle it' menfolk also begin to look after it now and then. At this stage it does not receive the constant attention which it received during the earlier stage, and the frequency and duration of periods of partial abandonment also increase. Feeding continues to be irregular. At four or five months some soft foods are gradually introduced. When the child

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shows signs of digesting these well, siblings and other members of the family begin giving bits of food to pacify the baby when it starts crying. During this stage people love to handle the child, and there is very considerable fondling and play. No effort is made to establish sphincter control in the child at this point. Every possible help is given to the child to learn to stand and walk. While people take great delight in imitating the sounds made by the child, efforts are also made to teach him to talk. Words for grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters are generally the first to be taught. In a state of mental agitation and worry the mother may occasionally spank the child; but this is definitely disapproved and when detected the mother is always reproached by the elders for doing so.

With some modifications this continues even during the early childhood, up to the age of about three. When the child learns to walk it is carried about less by the elders. Now and then it may be left to play by itself in the backyard or in the lane in front of the house. Help in its learning processes continues to be given, and elders indulge in considerable fondling of the child. Weaning is not attempted unless necessitated by the mother's pregnancy or by the 'drying up of her breasts'. Attempts at toilet training are made at this stage. When the child wakes up in the morning the mother seats it on the hollow made by joining her feet and keeps on making a hissing sound which is believed to induce a child to ease itself. Now and then the child is taken to a corner, the cloth covering its genital organs is removed, and the hissing sound is made to make it urinate. If the child wets or soils its clothes at this stage the mother or a sibling will say, '*Chhi*, you are dirty'. But this is done with a smile and there is hardly any reproach in the remark.

When boys are seen manipulating their organs the elders smile and playfully remove their hands from them. Boys invariably start doing so again, and are not admonished. This amuses rather than irritates the older members of the family. While the sex experience of the children is confined wholly to their manipulation of genital organs, their sex knowledge is considerably wider. Sharing the same room with their parents, they have frequent opportunities of watching them engaged in the coital act. Even at the age of three the vocabulary of several children includes the words for penis, vagina and copulation.

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Sponging children with warm water is now often replaced by two or three cold baths per week; the frequency being more among the Brahmins and Komtis and less among the Muslims and the untouchables. The elders practise considerable deception in their dealings with the children. Efforts at disciplining them tend to be rather erratic; and extremes of affection and strictures are by no means uncommon. Jealousies between siblings may be induced by members of the family who take delight in watching the irritation, anger and aggressiveness of little children. Tantrums during this stage are frequent. The methods commonly employed to pacify the child are: distracting it by making funny noises, rocking it in a cradle, offering it food or milk, scolding it loudly, threatening it, and finally boxing its ears and spanking it.

Later childhood begins at about five and continues until the advent of adolescence. At this stage the children form their own play-groups; spending several hours of the day in their respective age-groups. Now they are free to play in the streets and the open ground outside the village. Maternal attention is now considerably reduced; the elders keep an eye on them, but apart from this they have considerable freedom. As they grow older solicitation of affectionate responses through handling, play and fondling gradually diminishes. Toilet training becomes strict, and the child is expected to have full control over defecation and urination. Cleanliness is insisted upon, and any failure on his part in this respect arouses anger in the elders. The erring child is ridiculed, chastised and punished. Now they must wear clothes and begin to learn to hide their genitals. If the elders find their organs exposed they point to them and ask, '*Arre*, what is that? Why are you exhibiting that little thing?' Children often develop a sense of shame at this stage, blush at such remarks, hide their organs and run away from the elders. Discipline becomes more rigorous and physical punishment is more frequent. Rewards for good behaviour include praise, partiality and favoured treatment on the part of the parents, larger share of food and small gifts of money. Punishments, on the other hand, include rebukes and threats, ridicule, threats to report the matter to the father, spanking and occasionally denial of food or playing things or even locking up in a solitary room. Considerable dishonesty is practised by elders in their dealings with children, which is often detected by the latter and angers them all the more.

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latter and angers them all the more. The play-groups cut across the boundaries of family and caste and include boys and girls from different castes. This necessitates the giving of instruction to them by the elders, who explain the hierarchy of the caste system and indicate clearly the groups among whom participation in eating on a basis of equality is permitted. Rules of inter-dining and untouchability are enforced at the age of six or seven; although until the age of adolescence their breaches are not very strictly punished. At the age of six or seven boys and girls come to have their separate play-groups, although their occasional playing together is not prohibited. Sex knowledge and sex experience of the children widens considerably, partly through secretly watching and imitating the elders, partly through oral instruction by older members of the play-group. Masturbation is now stealthily practised. Elders do not take an indulgent view if they find grown-up boys manipulating and rubbing their penes. Ridicule and threats are often employed to cure the habit. The threats commonly given are: 'If you persist in this habit your organ will not grow'; or that 'It will become crooked and you will be useless.' Threats of exposure cause great shame among the boys. Nevertheless, knowledge acquired from older and more experienced members of the age-group indicates that 'the penis grows larger by the practice of masturbation', 'maturity is arrived at earlier' and 'boys not doing it are not tough—they are half-girls', and consequently boys continue to masturbate secretly. A small group of boys may occasionally have a session of joint masturbation. Mutual masturbation is known, though it is less frequent. Similarly, little boys lie down together and imitate the coital act, although this does not involve actual anal penetration. Homosexuality is said to be confined to young people and boys with urban contacts; but we have reason to believe that it is practised on a limited scale by others also. However, it is confined only to pre-adolescent and adolescent groups. A boy persuades a smaller boy to lie down with him, and just rubs his organ at his anus—only in very rare cases is any anal penetration effected. A popular game with the boys is to make a female figure in dust and play at copulation. In the three instances observed by us the imitation was perfect, and resembled normal coitus in all its essentials. Boys and girls play at marriage, which in a few cases culminates in the act of 'sleeping together'. In most cases this is just lying together and no more; in a few it reaches the

point of rubbing genital organs. Girls masturbate either by pressing and releasing their clitoris with their fingers or by rubbing their thighs. Obscenity and talk about sex are disapproved by the elders, but the boys regard it as a mark of toughness and as an indication of their grown-up status, and as such indulge in it fairly regularly. Their vocabulary of abuse includes all the major sexual words, and they can often be heard abusing each other in terms such as: 'Copulate with your mother', 'Cohabit with your sister', 'My penis!'—or the rather curious 'Your mother's penis'.

Most children's games involve competition in the use of skills and stamina. The children are divided into several groups and factions, and these often come into conflict on account of intense jealousies and rivalries. Elaborate group *mores* and codes of ethics govern their inter-relations during states of friendship, neutrality and enmity. Toughness in boys is the admired quality; weakness, refined ways, spying and complaining coming in for criticism and ridicule. Running away from fright, crying and treachery to the group are remembered long after the quarrels and restoration of peace between conflicting factions. Outside the play-group the growing children have to lend a helping hand to their parents. Grown-up girls assist their mothers at their domestic tasks and take partial charge of their younger siblings, while boys do odd jobs for the father and other older male relatives. It is now time that they should take their first steps in preparing for adult life.

Adolescence brings about a significant change in the life of both boys and girls. By this age girls are expected to become proficient in all the major domestic tasks. Negotiations for their marriage are invariably started at this age. They grow up faster than the boys. While boys of a comparable age are still regarded as 'grown-up children who do not understand', girls come to be looked upon more or less as fully-grown women. Now they must be careful about their dress; particularly their breasts should never be exposed. They should 'not run about the village like boys', nor should they talk or laugh so loudly as to attract notice. Mothers advise them to be cautious in their behaviour, for this is the age when young people start giving attention to them. Young people have a special fascination for adolescent girls 'whose youth is just beginning to blossom'. Young men succeeding in fondling 'the unripe, half-developed breasts' of a girl and in having intercourse with one 'whose pubic hair is just beginning to grow' easily win the

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admiration of their age-group. For the girls it is a rather difficult period, as they have to find a middle way between the dictates of their romantic impulses and the fear of the social censure that comes to all wayward girls. Adolescent boys divide their time more or less equally between 'learning to do things' with their parents and being with their playmates. Childish games in the dust are now replaced by more vigorous country sport. Within the age-group itself thoughts and efforts in the domain of sex come to occupy a very important place. Masturbation is now regarded as 'unmanly' and gradually given up. Lying with other boys is also looked down upon. Efforts are made to attract younger girls for first experimentation in heterosexual love. Far more than these actual experiments, fantasies occupy an important place in their thoughts and conversation. Imaginary affairs with a woman believed to be of easy virtue—or with a completely fictitious character from a distant village—are vividly and elaborately described. Growth of the pubic hair and genital organs is closely watched and compared. In this way they slowly reach their youth when talks for their marriage are opened. On marriage they acquire a new social status.

After marriage the young men and women have to give considerable attention to their economic pursuits and crafts, and as such they have relatively little time left for group activity. Yet, their leisure and time are generally spent in the company of persons belonging more or less to the same age-group, who constitute 'a set of friends'. Important activities of these groups include loafing, playing card games, gossip and conversation. They may even go to the city together; and always act in unison when planning mischief. Confidences are exchanged within these groups; and people often narrate to each other their recent exploits. One of the favourite themes is boasting regarding success in sexual adventures. Success—real or imaginary—with an adolescent girl is vividly described within this narrow circle. Graphic and vivid details are always added to make the account more colourful. 'It was her very first experience. Oh, there was so much blood. I did not know whether to pacify her or to concentrate on the act', one would say. This would start a chain in which all others would narrate their parallel experiences—many of which would be slightly modified editions of often-told tales. The *motif* of a girl being frightened by the largeness of a man's organ also

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572 keeps on repeating itself. Some young men introduce a note of
831 slight sadism when they talk of their 'forcing-in' acts against
521 unwilling partners. General comments about the goings on in the village are an important item in the activities of these groups. The latest scandals are discussed and spread to the rest of the community in one or other of these groups. Women are classified into sexual categories, such as 'the easy' type, 'invite you and later say "no"' type, 'the wrestler' type and 'the hollow'. Code words are employed to describe different persons. Peculiarities and weaknesses of men are also noted and commented upon. Domestic duties do not leave much leisure to young married women. Consequently they cannot plan any group activity. But they too can exchange views, and discuss the latest affairs and developments while they wait near the well for their turn to draw water or when they go out for washing the clothes and bathing.

575 Middle-aged people have their own groups. These are informal
521 conversational gatherings; but their membership and attendance is nearly fixed. Groups of men and women meet separately; although two or three women in the village are privileged and have access to some of the men's groups. The village has twelve to fourteen men's groups, out of which three are politically and socially influential and important. In practically each quarter of the village there are one or two groups of elderly women. While the membership of the men's groups remains fairly stationary, that of the women's groups changes very often, varying according to recent quarrels or patching up of past differences. Most of the men's groups are formed round some central, politically influential figure. Gossip and politics appear to be their most important functions. Day to day developments in the village are discussed, and often the line to be taken in the central village council is worked out here long before the council's session. All these groups consist of two kinds of members—'regulars', whose loyalty and affiliation are not in doubt; and 'occasionals', whose affiliations are shaky, but who turn up periodically out of curiosity or with a definite
[626] purpose. These groups play a significant part in managing the affairs of the village, for their comments circulating in the village by word of mouth set the pace and direction for further action by
575 the community in most matters. It should be added here that these groups comprise mostly the middle-aged people. While some ambitious young men seek to attend them, the aged generally

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stay at home. The middle-aged people have in effect the controlling hand in village affairs; the truly aged retire into insignificance and fade away. Some people cannot become reconciled to such retirement, having enjoyed authority and influence during their active days. They find adjustment difficult, and a life of dependence rather trying. But most people accept their position with good grace, leave active management of the home and family occupations to their sons and consequently find that their adjustment is much less difficult and inconvenient.

3. CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT

Within the village community there is an appreciable degree of inter-caste and inter-family co-operation. Earlier it has been pointed out that the social system enjoins co-operation between a number of castes in the fields of economics and ritual. Several aspects of community life depend for their smooth running on this traditional system of mutual give and take. Apart from these conventional ties which are a constituent part of the social structure, several relationships involving voluntary co-operation can be observed. The simplest type of such voluntary co-operation found between neighbours or between friendly families is the system of 'accommodating' each other in time of need. Borrowing little sums of money or small quantities of grain, cooking for a friend during her menstrual impurity or confinement, and looking after children during the short absence of the mother may be cited as examples of this type of co-operation. House building and annual roof repairs also call for the help of friendly neighbours among the peasants of average and poor economic status. Careful mental note is made of all such favours received, so that they may be returned at the appropriate time. Refusing help and returning favours inadequately are looked upon as gestures of unfriendliness or as marks of 'a small heart'. Emergency aid is rushed to friend and foe alike. In cases of serious illness, fire or other accidents it is necessary to help a fellow villager; and in all such cases aid is rarely refused. Socio-religious ceremonies, particularly marriage, and those connected with death, are also important occasions that demand co-operation and help from neighbours and fellow villagers. The burden of the household in which the ceremony is to be performed is considerably lightened because of the help

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476 given by friends and neighbours. The average and poor peasants
571 extend this co-operation to the sphere of economic activities also, particularly during weeding and harvesting their families help each other in the speedy completion of the work. Among the occupational castes, families of a specific caste-group are expected to accommodate each other during time of illness, difficulty or temporary incapacity, by lending manual or monetary assistance to them for continuing their vocational craft. Fairs and ceremonies organized by the village reveal the co-operative spirit in the community. On some such occasions, one faction or other may refuse co-operation—sometimes it may even cause obstructions and create difficulties, but on the whole it can be said that organizers have the enthusiastic support of the bulk of the community and dissidents tend to lose the sympathy of wavering camp followers. In inter-village quarrels as well as on all such occasions that demand vindicating the honour of the village, the residents of the settlement often act with spirited unison. Behind most forms of voluntary co-operation there are no social sanctions; but the general attitude of society regards them as desirable and necessary. In the words of an informant, 'Who can say that he will not require help from anyone at any time? Money can buy many things. Power too can get many things done. But there are several situations in which neither money nor power helps. When you require sympathy and help your neighbours come forward.' To quote another informant, 'To-day you are well; to-morrow you may be very seriously ill and it may not be possible for you to get a doctor. What saves your life? A cheap herbal concoction suggested by your neighbour! One can never know how and when one is going to need the help of another.' Finally to quote a third informant, 'To-day I need your help; to-morrow you may want it from me. Why do we live in a village? Why do we not live in the wilderness? Only because we cannot do without human sympathy and occasional help.' Rendering help at the time of need is of value in itself. It partially relieves the distress of the person receiving help; and gives a psychological satisfaction to the person giving it, who incidentally also gains some social prestige through it.

578 But I do not want this picture of co-operation to be too idyllic, for conflicts and tensions in the community are also numerous. The analysis of the quality of inter-personal relations in the community,

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earlier in this chapter, suggests that an extrovert and sensitive people who cannot conceal their approval or disapproval and who do not suppress their immediate reactions cannot have a very peaceful and quiet life. Indeed most of the tensions are short-lived, but quarrels and conflicts are numerous and frequent. As the community is partially autonomous in several spheres of life, it is necessary for it to have an effective mechanism for the control of these conflicts.

Shamirpet, however, is only partially autonomous, for it is a part of a wider social system. The extent of caste organization is regional, and covers a very large number of villages. In several spheres of life it is the caste rather than the village that has the upper hand in controlling the behaviour of its constituents. Details of ritual connected with the life-cycle, and observance of the *mores* and norms of the caste fall in this category. Further the village is but a small unit in the national political structure of a sub-continent. Its laws are made by the State Legislature and the Union Parliament; and the law-enforcing arm of the State extends to it as effectively as it does to the rest of the country. This brings the State police and magistracy on the scene. All important breaches of law go to the civil and criminal courts. What remains of the autonomy of the village appears quite insignificant, but in actual practice relatively few cases go to caste councils, fewer to courts of law, and left to itself to control the inter-group and inter-personal relations of its members the machinery responsible for social control and justice within the village finds itself burdened with considerable work.

How is this mechanism set in motion? How does it work? Presently I shall give a few illustrative cases which will reveal the process in certain typical situations. At this stage it is necessary to point out that all cases of conflict do not go to the village council. In many cases the parties to the dispute boisterously quarrel over the issue and there the matter ends. For a few days they probably will not be on speaking terms, leave each other out of social functions and ceremonies, and continue to indulge in mutual recriminations and behind-the-back slander; but in course of time normal relations will be resumed. In other cases mediation or arbitration of the elders may be sought or may be volunteered by the elders themselves. When influential village elders notice disorderly or unbecoming behaviour on the part of someone

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578 627 repeatedly they intervene, and seek to set things right by the pressure of their personality. They ridicule, admonish and threaten the wrongdoer, and leave it at that. This intervention is often effective and succeeds in achieving the desired result. Disputes may be specially referred to influential and impartial elders, and thus a settlement is sought without the necessity of having to appear 692 674 before the village council. When these efforts fail, or when the seriousness of the offence or dispute warrants it, it is taken to the headman or to one of the elders with a specific request that it be decided by the village council. On the other hand, elders may take cognizance of a serious matter and may themselves bring it to the notice of the village council. Of course all cases of murder, serious theft, and grievous bodily injury, as well as of default in payment of substantial loans are taken to the criminal and civil courts. Abduction and adultery can be referred to law courts; but generally they are taken either to the village council or to the caste council. Misconduct with a married or unmarried woman, running away with a married woman, default in fulfilling the terms and conditions of a marriage contract may similarly be referred to either or both the caste council and the village council. Of the two, whichever happens to be more powerful and effective attracts most of these marginal cases to itself. Personal disputes, minor property and land disputes, sex offences and conflicts arising out of breach of contract generally come up for hearing and decision before the village council.

695 The composition of the village council has been described earlier.[1] When cases come up for hearing before it, the proceedings are carried on with considerable dignity. Available evidence and eye-witnesses are examined. The motive for the offence, and the situation in which it was committed—particularly its immediate cause, as well as presence or absence of provocation—are also taken into account. Outwardly an attitude of objectivity and impartiality is maintained by everyone; although in reality the rival factions within the council try to tip the scale their own way so that the evidence may later be construed in such a way that it may prove advantageous to the client to whom they have already promised their support. At the time of actual decision the parties to the dispute have to withdraw, allowing the council freedom to discuss and analyse the issues involved. Divergent and often contrary opinions may be expressed by the rival factions at this stage.

1 [cf. at 116, pp. 45-6, --ANALYST]

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But when the decision is announced, it is done so in a manner that indicates unanimity among the members. Besides attempting arbitration and mediation, the village council also administers punishment when a person's guilt is proved. The nature of punishment itself differs in different categories of cases, also on the basis of persons involved in the dispute. It ranges from a simple warning to a complete social boycott; the intermediate stages being stern admonition, firm demand for apology, compensation to the aggrieved, and fining.

Absence of internal unity within the council has undermined its authority considerably. The fact that some of its members allow and encourage their protégés to defy—fully or partially—its decisions, contributes further to its growing weakness. Dissatisfied with its judgement one can always take the case to a regular court of law where the decision of the council may be reversed.

With these preliminary observations we can now proceed to examine a few illustrative cases which represent typical situations met with in the life of the community:

(1) V. R. R. and his brother B. live together. Their parents are dead, and being minor B. lives with his elder brother. V. R. R. has had elementary education. Being married into a respectable lower middle-class family in the city, and himself with some experience of urban life, V. R. R. regards himself as the leader of a band of city-influenced youth. As most of his time is spent in loafing, planning mischief, gambling, drinking and instigating people to quarrel, he cannot devote much time to the land, and consequently the financial position of the family is not satisfactory. V. R. R. adds to his income by extorting money from the villagers by offering his advice, help and support—often for unjust causes—but this money is spent almost wholly on himself. B. is now an adolescent, and is fast approaching a marriageable age. Noticing his elder brother's indifference towards him, B. approached some of the elders of his caste. His main complaints were: (*a*) V. R. R. does not spend his (B.'s) share of the land and its produce on him. (*b*) Nothing is being saved for his marriage. One day V. R. R. lost his temper over some trifling issue and scolded his younger brother. B. ran to E. D. R.—an influential man in the village, and the hereditary leader of his caste. Fearing that B. might be beaten by his elder brother, E. D. R. accompanied him to his house and asked V. R. R. to come out of the house and listen to

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him. Partly because of anger, and partly under the intoxication of his power and influence as the leader of a youth gang, he curtly remarked to E. D. R., 'Have you nothing else to do? What brings you here? Is it because of jealousy that you cannot see our welfare and prosperity and you are instigating my brother to separate from me?' This was too much even for the sedate, cool and level-headed E. D. R., who enjoys great reputation in the village for his sobriety. He lost his temper and said, 'You bastard, you seem to have developed great notions about yourself. After spending a few months in the city—and with the support of that band of rascals—you think that you can defy the authority of village elders. I shall show you what it means to be impertinent to me.' V. R. R. was still defiant, but less impolite. E. D. R. said, 'If you have the cheek to answer me back I shall make life impossible for you in the village. You have a long tongue, but if you wag it against us we shall pull it.' At this stage V. P. R.—a rival of E. D. R., who had also been approached by B. on an earlier occasion—entered the scene. But now he was on the side of E. D. R. and joined him in scolding the unrepentant V. R. R. Within a short time a small crowd gathered at the spot. Some other elders persuaded V. R. R. to apologize to the elders whom he had offended. This he did rather reluctantly. E. D. R., V. P. R. and the other elders assembled there decided that V. R. R. should give more attention to his agriculture, save at least two hundred rupees every year for the expenses of his younger brother's wedding; and after his marriage at the end of three years give him his share of land and cattle. V. R. R. agreed to do this and the crowd dispersed.

(2) E. R. is a middle-aged woman, and is counted among the colourful personalities of the village. In her day she was regarded as a local beauty and was known for a degree of laxity in morals. Now she has a sort of romantic attachment with C. M.—a local Muslim small-trader. Her husband is meek and docile; and her children ignore this affair. This particular case refers to her quarrel with her son Y., who not only abused her but added to the gravity of the offence by striking her in public. Outwardly the quarrel appeared to be an ordinary, everyday affair; but careful investigation revealed to us that the roots of the trouble lay somewhere else. The fact of the matter was that E. R. had got her son Y. married to a rather young and immature girl who happened to be her friend's daughter. Y. at this time was a grown-

up man; but his child bride was unable to take her place as his wife for some three years more. To keep her son away from eloping with a young woman, E. R. not only tolerated but encouraged—some people say she actually brought it about—Y.'s liaison with a woman of the same caste living in the neighbourhood. For three or four years everything went on well and the relations between the mother and child were most cordial. Trouble started when Y.'s wife came to live with them. E. R. had expected that her son's amours with the other woman would end shortly. In this she was wrong. The young wife failed to win the affection of her husband, who remained deeply attached to his former mistress. E. R. could not tolerate this. She tried different methods to dissuade her son, and with every failure her relations with him were more embittered. Quarrels between them became frequent. Tired of the incessant flow of criticism and bitter remarks from her, one day Y. struck her—with fists first and later with a stick. He also perhaps pulled her hair. All this happened so suddenly, and E. R.'s husband was at the time so overcome that he found himself helpless and could not intervene in the matter. Infuriated by this E. R. ran into the street and started wailing and cursing loudly. Very soon this attracted a large crowd. Her husband tried to pacify her, but E. R. would not let him come near her. She said to him, 'You claim to be a man! Do you? You could see your son beating me in your very presence and did not lift even your little finger. For me you are dead. Go, go away—for me you are dead. Did you hear that?' Saying this she started breaking her glass bangles. This was quite serious for a Hindu woman breaks her bangles only when she is widowed. The crowd tried to pacify her. Sympathizers made efforts to find out what the matter was. For over an hour E. R. continued cursing her son and husband, spitting 'at their name' and throwing dust, signifying their burial. Then she gave a detailed and rather exaggerated account of the happenings of that evening. Three elders who were present at the spot immediately summoned the son and asked him to touch the feet of his mother and apologize to her. This he did readily, although with a sullen face. But E. R. reacted with another spurt of abuse and foul language. After a while people took them home. The gravity of the matter demanded its consideration by the full village council. Once again the son had to apologize to the mother, and in addition had to pay a small fine for his unbecoming behaviour.

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578 627 (3) This case is illustrative of some of the internal goings on in the village, and of some of the typical reactions manifested by the people.

K. was an average peasant. He had a son who lived separately in the village on account of his bad relations with his father. K.'s landholdings were modest in size, but some of his fields were quite first class. He was getting old and could not cultivate all the land by himself. Some of his relations came forward to help him, but he rejected their help. At this stage B. N.—an untouchable but influential cultivator—was ingratiating himself with K., and claimed to be his friend and well-wisher. It is said that B. N. persuaded a very influential figure in the village to lend him his helping hand in the pursuit of something which he had in mind. (It is rumoured that the influential figure agreed to lend his support in consideration of a substantial monetary gift.) After a few days it was known that K. had sold his best fields to B. N. Although the documents showed that B. N. had paid a reasonable price, it was generally believed that the amount which had actually changed hands was very small. K. had not consulted any of his relations about this deal. As if to add insult to injury, the old man had chosen an untouchable for this favour in utter disregard to the claims of his kinsfolk, and after the deal K.'s relations with them broke down completely. He went out to another village to visit some other relations, fell seriously ill and returned to Shamirpet in a very precarious condition. Everyone realized that it was his end, but his relations did not do anything for him. B. N. arranged for him to stay in a room of the village rest-house, and arranged with a shopkeeper and a young man of clean caste for the supply of rations and for the cooking of his meals. In a few days K. died.

His relations did not show any inclination to touch his corpse. When the headman sent word to them, they said 'We are not his relations. Did he ever remember us during his lifetime so that we may remember him now? He has his untouchable son who will inherit his property. Let him perform the last rites for him.' Hearing this, B. N. said, 'I am an untouchable. I cannot perform the rites. But I shall pay for them, and see that they are done in some style.' He sent for a band from the city, advanced money for necessary preparations, and with the support of the headman secured the co-operation of four clean caste unmarried youths to carry the bier. The relations took it as a challenge. They

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changed their attitude. One of their spokesmen said, 'The deceased was our seed; and not an untouchable. We may not have riches, but we shall perform his last rites.' They sent for another band, and the last rites were performed in a memorable style. K.'s son felt offended and kept himself away from the ceremonies.

(4) Robust and sturdy C. R. has several remarkable traits. Because of his personality and a rather impressive way of speaking he has considerable influence over his community and is looked upon as its leader. He is an untouchable. Some of his acts now and then disgrace his family, and bring about a temporary eclipse of his reputation. Several times he was accused of petty thefts, and once or twice fined by the village council. But when he stole a blanket and some brassware from his employer, and ran away with the wife of a neighbour, the matter was viewed very seriously. People from the village had seen him at a nearby railway station with all the three stolen things—blanket, brassware and the neighbour's wife. The theft was reported to the village council; and after some preliminary consideration the local caste group referred the elopement also to it. In the meantime news was received that C. R. was working in a sugar factory, but was anxious to return to the village. The village council came to the decision that C. R. should compensate his employer to the full value of the articles stolen, return the woman to her husband with a certain sum of money by way of compensation, and pay a fine to the council for the two offences. C. R. returned to the village, accepted the verdict of the council, but asked for a reduction in the amount of the fine. This request was granted.

(5) R. was a widow, and after the death of her husband had returned to Shamirpet to live with her mother. She was still young. In a few days she became the mistress of M. who belonged to her caste. They never lived openly as man and wife, but their relationship was well known. M. bought several expensive presents for her, and these included a silver necklace and bracelets. After about three years R. fell in love with an outsider who agreed to take her as his wife. M. did not object to this arrangement, but he insisted on having his presents back. R. was not prepared to part with them. One day when she was passing along the street in front of M.'s house, he ran towards her and started snatching the ornaments by force. R. shouted for help and people rushing to the spot separated them. The matter was reported to the headman,

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691 who convened the full council. Opinion in this case was divided, but the final verdict was that since M. had enjoyed sexual favour from the woman for three years he had no right to demand the return of the ornaments. R. married her new lover and went away to live in his village. M. was greatly dissatisfied with the decision, but there was nothing that he could do about it.

(6) D. worked in Bombay and when he returned to the village brought back with him his savings—estimated at four hundred rupees or so. He spent the money lavishly on drink and gambling. In less than a year he had squandered all his savings. Now he started ill-treating his wife. One day when the wife's father had come to take her home for a short stay, he asked her for eight annas to buy some drinks. She said that she had no money, and he beat her mercilessly. The noise attracted people to their house, and the woman's father reported the matter to the headman. The headman called some other members of the village council, and then summoned the husband and wife. He asked the wife, 'Why did you not give him the money?' The wife said, 'I did not have any with me.' She repeatedly asserted that she had no money. Thereupon her belongings were searched. This revealed that she had seven rupees. She tried to convince the council that this was her personal savings from her own earnings from the making of country cigarettes. But the Deshmukh said, 'Why did you lie before the *panchayat*? Why did you say that you had no money?' Encouraged by this turn of events in his favour the husband accused her of stealing three hundred rupees and asked her to leave him. She went away with her father to his village.

691 578 (7) L. and P. both belong to the caste of potters. Their houses stand facing each other. A tamarind tree standing midway between the two houses is a bone of contention, and over this tree there were several pitched quarrels between their families. Who has the right to its fruit? Who should sweep up the dried leaves when they fall? Who should enclose the tree within his own enclosure? Mediation of elders did not succeed in finding a satisfactory solution to the problem. The matter was reported to the village council; but there too no decision could be reached as both sides had their own supporters in nearly equal strength. Efforts at bringing about a compromise were mostly fruitless, or else agreements between the rivals were short-lived. The village council considered it time and again, but in the meantime the matter was

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reported to a government officer. For four years the matter lingered on, and the tree continued to disturb the peace of that particular living-quarter. Ultimately, at the suggestion of the government officer, the decision was given that the tree should be cut down; its wood be sold and the proceeds distributed equally between the two parties. To effect this a time-limit of a month was prescribed, after which the council was to have the liberty to dispose of the tree and thus to deprive the disputants of the proceeds.

(8) I. and S. are brothers. After their father's death they continued to live together and cultivate their land jointly for two years. Then they had some family difficulties, and had to seek the mediation of village elders. Three influential persons acceptable to both the brothers worked out the details of partition. The family land was divided into two equal parts, but one of these parts was inferior to the other. Equal division of good and inferior land between the two would have meant fragmentation of some of the tiny fields with loss to both; and so it was decided that the one who accepted the inferior land would get all the plough cattle, and the one who got the superior land would have no share in the cattle left by the father. Both the brothers were to contribute two hundred rupees each for three years for the wedding of their sister. I. chose the superior land and S. agreed to have the inferior land with the cattle. For a time the arrangement worked well. The land was still in the name of I. in the government records, because he was the elder of the two. At the time of the partition there was a tacit understanding that they would contribute equally towards the payment of land revenue. But S. had a feeling that his share should be less on account of the fact that his land was inferior. He was instigated by some people to pursue the matter further. I. would perhaps have agreed to an amicable settlement had his brother approached him; but he was annoyed to notice that he sought outside help and unjustly maligned him. Intervention of the elders failed to bring about a compromise. The village council could not come to a decision quickly, as both brothers had powerful factions supporting them. Ultimately its verdict was against S., but his advisers suggested that rather than yield to this decision he should take the matter to a civil court. At the time of our investigations the issue was still undecided and no settlement was in sight.

These examples could easily be multiplied. Failure in implementing the terms of an agreement or contract, inability to pay

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

691 off small debts, serious sexual intrigues, domestic quarrels assuming serious proportions, etc., keep on coming before the village council again and again. It is very rarely that it has to take the final step of ordering the social boycott of an individual. Caste *panchayats*, on the other hand, take recourse to this weapon very often when breaches of caste convention are brought to their 688 notice. Eating with a lower caste, sex intrigue outside the caste, failure in observing injunctions attached to the status of ritual impurity, and inability to perform any major ritual are all punished by ostracism. This involves denial of social equality to the ostracized family. No one will share food or drink with it. No member of such a family will be invited to attend a socio-religious ceremony, nor will anyone accept his invitation. Its status of social equality will be restored when it performs the necessary rituals for the expiation of its offence.

578 Our investigations did not reveal the existence of any serious inter-group tensions and conflicts in the community. Just before and after the Police Action there was some Hindu-Muslim tension: in the first phase Muslims terrorized the Hindus; in the second the Hindus looted property from one Muslim house and terrorized the other Muslims generally and their ringleaders particularly. Between different castes or living-quarters of the village, within living memory, there were only two major disputes. Their details are not remembered, but it is claimed that the tension was short-lived and cordiality was established very soon between the warring sections.

578 The corporate unity of the village finds its fullest expression 621 when the inhabitants come into conflict with outsiders. The village of Aliyabad shares with Shamirpet the water from the 609 tank for the purposes of irrigation. The ratio of water supplied to Shamirpet and Aliyabad has been fixed at 5:2. Over this there are always some difficulties. One night the floodgates were opened, and the water that should have irrigated Shamirpet fields was diverted to Aliyabad fields. Next morning an organized team from Shamirpet attacked Aliyabad. There were three different theories regarding what had happened the previous night. Aliyabad people said that the guards of the floodgates had asked them to take the water under the impression that it was their turn. The guards said that being threatened with violence they allowed the Aliyabad men to divert the water to their area.

LIVING TOGETHER

Perhaps the fact of the matter was that Aliyabad men had obtained the favour by bribing the guards; but their excessive greed in not allowing any water into Shamirpet fields had exposed their game. Prompt official intervention checked ugly developments; and later the issue was resolved at inter-village level. But in the dispute itself the two villages had forgotten their internal differences and dissensions and each of them had acted as one body. Another instance of such concerted action and village unity is provided by the conflict between the residents of Shamirpet and eight army men from the nearby cantonment. These eight people came to the village in two army trucks and started loading their vehicles with firewood cut and stored by a resident of the village. Obviously the army men intended to take it away without payment. The owner of the house tried to check them, and in the process he was badly beaten up. In the meantime the news had reached the other village people, who came rushing to the spot armed with sticks. They did what they thought proper at the time to avenge the honour of the village. Outnumbered by the villagers, the army men returned to their camp, threatening to bring their company to destroy the entire village. Police intervened and the trouble was not allowed to develop further.

In a society resting on rigid division of the population into castes separated by strict rules governing touching, eating and drinking, sex relations and matrimony, and social distance prescribed by tradition it is essential that people realize certain limitations and accept certain conditions. Caste consciousness develops quite early in one's life and these limitations and conditions are absorbed long before maturity by all through conversation groups, playgroups and general social experience. So far there has been no attack on the general premises on which the society rests, and therefore no serious inter-group or inter-caste conflicts have arisen. The lower castes have accepted their inferior status, and while they have made efforts to improve their lot they have not openly revolted against it. In their turn the higher castes have also shown considerable adaptability, and recognizing the general social trend they have readjusted their attitudes and curbed some of the earlier excesses and injustices. They may still object to being touched by a low caste man, but they will not protest against his wearing superior clothing befitting only the upper castes.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Changing Scene

178 THERE is a tendency among some Western writers to regard the rural societies of the East, particularly of India, as almost static and unchanging. For over a century 'the timeless and changeless Indian village' has been the ideal of the romanticist. However, a micro-sociological study of a village like Shamirpet, which was insulated in feudal surroundings and was thus kept almost unaffected by the currents of social, economic and political changes that were sweeping the countryside in British India, shows certain unmistakable trends in the direction of cultural and institutional variation.

175 To analyse the changing scene in the village a brief recapitulation of its history is necessary.

According to government records there was at first a small hamlet on the site on which the present comparatively large village of Shamirpet is situated. Nearly two hundred and eighty years ago the ruler of Hyderabad State decided to get a large tank constructed near this hamlet. When the construction was started the population of the village increased considerably by the influx of labourers from the neighbouring villages who built temporary shelters for themselves mid-way between the place of work and the existing settlement. As the work progressed, some of these people started building permanent huts for themselves. With the completion of the tank the village acquired excellent irrigation facilities. This finally induced most of the families working at the construction of the tank to settle down permanently in the village. In addition to these people, there was also a fresh wave of immigrants. This included the Reddis and Muslims who were attracted by the irrigation facilities now available in the village. They

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bought land for cultivation, built substantial houses, and thus became a part of the permanent population of the village. With the extension of agriculture a number of artisan and occupational castes were drawn into the village population. These castes are a necessary adjunct to the traditional system of agriculture in rural India, and the growing number of agriculturists in the village had already created a demand for them. Thus the population of the once-small hamlet of Shahpur gradually increased and consequently its status among the neighbouring villages was also enhanced. It has been pointed out that at this time it was renamed as Shamirpet to commemorate the engineer who had planned and supervised the construction of the tank. One of the ancestors of the present headman, who had successfully undertaken a contract for the carting of materials required in the construction of the tank, was duly rewarded by the ruler of the State with a substantial grant of land. He invested most of his earnings from the contract in buying more land. Thus he became the biggest landowner in the village. He was also appointed as the Mali Patel, a village official responsible for assisting the State officials in the collection of land revenue. At this time he was granted a *sanad*, a document appointing him as the headman of the village. In the context of these continued changes the internal organization of the village kept on modifying itself. Finally, when the population of this comparatively large village had become stable it reorganized its *panchayat* (village council). It now consisted of the Deshmukh (headman) who was its presiding officer, the three Ganadi (organizers of village ritual) and all the Kulam-pedda (heads of the different castes living in the village).

In the later history of the village there are two significant turning points. The first of these directly affected the village. The second affected Hyderabad State as a whole and brought in its wake certain currents which had significant repercussions on the countryside.

To begin with, about one hundred and fifty years ago the Nizam of Hyderabad granted Shamirpet, along with several other villages, as a *jagir* or feudal estate to one of his nobles. In the villages granted to him the feudal landlord replaced the normal district administration of the State. Shamirpet was selected as the headquarters of the estate, and as a direct consequence of this

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175 decision several substantial houses were built in the village to accommodate its offices and officials. Forty years ago an ambitious Nawab built a row of modern-looking houses for his various offices. These were built in stone, had plastered and white-washed walls, and also had tiled roofs. Obviously they were in keeping with the urban styles of that time, commonly met with in the small towns having subdivisional administrative offices. One by one a school, a police station, a dispensary and a post office were added to the village.

In the race for modernization and introduction of Western technology feudal Hyderabad was much behind British India. Apparently very little happened in the rural areas of the State during the first one hundred and twenty-five years of British rule in India. Modern roads, buses and railways came in here much later than in the rest of the country outside the domains of native princes. In the later phases of this period the State maintained an impressive array of 'nation-building', 'welfare' and technical departments, but their activities in the rural areas were limited. However, these were very crucial years in the life of the village as a variety of complex socio-economic factors were influencing the fabric of the rural community. Urban contacts and modern education were acquired by a small section of the village population. Administrative contacts with State officers and law courts increased in this period. Owing to its nearness to the capital city Shamirpet received a somewhat favoured treatment at the hands of the nation-building and technical departments whose touring officials and propagandists visited this village more often than the other remote and distant villages.

The last fifty years of British rule in India witnessed the gradual emergence of a strong national movement for the liberation of the country from foreign political domination, and under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the Indian National Congress took the message of non-violent non-co-operation and passive resistance to the masses in the different parts of the country. This had a profound influence on the rural areas in several parts of the land, and led to some modification in the ways and outlook of the people. In Hyderabad there was no such mass movement, but what was happening in the rest of the country was not without significance for the people of this State. Later, inspired by the Indian example, there was some agitation for political reform and self-

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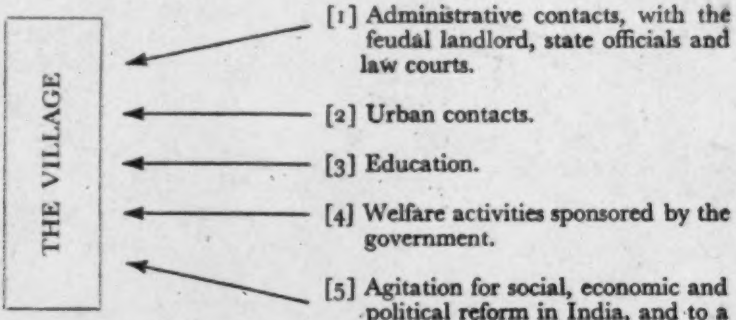
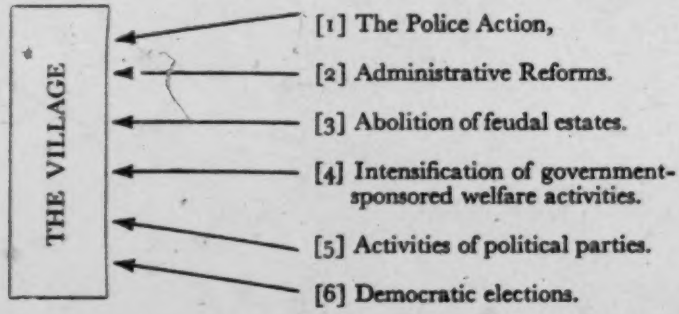
government in the State. This too had some influence on the village.

The major influences that were at work during the Jagir period, especially in the last five or six decades, are illustrated in the following diagram:



The year 1948 witnessed many vital changes in the Hyderabad State. As an outcome of successful intervention of India, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Union. This paved the way for several radical reforms in the State. The Nizam himself became a constitutional ruler. With the abolition of Jagirs the feudal system within the State came to an end. Rural development and welfare activities were intensified. Finally, democratic institutions were introduced and in 1951 the people went to the polls for the first time to elect their representatives, for the State Legislature and the Union Parliament.

The Police Action was the second turning point in the life-history of the village, as it inaugurated the operation of a new set of influences in the life of the community. These influences were:



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127 In some respects the factors of social change operating at these two stages and the resultant trends are complementary, while in others they stand out in marked contrast. It will be useful first to analyse the changes that came about in the life and ways of the people in the last fifty years of the feudal period, and then to follow it up by an examination of some of the more recent changes brought about by the Police Action.

It is difficult to present a systematic account of the different stages of the slow and gradual transition of the village from its pre- and early-Jagir days to the conditions that it presented in the later part of the feudal period. Any attempt to do so would necessitate placing excessive reliance on oral tradition about the near past. In order to be able to compare the conditions in the two periods and to determine the main lines of variation, reconstruction of a picture of the first stage is necessary. This could be done on the basis of:

(*a*) Factual information regarding comparable, but remote villages of the region, which because of their comparative isolation and lack of urban contacts present to-day, in a broad sense, conditions that Shamirpet would have presented in the pre- and early-Jagir period. Cautious and limited use of this method of translating space into time is useful in providing us with a starting point.

(*b*) Oral traditions and memories of the people, in so far as they do not concern themes pertaining to family glory and personal pride, or those involving subjective idealization.

(*c*) Fragmentary evidence from documentary and historical sources reflecting conditions of life and living in that period. Police, revenue and other semi-legal records obtainable have been used in this connection.

The contrasting picture of the village representing the last phase of the feudal period can be drawn from actual ethnographic observation and record.

178 The major factors which influenced the course of developments
369 in the village have been mentioned earlier. However, they need some further elaboration. In the pre- and early-Jagir period the contacts between the village people and State administration were on a very limited scale, and were confined mostly to payment of land revenue and settlement of land disputes. Occasionally, criminal offences and civil suits of a serious nature were tried in

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the law courts in the city. Now and then State officials visited the village on tour. In the second half of the Jagir period these administrative contacts increased very considerably. At the same time the urban contacts of a section of the village population also grew gradually. These included visiting relations and friends in the city, receiving relations and friends from the city, occasional excursions for shopping in the large city stores and markets as well as for sight-seeing, temporary stay of a short or long duration for work in the city, and finally being in everyday touch with officials resident in the village, who were regarded as an urban element in the village population. Increased contacts with the towns and cities were greatly facilitated by the construction of the metalled road joining Hyderabad with the district headquarters of Karimnagar in the interior of the State. This road touches Shamirpet. With the introduction of bicycles and buses frequent and regular contacts with the urban areas were made possible. The progress of education has been rather slow. In the early-Jagir days only a few children belonging to the higher castes, and also to the upper level families, received any schooling. Even this was confined to a bare acquaintance with three R's. With the opening of a school in the village education was placed within the reach of a much larger section and even some untouchable children started attending the school. Some ambitious parents sent their children to the higher schools in the city where they could learn English. Books, periodicals and newspapers which occasionally found their way into the village conveyed to the people 'strange truths regarding the wide world through the medium of the printed word'. The State administration initiated some of its welfare and nation-building activities in the countryside. Agriculture, Veterinary and Animal Husbandry, Medical and Public Health, and Co-operation and Rural Development departments of the State started functioning in the rural areas. Their representatives and propagandists brought some new ideas and techniques to the village. The villagers saw their demonstrations, heard their talks, and were at times even coaxed into doing things in the new ways. This was indeed novel to them. In the earlier period government had only collected land revenue, heard some of their disputes, tried cases arising out of breaches of law, and occasionally forced them to provide practically free labour and 'presents' for touring government officials, but had never interfered with their agricultural

178 369 [491] 178 871 [204] 178 654

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practices or with their methods of cattle keeping. Compulsory vaccination and inoculation were introduced. The village people did not clearly understand the implications of the political movements that were developing in the city. The Muslims, thinking that they belonged to the 'ruling race', supported the Nizam and later the communalist Muslim party. The educated and city-influenced Hindus had sympathy with the Arya Samaj (a Hindu revivalist and reformist body), and the State Congress (a democratic political party affiliated to the Indian National Congress and dedicated to the ideal of self-government and democracy within the State), but could not express their sympathies openly. At least outwardly the landed Hindu peasantry maintained a loyalist attitude towards the established authority. These were the major influences that operated in the community. Nearly all of them had a slow and uncertain start, but gradually their intensity and effectiveness increased. As an outcome of their operation, at the close of the Jagir period, we get a picture of the village which is very different from the one that it would have presented in the pre- or early-Jagir period.

What then are the main lines of variation? In what spheres of community life are the changes most pronounced? As we find them most pronounced in material culture and technology, it would be appropriate to begin our analysis of change with this aspect of life. These changes have resulted in the acquisition of new habits and styles, of new tools and technological processes, and of a new outlook on things in general.

In the dress and ornaments of the village people there has been very noticeable change. The old-style peasant dress is now giving way to new-style clothes cut and stitched in imitation of the urban style. While it is still common to see an Indian lower garment—Hindu *dhoti* or Muslim *pyjama*—Western-style shirts with collars have mostly replaced the native upper garments. In the former times only the village headman, rich Reddis and Muslims, and the high-caste Brahmins and Komtis wore 'respectable' and semi-urban clothing, and that too only when they were to receive an important visitor or while going to the city. With the exception of this small minority, all others wore the traditional peasant dress. Spinning was done on the hand-wheel at home and cloth was woven by village weavers. Now the situation has changed. At present hardly any spinning is being done by the people, and the village weaver

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buys his yarn from the shops in the city. The clothing to-day can be classified into three main types: the average peasant dress, the old-style respectable dress, and the new-style clothing. In all the three types of clothes mill-made cloth is extensively used. For shirts and vests practically everyone uses mill-made cloth. The same is true of materials used for the bodices and blouses of women. Before the Second World War mill-made women's *saris* were capturing the village markets, and were making the position rather difficult for the village weaver who was unable to withstand this competition. However, due to acute war-time shortages, particularly of *saris*, there was a switch back to the locally woven material. In the three styles of clothing enumerated above, those adopting the new are imitating the current urban styles. In these two different trends can be observed: Indian clothing and semi-Indian clothing. Most people in this group are young men. During the Muslim régime they had taken to *pyjama* (thin white trousers) and *sherwani* (long, buttoned-up-to-the-neck coats) which were then extremely popular. The *kurta*—long loose tunic popularized by the Congress in the civil disobedience days—became a mark of patriotism and is currently the accepted respectable dress with young men. It can be worn with both *dhoti* and *pyjama*. Shirts with collars, shorts and European-style jackets were also used by this section. Knitted vests too became very popular. Items of clothing introduced more recently are trousers and bush-jackets. These are confined mostly to people who have served in the Hyderabad Army or who have had some small jobs in the city. In the old-style respectable dress not much change is in evidence. During the Muslim régime the clothing of the respectable people had acquired a definite court touch, and a long coat and lambskin cap became the dress of the respectable city-going village people. With the decline of Muslim rule in Hyderabad this cap was discarded by the Hindus as it symbolized their subordination to the Muslims. It has been replaced by an ordinary black cap, and the traditional long coat is still in use. The average peasants' and workers' dress has not changed much, but it is now made of mill-cloth. Many of the agriculturists and artisans, and indeed some poorer people, buy shirts with collars, and coats, to wear on special occasions. Among women brightly coloured and gaudily printed clothes have become popular. City manufactured trinkets are eagerly bought by them. Bangles, which every Hindu woman whose

THE CHANGING SCENE

301 178 husband is alive must wear, were formerly made by one of the local castes from indigenous materials. Now factory-made glass bangles have captured the market almost completely. Children's 291 178 dresses are now generally of Western style. Frocks, rompers, shirts and shorts are bought for them from the local market or from the shops in the city. Among other items of everyday wear Western-style shoes with laces are now being used alongside country shoes and sandals.

178 415 To the list of articles of daily requirement there have been several significant additions. Aluminium and 'German silver' utensils became very popular with the poorer sections of the population on account of their low prices. Glasses, as well as china cups and saucers, could be seen in several homes. Besides the public buildings five private homes now possess wall or alarm clocks. Kerosene lanterns can be seen in several homes, and there are five kerosene pressure lamps in the village. Some old people use reading glasses, and more then half a dozen young men from the village have bought sun glasses. Several people in the village use safety razors and torches. Cheap fountain-pens are also very fashionable.

178 262 In the food habits of the people there has not been much change. Sweets and other dainty eatables are bought from the shops in the city or from the bazaar. Five small stores in the village sell, among other things, lozenges, fruit-drops and biscuits made in Hyderabad. Tea and coffee are also very popular. Even those who do not drink these beverages regularly at home, occasionally have them in the village shop ostentatiously known as the 'hotel'. Aerated waters enjoy an amazing popularity as they are believed [276] to provide relief from many stomach disorders. The cigarette factories at Hyderabad have been producing and popularizing cheap brands of cigarettes, which have been progressively replacing the country cigarettes in which tobacco is rolled in dried leaves. Along with fermented palm-juice, some people now drink other liquors supplied by distilleries in Hyderabad.

178 Side by side with the traditional recreations of gossip, loafing and playing indigenous games, several new varieties of entertainments are now available to the village people. The village has three [524] gramophones. In the tea shop there is a crystal radio. Some young [576] men in the village play volley-ball. Many people patronize the circus and cinema in the city.

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THE CHANGING SCENE

Changes in tools and technical processes are also important. 178
Barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths are now using 413
factory-made tools and instruments. The village tailor has a sewing machine. It is significant that there has been no mentionable change in agricultural tools. In farming methods, however, some changes have taken place. Improved seeds are being used by 178
many cultivators. The value of green manure is realized by an 241
increasing number of agriculturists. Oil cakes, castor, ammonium sulphate, and a special concoction of chemical fertilizers known as 'paddy mixture' are now being used. More attention is given to growing vegetables. A greater percentage of cultivators is now growing 'cash crops'.

Communications too have now improved. Many persons take 179
advantage of the bus service. There are six private bicycles in the 469
village. A shop-keeper has four more which can be hired. The headman of the village has recently bought a 1928 model Ford. The traditional bullock carts are still largely used for transportation of goods, and also for travel.

The opening of a small dispensary in the village, and the 178
availability of excellent facilities of modern medical treatment in 755
the city have considerably changed the attitude of the people 757
towards diseases and their treatment. Although people still believe that smallpox and cholera are the result of the wrath of two goddesses and annually organize ceremonies in their honour on behalf of the village, the old fear of vaccination and inoculation has now practically disappeared. People no longer run away from the village on the appearance of the vaccinator, nor do they offer him bribes or threats for being spared the cruelty of vaccination. Divination, protective magic, chants and spells are all still employed to ward off disease and difficulty, but at the same time increasing use is being made of modern medicine. Age-old prescriptions of indigenous herbs are generally used for fevers and other common ailments. But when the disease takes a serious turn the patient may even be removed to a hospital in the city. Injections which were greatly feared a few decades ago are now eagerly sought as they are believed to give quick and sure relief from all ailments. Some people keep a limited stock of some of the popular and cheap patent medicines. Medicines for virility and strength prominently advertised in newspapers are obtained by post.

The social structure of the community is basically the same, 178

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THE CHANGING SCENE

178 The social structure of the village is basically the same
621 although with every administrative or political change in the village there were several organizational changes. The primary unit in this structure is either the elementary family (maintaining close contacts with allied families) or it is a large joint family. The head of each family is known as the 'big man'. The next unit is the caste; or in the case of the Muslims, the group sharing a common religion. Each of these groups has a hereditary caste headman who represents it in the village council. Finally, this council consists of these headmen of the different castes, three Ganadi and the headman of the village who is its presiding officer. The following tables show the significant lines of variation in social organization, with special reference to family, caste and village council:

I—FAMILY

178 596

Then	*Now*
(1) Insistence on family solidarity and cohesion.	(1) Growth of individualism.
(2) Greater attachment to the soil and settlement.	(2) Migrations more frequent.
(3) Intra-family relations governed by regard for age and kinship status.	(3) Less regard for these traditional principles.

II—CASTE

178 564

Then	*Now*
(1) Occupational specialization on the basis of caste.	(1) Caste no longer the final and only determinant of occupation.
(2) Prohibition on inter-dining with some equal castes and all lower castes.	(2) Rules of inter-dining less rigid.
(3) Hierarchy and permanent distance between different castes.	(3) Mild protest against social hierarchy: some modification in actual practice.

III—VILLAGE COUNCIL

178 623

Then	*Now*
(1) Constituted on hereditary principles.	(1) Also admits people with 'achieved status'.
(2) Little outside intervention.	(2) Considerable outside pressure.
(3) Decisions generally accepted.	(3) Defiance or avoidance possible.

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THE CHANGING SCENE

In the organization of the family the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement, and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger people, especially among those who have had some education or urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an increasing scale. In making records of the biographies and general attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two steps of people emerged clearly. While the elderly and the middle-aged, mostly illiterate, complained about the inconveniences of village life, they still regarded it as the only way of life possible for *them*. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal their contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs there; and on the other it has generated disharmony and dissensions within the family causing considerable dislocation in the established principles according to which priorities and concessions went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies is not more than 10% or 15% of the total in their age-group.

The caste system in the community presents only slight variations in some directions. As before, caste still retains its endogamous character. Similarly, caste continues to be a part of, and is sanctioned by, the traditional religion. However, its occupational character has undergone some change. People are now taking to new occupations. A goldsmith has opened a tea shop. Washermen and similar other castes are accepting menial jobs in the city. These are not their traditional occupations. Besides Muslims some non-Komti Hindus have set up general shops in the village; in the traditional system only Komtis could do so. Thus people are either giving up their traditional occupations, or they are taking to occupations which by tradition belong to some other castes.

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564 178 Prohibitions on inter-dining are still there; but they have been greatly relaxed. As a general rule people observe them within the village, but ignore them when they eat in the shops or restaurants in the city. The caste system is still characterized by its traditional hierarchy, but some ineffective verbal protests can now be heard against it. Among the castes on the lower level of the agriculturist group there has been some effort made at rising in the social scale by the adoption of surnames and caste appellations traditionally belonging to the higher groups. Although it has been legally abolished by the Constitution of the Republic of India, untouchability is still practised within the village. However, untouchable children can now attend the village school. Clean castes and unclean castes both ride in the same buses. No objection is taken if untouchables now dress like respectable people of the higher castes. As the colonies of the two untouchable castes are quite separate from the main village settlement and have their own wells, there has so far been no problem of their being able to draw water from the well used by the higher castes. Untouchables certainly resent their degraded status, but they are careful not to voice their protests too loudly or too publicly for they are conscious of the advantages of silence in view of their dependent position in the economic structure of the community.

178 623 Traditionally the membership of the village council is hereditary and should be inherited by the eldest male child on the death of the father. In the case of the inheritance of the office of village headman this principle has been strictly observed. Two Ganadis inherited their office from their fathers, but an additional post of Ganadi has been created in recent years to accommodate a young man who had considerable influence over his age-group and who was creating problems in the village. From among the heads of the different castes resident within the village, eight are at present ineffective, titular members, and are represented in its deliberations by some other more vocal and assertive members of the caste. Seven other rich and influential persons are also invited to participate in the proceedings. It is said that before the Jagir period there was very little outside pressure on the village council. In the Jagir period the estate officials tried to influence it indirectly. At present government officials residing within the village directly pull the strings and exert pressure on the council to secure favourable decisions in certain cases in which for some

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reason they happen to be interested. In former times, as a general rule, the decisions of the village council were accepted unconditionally. Even to-day none can defy them openly, but often the cases are taken to superior law courts and factionalism within the council is exploited to get its decisions altered or modified.

In the traditional economic structure of the community the following characteristics were important:

(i) Occupation was determined by the caste of the individual.

(ii) Mobility was limited and people had great attachment to the settlement.

(iii) Different castes were integrated into the overall pattern of village economy on the basis of their functional specialization. For their co-operative labour payment was made in kind at the time of harvesting.

(iv) There was barter of occupational services between the various artisan and occupational castes.

It has already been pointed out that in the last few decades the occupational character of caste has undergone some modifications. In place of their traditional occupations people have started accepting other vocations. The traditional system of caste interdependence under which artisan and occupational castes attach themselves to the families of agriculturists is still there. But the attached labourers of untouchable castes are showing signs of discontent and figures for the last ten years show twenty-one migrations of Madiga families to the city. Barbers, washermen and carpenters also openly express preference for a basis of cash payment as that enables them to negotiate and bargain and puts an end to the uncertainty and occasional high-handedness of the employer under the old system. The traditional arrangements involving the barter of occupational services between artisan castes too is now gradually breaking down and is giving place to a basis of cash payment.

In the ritual structure of the community no significant variations have been found. Under the Muslim régime, Hindus co-operated in the public ceremonies of the Muslims. With the spread of the revivalist and reformist ideas of the Arya Samaj greater interest was taken in the Hinduism of the holy books. Preachers invited from the city added to the folklore of the people some fragments of traditional Hindu mythology. However, the regional cults as well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

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000 well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

178 621 The Police Action undertaken by the Indian Union in 1948 changed the fortune and status of the State of Hyderabad. The most significant outcome was that political power changed hands —from an extremist communal party to the people of the State. It had a profound effect on the rural areas. However, sufficient time must elapse before we can evaluate its total influence on the life of the community. But it has set in motion certain trends which are not without interest to the student of social change in peasant communities.

177 578 621 The first definite change is that Muslims who occupied a privileged position during the former régime now no longer do so. On account of some of their un-neighbourly acts of terrorism during the last phase of extremist Muslim rule in the State some of them had become very unpopular. Fearing retaliation by the Hindus they ran away from the village temporarily. Now they have all returned. For some time they were jeered at and ridiculed, but at the time of our study cordiality had returned to the Hindu and Muslim sections of the population.

178 651 661 The second noticeable change is that under the administrative reforms initiated by the new administration forced labour and forced extraction of hospitality by government officials have been prohibited. In practice they still continue on a restricted scale. Government's decision to take determined steps against bribery and corruption has been announced; but firm action still remains to be taken in this direction.

423 178 Thirdly, the abolition of feudal estates has been a big step in the direction of land reform. With the end of the Jagirdari system Shamirpet has once again come under normal district administration. Further reforms ensuring a more equitable distribution of land, fixing a maximum limit on land holding and ending the evils of absentee landlordism are under contemplation. When these plans materialize substantial changes can be expected.

178 744 654 Fourthly, the government has intensified its welfare and nation-building activities. The village is to have a better school in the near future. The Public Health Department is already more active. The Agriculture and Veterinary departments are making a better planned and organized effort towards the introduction

+ more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

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of more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

Finally, there has been considerable activity in the rural areas by the political parties, culminating in the first general election of December 1951. This experience has been totally new to the villages in Hyderabad. As the Congress is the ruling party in the country, the loyalists have transferred their allegiance from the Nizam to the Congress. At any rate publicly they profess their loyalty to this organization. Because the headman of the village belongs to this group, the faction opposed to him in village matters allied itself to the Socialist party. The Communist party was illegal, but it had operated in the neighbouring area for a long time, and it was a candidate sponsored by it who ultimately won the election. Most people do not understand the intricacies of politics, and indeed frankly say so. Election propaganda has of course put several ideas into the minds of the people and raised new hopes. Those who have some educational or urban background are trying to come forward in this new field of activity. One observable consequence of this has been the revival of casteism. Although nearly every political party in its platform slogans paid lip service to the ideal of a casteless and classless society, in actual selection of the candidates due thought was given to the caste composition of the electoral districts. A candidate's pull over the members of his caste was an additional factor which was taken into account in such politically inexperienced territories as Hyderabad. In the countryside the election propaganda did take a sectarian turn and according to the occasion Hindu versus Muslim, or Reddi versus non-Reddi sentiments were freely exploited. Voting in several areas was largely done on caste considerations. The caste rivalries engendered by it lingered on even when the election was over.

Let us now briefly examine the motivation and mechanism of this process of social change. What are the major factors inspiring this change? And through what agencies does this change come about? In other words why is the community adopting new ways of life and thought, and under whose leadership are the traditional ways of the group being modified?

The reasons for change must be sought in a multiplicity of factors. In the words of Raymond Firth, 'Structural change is a product of social interaction, in which pressures are felt,

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advantages perceived, responsibilities recognized.'[1] Extending this approach to technical and organizational changes in peasant communities, we can attribute some changes in the life-ways of the people to State compulsion and legal prescription. In some spheres, particularly in material culture and technology, utility, convenience, availability and price determine to a great extent the adoption of new elements and traits. The prestige factor too is significant, for any externally induced or internally inspired change in the system of status evaluation brings in its wake significant modifications in the organization and life-ways of society. Innovation, variety and change for its own sake can also account for substantial variation from established norms in social behaviour at a given point of time. In a small rural community such as Shamirpet, which is situated near a big and modern city and is in everyday contact with it, the prevailing climate of opinion in social, economic and political matters in the city is bound to influence its general outlook and ways, for apart from their practical value city-ways are gradually coming to be regarded as more 'respectable' and 'progressive'.

So far State compulsion has been instrumental in bringing about little social and cultural change in the village community. Compulsory vaccination as well as inoculation at the time of an epidemic appear to be the only significant measures enforced by the State which have been accepted in the everyday life of the community. Although untouchability has been abolished by law, in actual practice it only gives to the hitherto untouchables an equal share in public utilities, for considerations of pollution bar all effective interaction between the high and the low castes especially in the social spheres of inter-dining and inter-marriage. Symbolic as it is, this gesture of the State has nevertheless brought about a considerable modification in the inter-group attitudes between the clean and untouchable castes.

The factors of utility, convenience and availability have played a more important role in bringing several new elements into the life of the community. Although indigenous herbs and magico-religious practices are still continued in the treatment of diseases, the efficacy and utility of allopathic drugs and injections have greatly changed the attitude of the people towards modern medicine. I have pointed out earlier that they eagerly seek these

[1] Raymond Firth, *Elements of Social Organization* (London, 1951), p. 85.

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medicines and injections. The old beliefs and practices survive, partly because of the non-availability of quick and efficient modern treatment, and partly also because of its prohibitive cost. Besides the two systems do not conflict, and in order to be doubly sure, most people continue magico-religious practices along with modern medicinal treatment. Adoption of several new tools and instruments for occupational work, as well as of several other items of Western technology, such as buses, railways, razors, and electric torches, introduced in the comparatively recent times is due to their efficiency and utility. In the matter of dress and ornament other factors must also be taken into account. Mill-made cloth was not regarded only as cheap and more durable; it came to be looked upon as more respectable also. The coarse handloom cloth was regarded as rustic, the finer mill-cloth, on the other hand, was more refined and dignified. Further, mill-made cloth allowed a wider range of choice in the matter of colours, designs and patterns. The style of dress was influenced by a variety of factors. Under Muslim rule the style of dress of the rulers became fashionable. With Congress in power there was a sudden switch from the Muslim court-dress to Congress-patronized national dress. Modern Indian—as well as Western-style clothes—cigarettes, sun-glasses and tea are not only popular because of their utility, they possess a great prestige value as well.

Influence of the city has brought about adjustment and modification in several spheres, but the need of balancing different extremes in the organization of the community has so far prevented any drastic structural change in village communities. Under the impact of the new socio-economic factors the family ties have weakened, the kin-group has lost some of its characteristic strength and in the system of status evaluation achieved-status is competing with traditionally ascribed status; but the society still continues to be caste-structured as caste plays a vital role in its social, economic and ritual organization. Democracy has brought in its wake party organization and elections which demand group formation and group allegiance: in several rural areas no new groups have emerged, the loyalties of the people have only been re-affirmed to the pre-existing caste groups. While no important social or economic projects and reforms have so far been put into operation, the first major political change—the

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178 621 [666] introduction of democratic elections—has demonstrated the strength of the traditional system which has made a bid for absorbing 'political group formation' and 'democratic elections' in its all-embracing caste structure. Deeper and more far-reaching economic and technological changes, as well as externally induced social reform, touching the basic framework of rural societies, may present a different set of problems and test the strength of the caste structure. Under their new pressures and incentives the community may have to work out a new pattern of adjustment which may necessitate important structural changes.

178 Limited as this change has been, it is none the less not unimportant to ask who inspires and leads this movement towards modification of traditional ways and adoption of new elements of culture. To answer this question it is necessary to analyse the major cultural trends operating in India as a whole. Viewing the country broadly, we find three major trends: (i) the regional culture, founded on the traditions, customs and life-ways of the culture-area; (ii) the national culture, comprising some all-India traits inspired by the national renaissance, cemented by the struggle for self-government as well as by social and economic reform, and sustained by the will to find a rightful place in the comity of nations; the elements in this category being partly revivalistic and partly conscious innovations; and (iii) adoption of traits and elements from Western technology and culture. Besides these, in any given area the 'urban' and 'folk' or rural patterns are clearly distinguishable. While in the urban areas all the three trends delineated above are found to operate with more or less equal force, in the rural areas the folk variety of the regional culture is still predominant although it has been modified by national and Western elements. The inspiration and lead for modification in the traditional ways definitely come from the urban areas brought into the village community by semi-urbanized people or inspired by the example of urban relatives. In the Indian setting while there is no polarity between 'folk' and 'urban' societies, for a proper perspective of social change this classificatory device can be used very effectively. On a limited scale the struggle for supremacy between 'old' and 'new' or between 'tradition' and 'progress' goes on in cities and smaller towns also, and every generation finds itself with a modified set of values. The rural communities clearly take the lead from the urban areas, although

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not without hesitation, misgivings, doubts and an initial resistance. The unfortunate class of people who are semi-rural and semi-urbanized find themselves rejected by both sides: they are held suspect by their fellow-villagers as demeaned by urban associations, and are looked down upon by their urban associates for their rustic ways. Petty government servants and town-returned village-folk are not expressly recognized as leaders of the community, but all the same they set the wheels of the community in motion in the direction of social change. It is through this class of people that urban items of regional culture, and several items of the national and Western cultures are brought into the community and hesitatingly absorbed into its life. Their selection or rejection naturally depends upon their need, utility, prestige-value and conformity with or opposition to the prevailing set of values in the community.

The village people have always idealized their traditional life-ways, and have shown unmistakable suspicion for those of the city, but have generally followed the lead of the élite, which formed the dominant social group, though sometimes with their own modifications and adaptations. The gradual adoption of Sanskritic ritual by the rural communities was the first major triumph of this group in the past. The process still continues, but now 'progressive' and 'modern' elements are gradually filtering in through the semi-urbanized village-folk.

To conclude, a few remarks may be made about the influence of these new trends on the ethos and world-view of the people.

The episodic, topical and complete life-histories recorded in the course of our investigations, supplemented by observation and records of conflicts and co-operative activities in Shamirpet, provide the material for these observations on the villagers' world-view. It is necessary to point out that so far no depth-psychology studies have been done in this area nor has there been any systematic attempt to study the cultural aspects of personality. In the absence of such studies, only an outline of the dominant attitudes and goals which are characteristic of the society can be attempted. In this context, following John Gillin, 'Ethos is taken to mean the constellation of acquired drives or motivations which are characteristic of a culture, plus the goals which are both explicit and implicit, towards which

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cultural activities are directed, or upon which high value is placed.'[1]

What is the universe according to the average way of thinking in this village community? Notwithstanding the historical traditions of the Andhra culture-area to which this village belongs, and the nearness of the settlement to the large cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad the universe in people's thoughts remains extremely limited both in time and space. Some educated persons, especially the Brahmin and the Reddis, have vague ideas about the cultural traditions of Andhra and of the glorious past of India, but to the great bulk of the people caste-mythology is their only history. Traditional social institutions and life-ways are idealized: they originated long, long ago when men first appeared on the earth and the salvation of people lies in their faithful observance of these divinely ordained ways. It is customary to criticize the change of times in so far as the present is concerned; but the idealized past does not have much depth—at the most it goes to the great-grandfather's generation and above that to legendary heroes of caste-mythology. The Muslims have a fair acquaintance with the history of the origin of their religion, but not of their own connections with it. While people know about the existence of several different cultures, languages and religions in India, and also something about the lands beyond the seas, have been to places of pilgrimage and a few have even seen some of the larger cities of the land; their mental horizon is definitely regional. The village, their own caste, villages in the neighbourhood and some of the developments in the nearby capital city—generally only those affecting the rural areas—constitute their effective universe. [186] The focus is local and regional, confined to family, kin, caste and some neighbouring villages. National consciousness is rather vague, and it was a surprise to us that in a village so near a large city there were many people who did not know the names of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and had only the haziest of ideas regarding the struggles of the Indian National Congress against British rule. Recent political changes in Hyderabad and activities of the different political parties have sought to widen this universe, but so far the change has been extremely limited. Newspapers, increased political activity, and compulsory educa-

[1] Sol Tax, ed., *The Heritage of Conquest*, "Ethos and Cultural Aspects of Personality" by Gillin, p. 195.

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tion will probably have modified this very considerably in a few decades.

The fundamental drive in the thought and activities of the group seems to be towards the goal of the adjustment of the individual to the universe. Several aspects of man's life are predetermined and he has to reconcile himself to his fate. But one need not therefore resign oneself to that fate, for actions in one's life-time can not only modify what has been predestined, but can also determine the course of life after death. Thus a life ordered according to the prescriptions of *dharma*, the traditionally approved 'correct way of life', mitigates some of the evils of the past and adds to one's merit which in its turn ensures happiness in this and future lives. The ideal pattern of adjustment with the universe is laid down by the *dharma* and comprises performance of sacramental rituals, observance of fasts and festivals, avoidance of acts and thoughts declared by religion as sinful, and rigid adherence to caste rules and taboos. Cheating in regard to some of the social and religious injunctions and prescriptions is practised, and is even regarded as permissible if it can be compensated with greater devotion in some other sphere. When such cheating becomes too open or hits the structural unity, stability and continuity of the community, it is punished; but as long as it remains personal and private one can hope to supplicate divine forces in other ways to win their forgiveness for some lapses and acts of omission and commission. All human acts are not attributed to individual volition; the unseen hand of destiny is found to motivate one's actions and decisions under many situations. Radical departures from traditional life-ways are often attributed to fate. On the whole rigid adherence to traditional life-ways is regarded as the ideal and most satisfactory method of adjustment with the universe and its unseen forces. Activities of political parties, particularly of the Communist Party, have tried to awaken people to a more positive attitude, not without total lack of success, but the new ideas are still greeted with frank dismay and scepticism and so far there has been very little change in their basic attitude towards life and the principal goal of the community, which still remains peaceful adjustment and adaptation to the laws that control the universe.

In inter-personal as well as inter- and intra-group relations, the people tend to view everything as hierarchically structured. All things, groups and people, must fit into higher, equal or lower

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829 554 levels. Castes are either superior, more or less equal, or inferior. This view extends to gods, animals and foods. This hierarchical setting does not denote status only, it denotes power as well. Thus people love to dominate; but they hate being dominated, and where they must accept domination of anyone higher, they in their turn seek to dominate all who occupy a lower position in the hierarchy. Man is superior to woman, therefore, she must obey him. But a mother is superior to children, to sons when they are not adults, and always to daughters and daughters-in-law, and she will therefore dominate them. A child must obey the elders, but he too can dominate a younger sibling. Superior castes can dominate inferior castes; the rich dominate the poor; those in authority dominate those who lack it. Age, kinship status, wealth and authority—together with caste—determine the superior and inferior statuses. When there are conflicts as a result of the desire to dominate in one, and hatred of domination in the other, either there is an open breach, or on 'respectable' levels there is a sort of vague compromise and adjustment under which the person with the superior status maintains the semblance of his authority by letting it become virtually ineffective and the person with the inferior status never challenges it seriously because in actual practice he does not feel its weight. Possessiveness and love of domination characterize most of the thoughts, ambitions and actions of the people, although under certain situations they are compelled to compromise with necessity and shed their power to maintain the fiction of their superiority. The new socio-political climate of the country has necessitated some adjustments and modifications in the nature of hierarchy and tone of domination; but basically the view of the people remains the same. As a concession to the changing times superior castes will not treat inferior castes harshly; but they still expect formal recognition of their superiority from the latter. A defiant low caste person would be subjected to several types of direct or indirect social presure; but one adhering to tradition and 'keeping his status in mind' would succeed in getting much better treatment.

829 The fundamental concepts of the rights and equality of men mean little to these people, whose visions are thus bounded by their own observation of the world. This is perhaps the most unexpected aspect of the village community for a Western mind to grasp, and it leads to its particular view of change. If people

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are asked to choose between tradition and progress, tradition would perhaps be their instinctive choice, although a second thought might induce them to take a few hesitating steps in the direction of change. Many still believe in a timeless present and take its continuity for granted notwithstanding its shortcomings and inequities; to many a deviation from tradition always signifies a deviation from the right way into a kind of blind alley. But the changing needs of time are also generally recognized, and while they will hold fast to the frame of their traditional structure, the people will not reject uncritically the benefits of new cultural elements. Indeed, from the readiness with which they have already adopted certain items of material culture, including Western medicines in so far as they are available, it is justifiable to predict that given suitable conditions the tempo of change would greatly increase.

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Glossary

104 *Allah.* Islamic expression for God.

Arya Samaj. A modern reformist sect of the Hindus based mainly on the Vedas. Founded by Dayanand Saraswati, this sect discards idolatry and other later tendencies of Hinduism.

Ashramas. Four stages or periods in the life of a Hindu. The prescribed stages are: (1) Brahmacharya (the student life); (2) Grahastha (the householder's life); (3) Vanaprastha (the hermit's life); and (4) Sanyas (the beggar's life).

Atma. Soul or spirit.

Brahmacharya. Period of celibate education, the first stage in the life of a Hindu.

Chetla-kriya. Black magic.

Dharma. The approved way of life comprising righteousness, religious ordinances, rules of conduct, and duties of an individual peculiar to his stage and station in life. In English religion is often used to denote *dharma*, but this is misleading.

Dvija. The three 'twice-born' *varnas* who are eligible to perform certain special rites denoting spiritual rebirth.

Farman. A government order issued by a Muslim ruler.

Gotram. Clan, an exogamous division of caste.

Grahastya. A householder's life, the second stage in the life of a Hindu.

Jaggery. Crude brown sugar made from the juice of sugar-cane.

Jagir. A feudal estate or an assignment of land by a ruler to his feudal chief in return for military or other services.

Jagirdar. A feudal chief holding an assignment of land from a ruler in return for military or other service.

Jahannum. Muslim name for hell.

Jannat. Muslim name for heaven.

Jati. In Indian languages this word is used synonymously for caste as well as sub-caste. It denotes a small endogamous and occupational group forming the effective unit of caste system.

Karma. The law that binds everyone to enjoy or suffer the consequences of one's action in former life. This concept is based on the widely

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held Hindu theory of rebirth. In common talk it is used synonymously with fate or destiny.

Kharif. Crops sown in the rainy season.

Lingam (also *Linga*). Phallus, symbol of Shiva.

Lunar year. Counting of months by phases of the moon. Between two new moons the period is roughly twenty-nine and a half days; so every fourth lunar year an additional month is calculated to keep pace with the solar years.

Mantram (also *Mantra*). Incantation or spell. In Sanskrit, and in other languages derived from it, it also denotes hymn, sacred text, and mystical verse.

Moksha. Salvation; emancipation from the bondage of birth and death.

Muslim. Follower of Islam.

Narka. Hell.

Panchayat. Village council.

Pap. Sin.

Punya. Merit.

Rabi. Crops sown in winter.

Rupee. The unit of Indian currency. A rupee is equal to sixteen annas; an anna being subdivided into four pice or twelve pies. Rs.13/6 are equivalent to £1, and an American dollar is roughly equal to Rs. 5/-.

Sanyasa. The stage of renunciation during which a person abandons all worldly possessions and ties.

Shaiva. A Hindu sect worshipping Shiva as the greatest god, regarding him as the source and essence of the universe.

Swarga. Heaven.

Vaishnava. Hindu sect regarding Vishnu as the Supreme Being.

Vanaprastha. The third or hermit's stage in the life of a Hindu.

Vansham. Lineage.

Varna. Traditional scheme of classification of castes into four levels. The first three of these are regarded as twice-born, and the untouchables are kept outside the framework of caste system.

Yantram. Secret magical formulae and designs.

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[The section on religious ceremonial contains considerable references to diet. See cat. 116, pp. 98-115.]

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[For notes on ethos and world view see category 116, pp. 231-32.]

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[For information on ritual observances related to the life cycle see category 116, pp. 117-125.]

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[For additional information on deities see category 116, pp. 98-108 and 111-115.]

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[For an account of legal cases heard by the village council see category 116, pp. 203-210.]

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Foreword

In his informative and stimulating introduction to the present volume, Dr. Dube has said, '. . . . what we need to-day is a series of studies of village communities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos.' Dr. Dube has not only stated the need; he has shown us what can be achieved in striving to meet it. His volume is a solid study and one which will doubtless take its place among the standard community studies made in various parts of the world which he cites in his bibliography.

In a number of ways this volume is especially valuable and challenging and is a tonic to present-day research into Indian village life. In the first place, it is a total study, not in the sense that it gives us all possible details concerning the village Shamirpet, but in the sense that it presents between two covers all important aspects of the culture of this community. Though the author has been at pains to keep the account fairly general and uncluttered, the reader receives a convincing and reasonably adequate introduction to the historical, geographical, and political setting and the social, economic, and ritual structure of the village described. One puts the book down with a feeling that one has really come to know Shamirpet, its background, people, and problems quite well; even if everything about something is not there, something about almost everything is given. This is almost a departure in social science writing about Indian village life. Such studies have tended to be topical, specialized, and often too brief. Of attempts to give a sustained, many-sided picture of an Indian community we have very few; there are Gertrude

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114 121 Emerson's *Voiceless India* and William Wiser's *Behind Mud Walls*, both pioneer efforts, and a few others.

There are a good many reasons why more total studies of Indian villages have not been written to date, but one obvious reason should not be overlooked—the study of Indian village life yields material extremely complex and difficult to deal with in this manner. The village is a unity, yet half of its adult population, the women, come from outside communities with which the village is linked by complicated marriage relations. Each individual belongs to a caste which exercises a great deal of control over him, yet whose ruling group has jurisdiction far beyond the village confines. Each one of the many castes is a veritable subculture, with special traditions, prerogatives, rituals, food habits, and status, and this caste and its attributes is ordinarily a regional or national rather than a village phenomenon. Moreover, Indian culture and philosophy are old and rich. It is not easy to do justice to these background traditions which are the ultimate basis of much that goes on in present-day Indian village life and yet convey freshly and convincingly the localized, modern derivative of these historic impulses. And in this instance Dr. Dube's task was not made easier by the presence, in this village, of a sizeable group of Muslims. Consequently, at least on the religious side, he had two great traditions with which village activities had to be linked, and in terms of which they had to be interpreted. It was necessary to take into consideration all these outside influences and links, and still retain a focus on the village. Only those who have struggled with the intricacies of Indian village material and have before them the task of ordering it can fully appreciate Dr. Dube's accomplishment.

But this study has more to recommend it than that the author has given us ample coverage and has not been distracted from his central object. One of its attractions is that it rises above mere description; it provides analytical insights and provocative concepts. Students of Indian village culture and of folk culture in general will do well to examine Dr. Dube's definition and treatment of 'allied families' (as distinct from the lineage or general body of close relatives). Again, by analysing out six major factors which contribute toward status differentiation in Shamirpet, the author cuts through a bewildering maze of data and provides a key to the understanding of the relative status positions of the sub-

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groups of the village and of individuals within these sub-groups. There is nothing remarkable or even particularly original in the factors he recognizes, but their application to the data in context is illuminating. It is the same with the identification of the new set of influences which, according to the author, are to-day playing upon the community. Whether the list is complete or not, it serves to explain much that has happened in the recent past and acts as a guide, or at least a hypothesis, to predict some future developments.

Dr. Dube's book has still another attribute which will intrigue many readers. He is not only interested in principles or factors which will illuminate specific aspects of the culture, but he is searching for abstractions of a higher level, integrating ideas which characterize and colour the entire culture. This quest is particularly marked in the concluding pages where 'the adjustment of the individual to the universe . . . peaceful adjustment and adaptation to the laws that control the universe,' and the tendency 'to view everything as hierarchically structured' are singled out as fundamental drives in the thought and activities of the group. The interest in discovering the kind and number of unifying and harmonizing principles which can be identified for any culture is strong to-day, and Dr. Dube's views of the binding forces in Indian culture and the effect of contemporary events upon them should receive close attention.

In the 'boiling down' of a large body of data to book size, it is often the sad fact that the vital essence is boiled off and a flavourless brew is left. Dr. Dube has off-set this necessity for general statement and summary by introducing source material and case material at strategic intervals. In this way, we are constantly reminded that even the statistics point to the joys and sorrows, triumphs and defeats of very real people and very vivid personalities.

The volume has one other characteristic which deserves attention. The data which have gone into it are the product of group research. It is, in fact, one of the first examples of what can be accomplished through a group, inter-disciplinary approach. More than eighteen staff members and students of Osmania University gathered the material under Dr. Dube's direction. Six faculties of the university were represented in the effort. Much of the material which the natural scientists collected is technical

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who were born and brought up more or less in the very social setting that they were describing. Of course, the level of analysis in these works differs considerably, ranging from somewhat impressionistic accounts to fairly deep sociological and economic analyses, but they constitute a departure of no mean significance in anthropology as being symbols of an awakening of interest in people for the anthropological and sociological study of their own society. The range of such studies has indeed been wide enough and has included several Western societies as well. Contributions such as *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Irish Countryman* by Conrad Arensberg, *Life in a Welsh Countryside* by Alwyn D. Rees, although they are the outcome of different research techniques and present different levels of analyses, provide much useful material for comparative studies. Mention must be made, in this connection, of the important and stimulating work of the Lynds and of the Warner school in the analysis of more complex communities. *Middletown* and its successor *Middletown in Transition* by R. S. and H. M. Lynd have justly come to be regarded as classics in this field. *The Social Life of a Modern Community* and *The Status System of a Modern Community* by W. L. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, and *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* by W. L. Warner and Leo Srole, too, are equally outstanding works in this class. Some of the works listed above have provided the impetus for more community studies in different parts of the world—in the so-called under-developed areas as well as in technologically advanced, industrialized countries. At the present time very considerable field research either has been done or is being done in many parts of the world—in Middle America, in Puerto Rico (under the direction of Julian Steward), in Great Britain (by the Edinburgh University, under the direction of Kenneth L. Little) and in India (by the Cornell group under the direction of Morris E. Opler, and by some Indian universities).

Studies of modern communities as well as of non-literate or technologically 'under-developed' societies whose traditions are rooted in great civilizations of antiquity present a series of practical and methodological problems. Modern communities are larger—both in population and spatial distribution—compared with the primitive societies hitherto studied by anthropologists. This makes it difficult for the anthropologist and his associates to

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121 have first-hand contact with more or less the entire community; and even at his best the scientist can have effective acquaintance with only a small area of the territory. Necessarily, therefore, he must work only in a few segments of the community, whose selection, if it is to be sufficiently representative, raises important methodological questions. Here we must have an adequate and effective sampling technique. The situation is further complicated by the fact that within the general framework of a modern community we have several subcultures. Besides certain dominant values, there are divergent subsidiary values. The community has its established norms, but the range of variation in behaviour patterns is also very considerable. The sample to be studied must take into account all these factors. Finally, the community must be studied in both its rural and urban settings, and in this context due attention should be given to the vital interaction and inter-relations between its different components. The actual research and the presentation of its results also raise a number of complicated issues. Literary and historical evidence may have developed some stereotypes about the community which may be taken for granted by the research workers and may ultimately colour the results of the whole research. It is easier to start with a totally unbiased mind in a society about which nothing, or at any rate very little, is known. In the case of historically well-known societies, however, it is not easy to overcome an unconscious bias—either for or against that society—for it may well have become a habit of mind. Because of active political and economic interaction between their communities, the prevailing complex of sentiments and attitudes may determine the relations between those who are studying and those who are being studied. These relations have to be taken into account. Even in generally non-literate and underdeveloped areas the people who are being studied are not totally unaware of some of the wider implications of these studies. Sentiments of nationalism, caste or class-consciousness, local patriotism and thoughts of the possible reactions and attitudes of the outside world may govern their response to the enquiries being made by the investigators. With regard to some phases of their life the people may resist any investigation by 'outsiders' and may look upon it as a most unwelcome intrusion. A field-worker born and brought up within that very culture may, on the other hand, overlook certain trends and facts, and may even unconsciously seek to

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rationalize and justify some elements in the life of his community. A proper scientific training can eliminate these dangers very considerably, but ideally the association of someone with a different cultural background with such a community research would perhaps provide the most satisfactory corrective. This would apply equally, but in the reverse, to the work being done in a community by 'outsiders' whose participation in the life and culture of this society may be so limited as to preclude the possibility of their having a firm grasp on the inner thought processes and subtle attitude patterns and value judgements of the members of the community. In this case utilization of properly trained collaborators from that very culture would be invaluable for the projected research. These points are quite important and cannot be dismissed lightly in planning serious community studies.

On the credit side, these community studies have several obvious advantages. They do not entail work in strange and difficult lands. They may be less romantic and not so very picturesque, but they certainly permit greater freedom of movement and also the use of practically all the amenities of modern civilization. The arduous conditions of research take only the more adventurous among the social scientists to remote islands and isolated tribal communities, but in the average community studies participation of a large number of investigators is possible because of the less difficult conditions of work. This permits team-work and also an inter-disciplinary approach. The investigator can gainfully use historical documents, literary evidence and government and administrative records. The language barrier in this case is not insurmountable, for even if the investigators are unacquainted with the language of the people they are studying, they can easily find bi-lingual people in the community itself who may have a working knowledge of the investigator's language. Finally, if the aims of research are properly explained to the people, and their confidence is gained by sympathy, tact and perseverance, the people themselves may come forward to offer intelligent co-operation.

Notwithstanding these advantages, there will still remain some of the problems and difficulties sketched above. But in the words of Gillin, from the methodological point of view 'there is nothing insuperably difficult about the solution of these problems'. He lists three requirements: '(1) Money in fair and substantial amounts; (2) large numbers of well-trained anthropologists; (3) the

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121 co-operation of specialists in other social and psychological sciences under an overall and integrated plan of investigation.'[1] If, however, it is intended to study only the social structure and organization, the specialists from other cognate sciences could be omitted; although their association would doubtless be of great value to the anthropologist. On the contrary, if depth-psychology has to be studied and problems having a bearing on personality have to be investigated, such inter-disciplinary co-operation is almost indispensable. Specialists in social statistics, agronomy and economics can help in the planning and conduct of such research in more ways than one.

In order that an adequate sample of all the subcultures is satisfactorily studied, and the norms of the society as well as the range of variation in behaviour patterns are sufficiently grasped, participation of a team of trained investigators is necessary. It has already been suggested that participation in such research of persons with differing cultural backgrounds, including some who actually belong to the community which is being studied, will be an invaluable aid towards proper subjective evaluation in the research itself and in its presentation also.

In India, where ways of life and thought are changing very fast, we require a large number of such community studies, both in rural and urban areas, in the different cultural regions of the country. We owe it to posterity that we leave careful records of contemporary life and cultures. As it is, for their historical and cultural interest alone such studies are worth undertaking. But their importance is greater at the present juncture because the country is undergoing significant technological changes, and it is necessary for us to assess and evaluate their human implications. Here we have the unique opportunity of making a 'pre-clinical' study of the communities as they are to-day, and then of studying them stage by stage under the impact of new technological factors. The social scientist can, in the first instance, make a really valuable contribution to social planning by publishing full and objective reports of his research; and as the volume of such data grows, ground will be prepared for the competent analysis of many problems of deeper theoretical interest. At the present time intensi-

[1] Cf. John Gillin, 'Methodological Problems in the Anthropological Study of Modern Cultures', *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (July–September [illegible], pp. 392–399.

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fication of community research is an urgent *desideratum*. As far as possible, in each culture-area it would be desirable to study one or more villages, a representative small town, two or three individual castes within the total network of inter-caste relations; and these studies could then be followed by more intensive investigations into specific problems, such as those of family and kinship, leadership and exercise of authority, social stratification, social change and personality. Preliminary studies can at best offer tentative hypotheses, but for theoretical developments of lasting significance we shall have to await more data gathered according to modern techniques of field research. 121

IV

This book is a descriptive study of the village of Shamirpet in the State of Hyderabad. It is an outcome of the Social Service Extension Project sponsored by the Osmania University and a plan of community study organized by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. The Social Service Extension Project was organized in response to the call of educationists and national leaders to bring university students and teachers in contact with the realities of everyday life in the rural areas of the country. Shamirpet was selected because it was not far away from the city of Hyderabad and yet not near enough to be simply a suburban extension; was neither too large nor too small in respect of its area and population among the villages of this part of the country, and was fairly representative of the Telangana area of Hyderabad in its caste composition. Six faculties of the University—Arts, Agriculture, Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry, Medicine, Engineering and Education—were each represented by one member of the staff and two or more post-graduate or senior students. Each unit was to do social work within its own special area of interest and technical competence. Funds were available for approved schemes, such as medical relief, introduction of modern methods of agriculture and animal care, adult education and cultural programmes, improvement of village sanitation and construction of better ventilated houses, etc. The Arts faculty was represented by post-graduate students of anthropology and trained research assistants, and was primarily responsible for the social and economic study of the village community. The other units had to study the problems [122]

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121 arising in their respective fields, and were to help in doing specific investigations which were assigned to them from time to time. I had the privilege of directing both the research and the social service programme, and while the units were left free to a considerable extent in their respective welfare work, I was associated with the planning, direction and conduct of the research itself at
121 every stage. The inter-faculty teams worked in the village for two
114 summer vacations—extending to twenty weeks—and the anthropological unit remained in touch with the village for a whole year. At various stages the larger team included three women members —a doctor, a sociologist belonging to the Muslim community for work among the *purdah*-observing Muslim women, and an American lady, with training in psychology and anthropology, who was a 'guest' member of the team. The anthropology unit consisted of five members, each with post-graduate training in anthropology, four of whom spoke the regional language of the village and had spent many years in the countryside of the Telangana area of Hyderabad. Three of these members had previous training in practical field-work. As they were all Hindus by birth, we had further to seek the help of a woman lecturer trained in sociology for work among the Muslim women.

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My aim in this book has been to give a clear and intimate picture of some aspects of life in one Indian village. As the book is likely to be used by social anthropologists and sociologists as well as by others, I have endeavoured to keep my presentation fairly general. As our project had received considerable publicity in the Indian press we could not hide the identity of the village in a pseudonym. This in its turn has created several problems in the

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Acknowledgements

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Messrs. Tuljaram Singh, R. Prakash Rao, P. R. Sirsalkar, P. L. Narsimha Rao, and T. Kanna Reddi worked on the research side in the Extension team, and assisted me in collecting and checking most of the data presented in this book. Dr. Hamid Ali Baig, Mr. Ghouse Mohiuddin, and Dr. Chandra Devi deserve special mention for their medical work, which won popularity for our team in the village, and for their reports on village health and nutrition. Dr. Ramchandra Rao, assisted by his unit, made investigations on cattle health in the village. Dr. Hashim Amir Ali, Dean, Faculty of Agriculture, took a special interest in our work; and through his agricultural unit we could get useful data on agriculture and economy in the village. Miss Sikander Siddiqi helped me with the study of the life-cycle and the religious festivals of the Muslims. My thanks are due to all these associates and collaborators.

Most of the chapters of this book were written in 1952–53 in London where I had an appointment as Visiting Lecturer in Indian Anthropology in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. I had the benefit of discussing some of this material with Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, Professor of Asian Anthropology in the University of London, and

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INTRODUCTION

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123 and specialized and will appear separately under appropriate auspices. But, because of this field method, Dr. Dube had excellent technical advice and solid material at his command in dealing with matters of agriculture, health, and nutrition—subjects which the social scientist may often have reason to touch upon with diffidence. Consequently, the book has a ring of authority which might be hard to achieve at points without this kind of collaboration. Group research is expensive, and it is not always easy to bring and keep together in amicable work relations specialists with different but highly-cherished vocabularies. There have been those who, not without reason, have questioned the whole business. Dr. Dube's book does much to dispel doubt and raise hope. He and his associates are to be congratulated.

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262 morning; and a combination of any two menus given above may be adopted for the two principal meals.

POOR FAMILIES

First Meal

Millet gruel.
Chilly powder and salt.

or

Rice left-over from previous evening.
Chilly powder and salt or pickles.

Second Meal

Rice.
Boiled vegetables or lentils (with salt and chillies) or meat curry.

or

Millet bread.
Boiled vegetables or lentils (with salt and chillies) or meat curry.

or

Rice.
Chilly powder and salt.
Pickles.

Third Meal

Rice.
Meat or vegetable or lentil or fish curry.

262 In the making of curries the rich people use considerable
263 quantities of oil or other fats, and their choice of spices too is more varied. In the average households the curries are not so rich. Finally in the poorer sections they are more or less boiled vegetables and lentils with the addition of salt and chilly powder. It may be added that sweets do not form a regular part of the diet of the people in the community. They are prepared on ceremonial occasions, and may be prepared now and then in the comparatively richer homes. As fish and meat are very expensive, the average and poor families have to depend for most of the time on watery lentil curries or cheap vegetables.

925 The ethnographic record of the diet appeared to be so appalling
146 that we organized a comprehensive nutritional survey of the community in conjunction with our research project. This work was planned and carried out under the supervision of a nutritional expert from the Medical Faculty of the Osmania University. A

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random sample of families covering all levels of living in the community was selected, and, following the universal weighing-method, every item of the diet was weighed correctly to an ounce in these families. The International Scale of Family Coefficients was used to calculate the number of consumption units in each family, and data was carefully analysed for working out the mean intake of diet per consumption unit and the intake of calories, proximate principles, minerals and vitamins. Simultaneously, a medical examination of all members of the families selected for the survey was also undertaken; in the course of which along with height and weight measurements a general clinical examination with special reference to abnormalities of hair, eyes, skin, lips, gums, tongue, and the peripheral nervous system was done. While a detailed summary of the above survey would be inappropriate in a sociological study, some of its main conclusions will not be out of place here:

(i) The picture of nutrition emerging from the survey gives room to believe that there is mild sub-nutrition in the 'rich' and 'well-to-do' families and mild malnutrition in the 'average' and 'poor' families.

(ii) There is a sub-clinical deficiency of thiamine, riboflavin and Vitamin A. Phrynoderma of the skin, cheilosis, multiple fissuring of the tongue, gingivitis, and xerosis of the conjunctivae are fairly common in the community; their incidence being greater on the lower strata. The use of un-milled, slightly home-pounded rice explains the lack of any gross Vitamin B^1 deficiency. It may partly be explained also by the consumption of fermented palm-juice in nearly all sections of the community.

(iii) The protein intake is slightly inadequate. This is more apparent in the families classed as average and poor. In the lower income brackets the intake of fats is also insufficient.

(iv) With the exception of venereal diseases and malaria which are evenly distributed in all levels of the society, the incidence of other diseases—particularly deficiency diseases—is much higher in the lower income groups.

As a rule menfolk eat first, women follow. Children are served as soon as the meals are cooked. Among men, it is expected that the elders as well as others occupying a higher position in the scale of kinship should be served first and younger members of the family should wait for their turn. But during the busy season, or

PART II

Facts Revealed by the Survey

623 652 125 The Village Panchayats were in the grades according to their annual income. The 1st, 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats, which were collectively called major Panchayats, had their annual income between Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 30,000; between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000; and between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000 respectively. Minor Panchayats had their annual income of Rs. 5,000 or less.

The villages selected for inquiry were the following :—

(1) Anantpur District :—Brahmanayeleru; Bukkapatnam; Bukkarayasamudram; Dharmavaram, Gooty, Gorantala, Guntakal, Kadiri, Konakundal, Lepakshi, Penu Konda.

(2) East Godavari District :—Alamuru; Amalapuram, Avidi, Balantram, Bodasakurru, Kapileswarapuram, Kothapeta, Mandapeta, Palivela, Pulletikurru, Ramchandrapuram, Razole, Tuni, Valluru, Venkatayapalem, Yeditha.

(3) West Godavari District :—Achanta, Akividu, Aravalli, Attili, Bhimavaram, Ganapavaram, Gogoti, Inaparru, Itempudi, Kandavilli, Kovvur, Mukkamala, Narsapur, Nidadavol, Peatapadu, Penukonda, Palakoderu, Pittala Vomavaram, Tadepalligudam, Tanuku, Undi, Vasadi, Velpur.

(4) Kishna District :—Gudur, Jaggayapet, Kantaram, Nuzvid, Pamaru, Pedana, Vuyyuru.

(5) Kurnool District :—Betamcherla, Dhone, Gudur, Joharapuram, Kallur, Maddikera, Nandikotkur, Pattikonda, Veldurti.

(6) Vizagapatam District :—Bayyavaram, Bhogapuram, Bobbili, Chodavaram, Chodavada, Gokavaram, Govada, K. Jagannadhapur, Kasimkot, Kothavalasa, Madugula, Parvatipuram, Pedabogila, Salur, Sitanagaram, Vadada, Yellamanchili.

(7) Bellary District :—Kampli, Muddapur, Rayadrug.

The first six districts now form the part of the newly created State of Andhra and the last, of the Mysore State.

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127 In some respects the factors of social change operating at these two stages and the resultant trends are complementary, while in others they stand out in marked contrast. It will be useful first to analyse the changes that came about in the life and ways of the people in the last fifty years of the feudal period, and then to follow it up by an examination of some of the more recent changes brought about by the Police Action.

It is difficult to present a systematic account of the different stages of the slow and gradual transition of the village from its pre- and early-Jagir days to the conditions that it presented in the later part of the feudal period. Any attempt to do so would necessitate placing excessive reliance on oral tradition about the near past. In order to be able to compare the conditions in the two periods and to determine the main lines of variation, reconstruction of a picture of the first stage is necessary. This could be done on the basis of:

(*a*) Factual information regarding comparable, but remote villages of the region, which because of their comparative isolation and lack of urban contacts present to-day, in a broad sense, conditions that Shamirpet would have presented in the pre- and early-Jagir period. Cautious and limited use of this method of translating space into time is useful in providing us with a starting point.

(*b*) Oral traditions and memories of the people, in so far as they do not concern themes pertaining to family glory and personal pride, or those involving subjective idealization.

(*c*) Fragmentary evidence from documentary and historical sources reflecting conditions of life and living in that period. Police, revenue and other semi-legal records obtainable have been used in this connection.

The contrasting picture of the village representing the last phase of the feudal period can be drawn from actual ethnographic observation and record.

178 The major factors which influenced the course of developments
369 in the village have been mentioned earlier. However, they need some further elaboration. In the pre- and early-Jagir period the contacts between the village people and State administration were on a very limited scale, and were confined mostly to payment of land revenue and settlement of land disputes. Occasionally, criminal offences and civil suits of a serious nature were tried in

● 128, 113 Telugu AW17

[For information pertaining to literary devices and conventions, abbreviations and explanations of numerations used by the author, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. xxi-xxiii, and xxv.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

education centre attracted many people from the village; both the library and cultural programmes became popular. The Engineering unit dug soakpits in the village, improved the village well and constructed several model smokeless ovens. This changed the attitude of the people considerably. To begin with the investigators making anthropological enquiry were regarded as a nuisance; now they were tolerated as inquisitive but friendly outsiders. In a few days there was a change for the better. We had never talked politics or religion, there was no propaganda or attempt at reform and no superiority of city-ways and sneering at the rustic ways of the village people in our attitude. Indifference turned into warmth and friendship, and at this point we intensified our anthropological investigations. At first a general sociological census of the community was taken, and later investigations of specific problems were started. A sample of 120 families representing different castes and levels of income, education and urban contacts was selected for intensive investigations. Episodic and topical life-histories were recorded from 80 people, besides 11 full biographies. This was done in a series of free-association interviews, which were controlled only in the final stages. Besides this the established method of participant observation and the usual techniques of anthropological enquiry were also used. The life-histories provide most of the material on inter-personal relations and attitudes, much of which has been translated in this book from the actual words of the informants. All the available village records were carefully studied, and as far as possible all the material collected was carefully checked. The research reports by other units on topics assigned to them—such as the medical examination of 1,200 people, a diet and nutritional survey, a survey of village agriculture and its problems, a survey of animal care and health—were carefully studied at the time of the preparation of this report and used at appropriate places; but most of them will be published, it is hoped, independently in professional journals.

My aim in this book has been to give a clear and intimate picture of some aspects of life in one Indian village. As the book is likely to be used by social anthropologists and sociologists as well as by others, I have endeavoured to keep my presentation fairly general. As our project had received considerable publicity in the Indian press we could not hide the identity of the village in a pseudonym. This in its turn has created several problems in the

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/28 mode of presentation. The people of the village are proud and sensitive, and some of them would not like to be identified through the remembered incidents even though fictitious names and initials are used. Many concrete cases which I would have liked to cite have therefore been omitted. Anxiety to avoid unwanted legal complications has forced me to present one or two subjects in a somewhat roundabout manner. But some concrete cases had to be presented, and this I have done in a spirit of friendship and in the hope that I will not be misunderstood by the village people. Although this work is not based on a statistical enquiry, sufficient statistical checks were used during the investigations. In several parts of the book, however, I have just indicated the dominant norms and main lines of variation without attempting a statistical and tabular presentation. It is my belief that fruitful theoretical discussions must be based on research of a more extensive scale than that attempted in the field-work summarized in this book, and as such I have reserved a part of my field-material, which has possibilities of theoretical exposition, for subsequent studies both of an extensive and comparative nature. Problems of caste, kinship and lineage organization, social stratification, leadership and the exercise of authority will be dealt with more fully on the basis of further field-work which we soon hope to extend to other rural communities in Hyderabad.

[Information on the regional divisions of the Indian sub-continent will be found in Chapter XIII, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER ONE

The Setting

I. THE SETTING

105 131 SHAMIRPET is a village situated at a distance of about twenty-five miles from the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad in the Deccan plateau of India. Culturally it lies in the region known as Telangana, which is itself a part of the wider culture-area of Andhra-desa. Telangana is a country of fertile fields and barren rocks; a land of temples, tanks and lakes. It is estimated that there are over twenty thousand lakes and tanks in this region, which covers an area of more than 42,000 square miles. Shamirpet is located by the side of one of these tanks and lies on the road that links the capital city of Hyderabad with Karimnagar, the headquarters of the northern district of that name.

133 134 137 132 The picturesque landscape of the village is truly characteristic of the Deccan plateau. The soil is in part black and in part red, and is suitable for the cultivation of rice, millet, castor and other oil-seeds, pulses and tobacco. An endless series of barren rocks formed of gneisses and granites dominates the land. Tall palmyra trees stand magnificently and imperiously against the often-clear sky, evergreen shrubs circle the rock formations and tamarind trees grow here and there near human habitation. In the countryside surrounding Shamirpet the average annual rainfall is about twenty-five inches. From Indian standards, the climate is moderate and knows no extremes either in winter or in summer. The days during the summer season are rather hot, the temperature often touching 112° F., but the evenings and nights are always cool and pleasant. In some winter nights the temperature drops to 137 45° F. There is little forest in the country immediately surrounding

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

137 Shamirpet and the neighbouring cluster of villages. However, villagers are able to collect some fuel as well as small quantities of edible and marketable minor forest produce from the local
136 scrub jungle. In this type of landscape little game is to be expected. Tigers from the forests fifteen or twenty miles away are occasionally seen, but panthers, in search of stray goats, calves and dogs, are more frequent visitors to the village. Wild pigs are plentiful and always do very considerable damage to the crops. Spotted deer make an occasional appearance in the surrounding areas, while hares which abound in the shrubs are very often shot or hunted with dogs trained for this purpose. Wild ducks come seasonally to the large tank near the village, and green pigeons and partridges are among the other feathered game found in the vicinity of Shamirpet.

131 It has been pointed out that Shamirpet is only some twenty-five miles from Hyderabad and Secundrabad, which rank fourth among the cities of India in respect of population and size. It is only fifteen miles from the Bolarum cantonment and twelve miles
[494] from the military aerodrome of Hakimpet. A regular bus service plying between Hyderabad and Karimnagar touches Shamirpet, and there are about twelve buses running in both directions on this road every day. From this it should not be assumed, however, that Shamirpet is just a suburban extension of Hyderabad. Although it is in regular and constant touch with the capital, it is an independent village with an organization of its own.

621 No village in India can be singled out as being typical of the
631 country as a whole, but Shamirpet possesses most of the characteristics which are common to the rural communities in middle and peninsular India. As an independent socio-economic and ritual unit it enjoys partial self-sufficiency in several aspects of community life. In the wider organization of the rural community it possesses partial autonomy. Its component units are mostly the occupational castes which are integrated into the structure of the village. Finally, it has a semi-judicial village council composed of caste elders and other influential persons. This council administers justice in socio-religious cases involving breaches of the traditional norms of society. The village as a unit of social organization performs several significant functions which form an important agency of social control.

● 132, 113 Telugu AW17

[For a description of climate regions of the Indian sub-continent and its general effects on agriculture and health, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 40-62.]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER ONE

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1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ordinary cultivators have to employ casual labour. The rates of daily wages have now increased considerably. In 1939 a male labourer was paid 3 to 6 annas a day, while a woman was paid 2 to 4 annas. In 1951, men were paid between 1 rupee and 1 rupee 8 annas per day, while the women got 8 to 12 annas per day. Rich landowners employ labourers on the basis of an annual contract also. Rates of payment vary with the age, ability and experience of the person employed; and also partly with the financial position of the employer. According to our statistics wages differ from Rs. 280 to Rs. 120 per year, and may be paid in cash or kind. Depending on the agreement the employee may be paid a cash monthly salary, or he may be paid a part in cash and a part in grain. Very often the agreement includes the following in the wages for the year: an agreed sum at the end of the year, one or two meals a day or a specified quantity of grain every week, and a set or two of new clothes and footwear or a blanket. As a rule advances are drawn from time to time, and when they exceed the stipulated sum the labourer has to agree to work the following year also to repay the debt.

3. THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR

The agriculturists in Shamirpet follow the local almanac. Most of their moves in farm activity depend upon the position of the stars in the sky. According to this almanac a month is divided into two *katis*, each with a duration of approximately fifteen days. Each of these divisions bears a name which indicates a particular position of the stars. According to the traditional agricultural lore of the people the different *katis* are suitable for different kinds of agricultural activities and provide the agriculturist with a schedule for the different stages of his work in the field. Of course, he also takes into consideration other natural factors, such as the possibility of rainfall in the immediate future; but in general his moves follow the time-tested schedule of the Hindu calendar. Muslim agriculturists too follow this calendar and share with their Hindu neighbours their agricultural folklore.

In late summer (i.e. the end of May) the agriculturists keep their fields clear for ploughing in anticipation of a light shower of rain. Invariably there is some rainfall during this period which softens the ground and makes it possible for them to start ploughing. With the advent of this eagerly awaited drizzle the farmers

241 can be seen carrying their wooden ploughs and driving their pairs of bullocks to the fields. No time must be lost, for the hardening of land may render ploughing difficult and this may eventually result in late sowing.

241 About this time they go to the Brahmin to fix an auspicious 787 day for planting vegetables and creepers in their backyards. The Brahmin consults his almanac to find out a day on which the stars of the person and the constellation in the sky match, for such a day is believed to be most suitable for sowing vegetables. Fortified with these astrological predictions, the Hindu agriculturists make initial preparations for planting these backyard crops. Muslims and poorer Hindus do not avail themselves of the services of the Brahmin priest. Beds and pits are kept ready well in advance, and on the appropriate day suggested by the Brahmin (or fixed by the family if the priest has not been consulted) seeds are sown. In the rainy season almost everyone grows some vegetables and creepers, and these are in most cases the only vegetables regularly eaten in any part of the year. The favourites among these vegetables are: runner beans, snake-gourds and pumpkins. Bottle-gourd and sponge-gourd are planted a few days later. Okra, bringals and some other green vegetables are also grown.

241 Later, when more showers have fallen, the agriculturists hasten to sow maize and millet in the fields. A late variety of rice, locally known as *samber*, is sown in carefully made beds to be transplanted into regular fields later.

In the first two weeks of June operations started in late May are continued. Light showers at this time are further utilized to complete the ploughing. Sowing of maize is also continued. Late varieties of paddy are now directly sown into the fields. Fifteen to twenty days after sowing they visit the fields to remove the weeds.

[132] In the second half of June the rainfall is generally regular and satisfactory. During this time people must complete their sowing of *kharif* crops such as maize and millet. Ground-nut, linseed and other oil seeds are also sown during this period. All these crops are grown on dry land as they do not require any extra irrigation.

241 For a month and a half after this the sowing of paddy is continued. At this time mostly coarse and medium varieties are sown. These include two mixed strains developed by the Department of Agriculture, Hyderabad State, and are locally known as paddy

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and Tungabhadra valleys lie at 1000–1500 ft, and to the NW the watershed between the Bhima and the Godavari is a great swelling upland reaching 2400 ft in places. But the general aspect nearly everywhere is that of practically senile peneplains, intersected by broad, open, almost completely graded valleys, and littered with monadnocks which range from considerable hill-groups to innumerable fantastic tors which look like dumps of gigantic road-metal. Around Hyderabad City these form "a chaos of granitic boulders . . . piled up in bizarre heaps, as if giants had amused themselves with childish games"; in places these rocky belts form a wilderness wide enough to act as a marchland.[34] With the poor sandy red soils of the gneisses and granites, a variable rainfall of 25–35 ins., and May mean temperatures in the 90s, life is hard except in favoured basins, where soil-wash and tank irrigation give some prosperity. Bare hills, reddish-khaki plains with scattered thorny scrub, rivers merely ribbons of sand for half the year or more, tanks bunded into the little valleys, all combine to produce a landscape with a desolate and brooding charm. The contrast between Hyderabad Marathwara and Telangana is extremely striking, and is brought out by Figs. 130 and 131.

The Ceded Districts are if anything worse.[35] In Marathwara there is hardly any surface water in the hot weather, except in the bigger streams; in Sn Telangana even this exception hardly holds. The railway bridges are stoutly built to withstand the immense volume of monsoon water in rivers which are then half a mile or more wide; in the hot weather they traverse great flats with a yard or so of water in the middle, and the herds of cattle or goats crossing the bed are recognisable from afar by their great clouds of dust.

Except for the jungles of the N, the region presents a decided savannah aspect, poor savannah with widely spaced acacias. Most of the tors are absolutely naked, and their skirts (with much of the more or less level ground) carry only a thorny scrub, in which euphorbias are prominent, while in damper depressions there are scattered palms, toddy or the wild Indian date. The scrub is secondary, on ground long subject to the depredations of sheep and especially goats, or once cultivated.

Agriculture

Rainfall, by and large, is much the same in Telangana as in Maharashtra; if anything more favourable, since the region lies farther from the lee of the Ghats and more open to Bay of Bengal influences. But differences in terrain and soil are decisive. The area here considered is about 75,000 sq mls, of which the TSA is only about 43% (approximately 20,250,000 ac.).[36] Forest

[34] E. Reclus, *L'Inde* (1883), 506; cf. *Hyderabad Gaz.* (1909), 2.
[35] For some vivid remarks, see J. C. Molony, *A Book of South India* (1926), 166.
[36] Figures even more approximate than usual, as those of Hyderabad are internally suspect.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

133 dicates deposition in shallow but not sheltered waters, and the general lie of the E coast may thus be of great antiquity. The change in strike between the Orissa Hills and the Cuddapahs is very closely followed by the coast.

137 The hills are wooded and the pattern of relief stands out clearly on forest 132 and population maps (Figs. 18, 30); but the forest is thin, rainfall being 323 only about 40 ins. and the rocks porous or fissured. The few inhabitants are mostly Chenchus, an aboriginal tribe living a semi-pastoral existence eked out by the collection of honey, bamboos, fuel for the railways, and other minor forest produce.

311 The valleys, however, though on the whole poor enough, have a fair 312 amount of cultivation, mostly jowar (25–30% TSA), other millets, groundnut (16–20%), with some irrigated paddy. The topography in the longitudinal valleys favours the construction of large tanks by bunding a transverse [496] tributary gorge. The main (GIP) Madras–Bombay railway strikes diagonally across the S of the region, and is one of the most interesting traverses 133 in India. The hill country is first entered in the Nagaris, which are the last 361 Cuddapah outliers; here Renigunta and Tirupati are little towns control- 311 ling at once the route up the Swarnamukhi, the crossings of the river, and the col to the N between the Palkondas and Velikondas. Beyond, in the Razampeta corridor, the contrast between cultivated floor and barren hills is exceedingly sharp. The generally arid aspect is mitigated by groves of [342] mangoes around the tanks; houses are stone- or mud-walled, and round beehive huts, striped vertically in white and rusty red, attest the Telugu country. After crossing the wide bed of the Cheyyeru, the line emerges at Cuddapah from grey and arid hills into a greyer plain, a vast ash-coloured expanse largely given over to dry cultivation. The region lies on the margin of the October–December rainfall area of the Madras littoral, and the rivers rise in the dry Mysore Maidan, not in the Wn Ghats as do Kistna and Tungabhadra; hence, even in August, the great streams—Penner itself, Cheyyeru, Papagni, Chitravati—may be spreads of quartzite boulders, shingle, or sand, several hundred yards wide with a line of water a yard across, or even not a drop; while only 90 miles to the N the Ghats-fed rivers are full, great ribbons of muddy water half a mile or more wide.

312 Through the Kunderu valley runs the ill-starred Kurnool Canal, constructed in 1860–76 by a private company which apparently failed to notice the difference in the régimes of Peninsular and extra-Peninsular rivers; the complete, but inefficient, canal had eventually to be taken over by the government in 1882 after two decades of mismanagement. The topographical layout is obviously encouraging, and it is now proposed to recast the whole project, with reservoirs on the Kistna and at Someswaram in the lowest of the Penner watergaps; the project, if carried out in full, would irrigate no less than 3 m. ac., mostly, however, in the coastal plain of Nellore.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Orissa AW13
Telugu AW14

CHAPTER XXIV

THE EASTERN LITTORAL: ORISSA AND ANDHRA DESA

(Regions XXXIII and XXXIV)[1]

Generalities

THE En Littoral forms a strong contrast to the Wn. The lowland is in general much wider, and much of it is a true coastal plain structurally, with in-facing cuestas developed on Cretaceous and Tertiary epeirogenetic deposits; elsewhere it is formed of the great deltas of the Mahanadi, Godavari, Kistna, and Cauvery. In the S the coastal lowland is no less than 60–80 miles wide, and is backed not by a steep more or less continuous wall but by the broken Tamilnad Hills (Javadis, Shevaroys, etc.) and by the low (1000–1500 ft) plateaus around the middle Cauvery. O T 133

The climatic variation on this 1200-mile coast is highly significant. The N lies full in the track of the Bay of Bengal branch of the summer monsoon and receives *c.* 60 ins.; but Sn Orissa already lies on the fluctuant flank of this great current and receives a lower (*c.* 50 ins.) and less reliable fall. As we move S we enter the largest area of anomalous rainfall régime in the sub-continent, the SE which has its rainy season in the months of the retreating monsoon, October–December. From the great bend of the coast S of the Kistna delta this régime is dominant, and the lie of the coast—sub-parallel to the track of the rain-bearing depressions—contributes to generally low figures. The extreme S, Ramnad and Tinnevelly, is sheltered from the Arabian Sea branch by the high Anaimalai/Cardamom block, while to the N the great projection of the Cauvery delta, low-lying as it is, yet shuts off some at least of the retreating monsoon rain. Here we have remarkably low figures (25–30 ins.) for a coastal area in sub-equatorial latitudes. O T 133 132

The agricultural contrasts which would normally result are to some extent masked by irrigation in the great deltas, but are nevertheless striking enough (Fig. 139). Orissa is as typical a paddy-land as Bengal—indeed in Balasore Dt over 95% of TSA is *unirrigated* paddy, and millets are totally absent. S of the Kistna, however, they generally exceed the area of *unirrigated* rice, and in places all rice; paddy dominates the landscape only where irrigation is possible on a reasonably large scale. There is further the difference between tank- and canal-irrigation, the former dominant everywhere away from the deltas. O T 311 [312]

The primary division, then, is that between the areas of normal and of O T 133

[see cat. 116, pp. 361-362 and map facing p. 362.--ANALYST]

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Orissa AW13
Telugu AW17

anomalous season of rain; but this is cut across by the deltas and, in the S especially, there is considerable regional diversity. Culturally also there is the great distinction between the Aryan-speaking (Oriya) lands N of Vizagapatam and the Dravidian S, itself divided into Andhra Desa (Telugu)

THE EASTERN LITTORAL

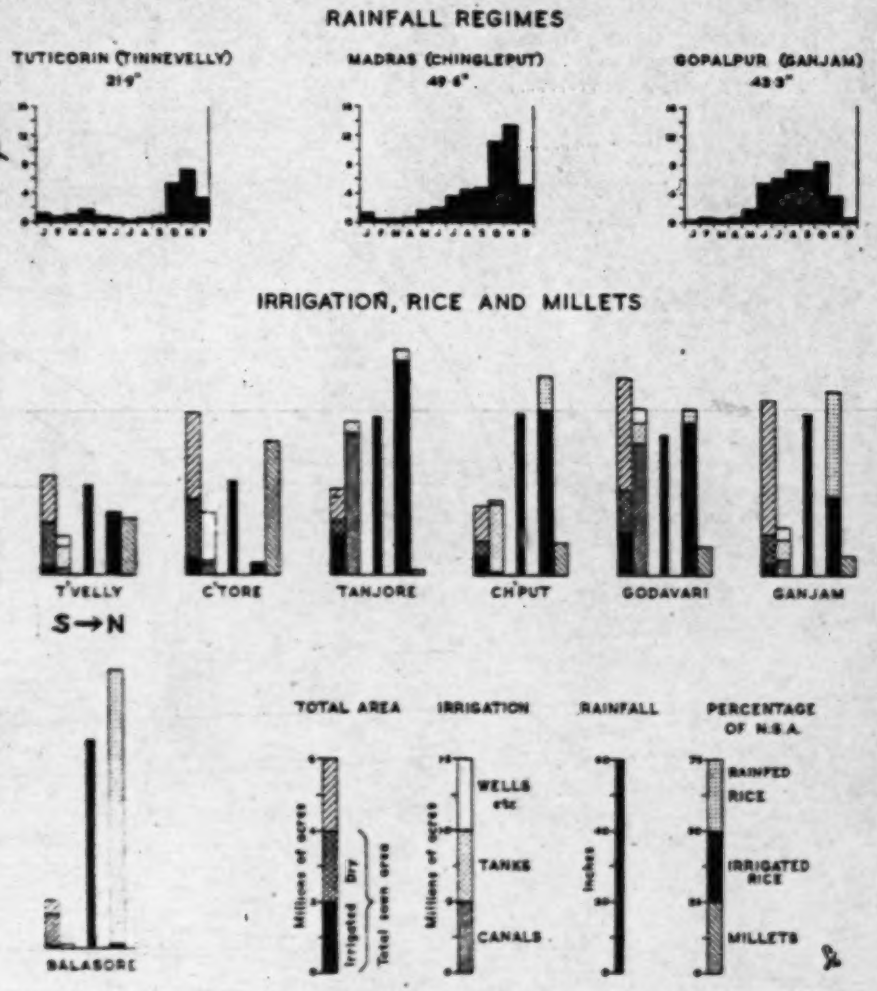

Fig. 139.—The Eastern Littoral: Rain, Rice, and Millets.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Orissa AW13
Telugu AW17

Mercara in tiny Coorg, and it is in any case being superseded as the seat of government by a new town at Bhuvaneshwar, 20 miles S of Cuttack.

There may, however, be a brighter future for Orissa. The merger of the hill states increased the area by 85% (to 59,869 sq mls) and the population by 58% (to 14,645,946); these are the largest gains by merger in all *India*. The ending of the fantastic fragmentation of the State may facilitate co-ordinated development of the Mahanadi power projects and flood control (above, 678); it also gives some hope for the development of the forest resources of the excessively backward hills: timber (floated down the Mahanadi), lac, tussore silk.

The Northern Circars

This region, which corresponds to littoral Andhra Desa, is a transition zone in every respect. In the N we have the normal monsoon rainfall distribution; but the October–December proportion increases steadily in importance Swds, together with a decrease in total amount and in rainy days. Already in Kistna Dt a third of the rain comes in the last quarter of the year, but these rains are more uncertain than those of the more usual monsoon months. In Ganjam Oriya is still dominant, but where the coastal plain narrows beneath the abrupt peak of Mahendragiri (4923 ft) the Aryan tongue gives way to Dravidian Telugu, which holds sway as far as the Nagari Hills (Fig. 127). To the S Nellore represents a further stage in the transition.

Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari E and W, Kistna and Guntur Dts form the Northern Circars, brought under Muslim rule by the Golconda kings about 1575, ceded to the French in 1753; 12 years later the EIC obtained a grant of the whole from the Mogul Emperor, though of course his nominal subordinate the Nizam had exercised wh. government existed, apart from that of warring petty rajahs; this was the Company's first considerable territorial acquisition outside Bengal. Despite the Telugu culture and the modern historical identity, the region seems to lack unity. The proliferation of small ports and trading stations in the early European phase was perhaps a reflection of this; the Dutch factories at Bimlipatam and Coconada were not ceded to the EIC until 1825, and they had forced the early English settlement at Pulicat to move in 1625 to Armagaon, the parent of Madras. In Masulipatam the factory at French-pettah was not handed over to *India* until 1947, while English-palam and Volanda (Holland)-palam mark the settlements of those nations in the same town. Nizampatam was the first English station on the E coast (1611), and Yanaon (area 5 sq mls, poptn 5711) in the Godavari Delta survives as the last relic of the 18th century French holdings.

The total area is about 25,000 sq mls with a 1941 population of *c.*

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu

12 m.; dentities increase from Ganjam (420) to E Godavari (714) and then decrease to Guntur (393); beyond the regional limits Nellore, with more Archaean terrain than the central parts of the Circars, and less (and less reliable and well distributed) rain than the Nn, had only 204. On the whole it seems best to treat Ganjam/Vizagapatam and the deltas separately.

(a) *The North*: *Ganjam and Vizagapatam* (*Vizakhapatnam*)

Essentially this is the area with over 40 ins.: the three Sn taluks of Vizagapatam fall a little short of this. The lowland narrows to 12 miles under Mahendragiri, but on either side of this gate are the embayments of the Rushikulya (Ganjam) and the Languliya and Vansadhara (Vizag) valleys. The plains are floored by red lateritic soils near the hills, shading off into black loams and clays; but they are cut up by numerous irregular outliers of the En Hills: thus Vizagapatam itself lies between the 1600-ft Kailana Ridge to the N and the 1100-ft Yaroda to the S; the latter runs out to sea in the bold cliffs (300 ft) of Dolphin's Nose which shelters the port, while in the Nn suburbs of the town are the peculiar Waltair Highlands, *c.* 150 ft high and formed largely by the accumulation, since the Pleistocene, of red loams partly fluviatile and partly perhaps aeolian.[3]

Of a TSA of some 4 m. ac., rice accounts for about 1·65 m. ac., ragi 390,000, oilseeds (chiefly groundnut) 500,000, the balance being widely distributed amongst millets and pulses mainly. Irrigation is on the whole unimportant, much of it being dependent on temporary mud-and-brushwood dams across the short rivers.

Mineral resources are few—graphite, manganese, kaolin, mica—and hardly developed; a potential resource of some interest in this atomic age, though limited in amount in comparison with other *Indian* occurrences, is the ilmenite and monazite in the dunes and beaches around Vizagapatam.[4]

Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

Again there is only one real town, 'Vizag' itself (108,042), which has developed considerably since the opening of the railway up the Languliya valley to Raipur and the subsequent dredging of a deep-water harbour in the tidal marshes. The accommodation at quayside is limited, but it is more up-to-date than at most E coast ports. The selection of Vizag as the main shipbuilding centre of *India* is presumably because of its situation as the nearest *ocean* port to Jamshedpur, but it is still a long way round. Ships up to 8000 tons have been launched. The hinterland extends to Nagpur and the chief trade is in Madhya Pradesh (CP) manganese, and oilseeds and their products. The small ports of Bimlipatam and Gopalpur are quite

[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Sathapathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *JGI* XXIV (1949), 26–51.

[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu
AW17

133 311 The worn-down margin of the Archaean hinterland is poor country: undulating plains broken by little hills, with much waste and stony ground; soils are mainly lateritic with some loams. The coast for several miles inland is largely fringed with mangrove swamp (valuable as a fuel reserve) or sand-dunes rising to 30 or 50 ft. Between the relatively negative upland and the completely negative coast lie the rather limited areas of true delta. At Bezwada (Vijayarada), 45 miles inland, the Kistna crosses a low gneissic ridge in a 1300-yd-wide gap; this is utilised for the headworks of canals irrigating about 900,000 ac. The Godavari Delta begins 40 miles inland at Dowleshwaram, where a dam 2¼ miles long feeds canals for another 1 m. ac. (TSA; NSA 800,000). The deltas are of course liable to flood, at times disastrous; and cyclones are also a danger, that of 1864 causing 30,000 deaths and ruining the prosperity of Masulipatam port for ever. In the Kistna delta the land slopes away from the main distributaries at about 18 ins. to the mile, and in that of the Godavari below Dowleshwaram "the country is a vast expanse of ricefields dotted with gardens and villages. During the rains the greater part of this tract becomes one sheet of water, only village sites, canal banks, roads, and field boundaries appearing above it. Later in the year, as the rice grows higher, the dividing boundaries are hidden; and the whole country looks like a single ricefield, the groves around the villages, the road avenues, and the white sails of the boats gliding along the main canals breaking the uniform sea of waving green crop." * There is still a certain amount of local traffic, chiefly paddy, on the canals.

[312] [731]

Between the deltas Colair Lake occupies a depression not yet silted up, though constantly diminishing by natural and artificial encroachment; covering about 100 sq mls in the rains, it has at times dried out. Its numerous islands are intensively cultivated, and there is a good deal of fishing.

132 241 312 Rainfall exceeds 35 ins. only in the seaward half of the Godavari Delta, and the tendency to October maxima is unfavourable to the groundnut and early paddy harvests, while cotton sowings must be late. Irrigation, if not essential, is at least highly useful; its importance is reflected in the high densities (up to 1100 plus) of some delta taluks. The following figures (in thousand acres approximately) give a summary view of the agriculture:

241 311

	Total area	*NSA*	*TSA*	*Rice*	*Total foodgrains*	*Ground-nuts*	*Total oilseeds*
E Godavari.	3981	1072	1380	692	1070	4	142
W Godavari	1511	800	1111	697	823	42	115
Kistna .	2270	1119	1225	572	877	185	195
Guntur .	3684	2092	2384	400	1405	365	395

* *Ibid.*, 268–69.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

KISTNA DISTRICT.

VUNAGATLA.

[*By K. S. Narayana Murti, Christian College, Madras.*]

Vunagatla, in the Yernagudem taluk of the Kistna district, is an upland village, four miles distant from Nidadavolu, an important centre of railway and river traffic. On one side it is bounded by the high road from Nidadavolu to the Gōdāvari Agency, on the other by a great sandy tract filled with palmyra trees. The climate is extreme, the unbearable heat of summer being followed by the excessive rains of the rainy season, and the extreme cold of winter. It is a purely dry village, depending entirely on the annual rains.

Population.—The population has been increasing steadily since the first census.

Census.	Population.	Census.	Population.
1871	1,237	1901	2,150
1881	1,567	1911	2,519
1891	2,017		

Brahmans and Vaisyas are increasing, and so are the Sudras, who are temperate and simple and hardy in habits. The rate of mortality is high among the Pariahs and washermen and other low castes.

The official figures of births and deaths cannot be entirely relied on. They are, for 1911—15, as follows:—

Births.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1911	33	52	85
1912	55	49	104
1913	49	49	98
1914	48	52	100
1915	41	52	93
	226	254	

Deaths.

Year.	Cholera.	Small-pox.	Fevers.	Respiratory diseases.	Other causes	Men.	Women.	Children under 14.	Total.
1911	226	...	42	...	28	71	88	137	296
1912	...	...	48	...	47	30	24	41	95
1913	...	...	62	3	2	18	20	29	67
1914	6	8	62	4	18	33	40	25	98
1915	...	112	41	17	13	53	49	81	183

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

241 435 No exact accounts are possible, for the ryots do not keep any record of them.

Items.	Rs.	A.	P.
2 Bullocks, for keep... ... ... (The figures given by the four ryots were Rs. 75, 80, 90, 80; two cows also are maintained out of this.)	80	0	0
2 annual servants (Rs. 50 and Rs. 25 respectively)	75	0	0
1 plough, its necessary implements	2	0	0
„ charges for making it	2	0	0
Seed for two crops	28	0	0
Coolies to weed two crops	40	0	0
Coolies to harvest it (some say even Rs. 20) ...	15	0	0
Government tax at Rs. 1-12-0 per acre	17	8	0
Rent, if the land is leased, at least	100	0	0
Perquisites at harvest time—			
to the head servant one bag	7	0	0
to the second servant half a bag	3	8	0
to the village barber three or four seers (at 8 seers per rupee)	0	8	0
to the washerman...	0	8	0
to the shoemaker, 16 or 20 seers	2	8	0
to three village servants, 2 seers each	0	12	0
To manure the fields in summer with rented flocks of sheep and goats, as is the custom, for eight or ten days at an acre a day; the tenant takes three-fourths of the milk on such days ...	35	0	0
Other agricultural implements (even higher) ...	5	0	0
Other repairs of the field, such as digging up the soil, etc.	5	0	0
Total expenses for ten acres ...	424	4	0

• [132] During the last two years there were excessive rains; crops failed badly; there was double the expenditure for useless plants; the cultivators had to sow three times, so that the average expenditure for seed was trebled. Such extraordinary expenditures are frequent. But assuming the season is favourable the utmost that the cultivator can get is—

	Rs.	A.	P.
40 bags of paddy at Rs. 4½ per bag	170	0	0
20 bags of gingelly at Rs. 7½ per bag	150	0	0
30 bags of cholam at Rs. 6¼ per bag	187	8	0
20 bags of Bengal gram at Rs. 8-5-4 per bag ...	175	0	0
20 bags of red gram at Rs. 7½ per bag	150	0	0
Black gram	8	0	0
Total ...	840	8	0

The average crop is Rs. 560 or Rs. 600 per annum. The cultivator can moreover earn in summer 90 or 100 rupees by letting out his cart to convey jaggery.

361 The area of the village-site is 33 acres 32 cents. The dwellings of the depressed castes, about 125 in number, are crowded

M Te Ta K T C K 133, M Te Ta K T C K 113

Marathi AW12
● Telugu AW17
Tamil AW16
Kanada AW10
Tulu AW18
Coorg AW5
Kerala AW11

[For a map of the structural elements of South India see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, p. 694.]

133, 113 Telugu AW17

[For a regional division of the Indian sub-continent see Chapter XIII, 6: S pate AW1 India.]

● 133, 113 Telugu AW17

[For a description and discusssion of the structure and relief of the entire Indian sub-continent, see 6: Spate, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 3-36.]

133, 113 Telugu AW17

[For general information on the distribution of various types of flora and its relation to climate and soil, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 63-92.]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER ONE

The Setting

1. THE SETTING

105 131 SHAMIRPET is a village situated at a distance of about twenty-five miles from the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad in the Deccan plateau of India. Culturally it lies in the region known as Telangana, which is itself a part of the wider culture-area of Andhra-desa. Telangana is a country of fertile fields and barren rocks; a land of temples, tanks and lakes. It is estimated that there are over twenty thousand lakes and tanks in this region, which covers an area of more than 42,000 square miles. Shamirpet is located by the side of one of these tanks and lies on the road that links the capital city of Hyderabad with Karimnagar, the headquarters of the northern district of that name.

133 134 137 132 The picturesque landscape of the village is truly characteristic of the Deccan plateau. The soil is in part black and in part red, and is suitable for the cultivation of rice, millet, castor and other oil-seeds, pulses and tobacco. An endless series of barren rocks formed of gneisses and granites dominates the land. Tall palmyra trees stand magnificently and imperiously against the often-clear sky, evergreen shrubs circle the rock formations and tamarind trees grow here and there near human habitation. In the countryside surrounding Shamirpet the average annual rainfall is about twenty-five inches. From Indian standards, the climate is moderate and knows no extremes either in winter or in summer. The days during the summer season are rather hot, the temperature often touching 112° F., but the evenings and nights are always cool and pleasant. In some winter nights the temperature drops to 137 45° F. There is little forest in the country immediately surrounding

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Bihar-AW2
Telugo AW17

[Jamshedpur]

always been prominent lines; bars and light structural steel comprise about a quarter of the finished products, rails and fishplates about 14%. The 1939–45 war saw a great expansion in quantity and range, including the production of light armoured vehicles. Associated industries include tinplate (developed in association with the Burmah Oil Co., production 40,000 tons in 1947), cables, wire and wire nails, agricultural implements, enamelled and galvanised sheets, and all types of castings. Most of the undertakings responsible for these products, as well as the mines and quarries on which they are based, are part of the multifunctional 'Tata group' which has wide ramifications, from soap to aviation. The metallurgical and engineering side has thus elements of both vertical and horizontal monopoly. In Bombay is the general staff of this industrial empire, and its service corps; here, set down in the incongruous jungle, is its arsenal.

Telangana

The remainder of the Peninsular Interior, within the bordering En Hills, is perhaps best regarded as the Deccan component of Andhra Desa, the country of the Telugu-speaking peoples; a component which differs widely from the littoral districts of 'Andhrastan'. The area here considered consists of the Hyderabad Telangana (with Raichur, officially in Marathwara) and the Madras 'Ceded Districts' of Anantapur, Bellary, and Kurnool. The fourth Ceded District, Cuddapah, lies mostly in the Cuddapah Ranges region, as indeed does much of Kurnool. The limits, except where formed by the Deccan Lava edge and the front of the Cuddapah Ranges, are very vague; pending serious work on the Mysore peneplains, we may take the Madras/Mysore boundary as an approximation, though this includes Kanarese-speaking populations of 64 and 49% in Raichur and Bellary, which nevertheless go physically with the rest of the present region. In the SE the little river basins lying between the Cuddapahs and the Mysore plateau, in E Anantapur and W Chittoor, are really another 'left-over' subregion, in Chittoor transitional to Tamilnad; they will receive separate treatment. With these rather wide qualifications, the name Telangana seems appropriate, or at any rate least inappropriate.

The Physical Aspect

The bulk of the region consists of peneplains developed on the Archaean gneisses. In the N, however, faulting has preserved a belt of Gondwanas (with some coal) along the lower Godavari trough: much of this is below 500 ft, but with its dissected terrain it has remained very largely under forest of a dryish deciduous type.

The most general levels lie between 1600 and 2000 ft; in the S, below the rather ragged break of slope down from the Mysore plateau, the Kistna

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

and Tungabhadra valleys lie at 1000–1500 ft, and to the NW the watershed between the Bhima and the Godavari is a great swelling upland reaching 2400 ft in places. But the general aspect nearly everywhere is that of practically senile peneplains, intersected by broad, open, almost completely graded valleys, and littered with monadnocks which range from considerable hill-groups to innumerable fantastic tors which look like dumps of gigantic road-metal. Around Hyderabad City these form "a chaos of granitic boulders . . . piled up in bizarre heaps, as if giants had amused themselves with childish games"; in places these rocky belts form a wilderness wide enough to act as a marchland.[28] With the poor sandy red soils of the gneisses and granites, a variable rainfall of 25–35 ins., and May mean temperatures in the 90s, life is hard except in favoured basins, where soil-wash and tank irrigation give some prosperity. Bare hills, reddish-khaki plains with scattered thorny scrub, rivers merely ribbons of sand for half the year or more, tanks bunded into the little valleys, all combine to produce a landscape with a desolate and brooding charm. The contrast between Hyderabad Marathwara and Telangana is extremely striking, and is brought out by Figs. 130 and 131.

The Ceded Districts are if anything worse.[28] In Marathwara there is hardly any surface water in the hot weather, except in the bigger streams; in Sn Telangana even this exception hardly holds. The railway bridges are stoutly built to withstand the immense volume of monsoon water in rivers which are then half a mile or more wide; in the hot weather they traverse great flats with a yard or so of water in the middle, and the herds of cattle or goats crossing the bed are recognisable from afar by their great clouds of dust.

Except for the jungles of the N, the region presents a decided savannah aspect, poor savannah with widely spaced acacias. Most of the tors are absolutely naked, and their skirts (with much of the more or less level ground) carry only a thorny scrub, in which euphorbias are prominent, while in damper depressions there are scattered palms, toddy or the wild Indian date. The scrub is secondary, on ground long subject to the depredations of sheep and especially goats, or once cultivated.

Agriculture

Rainfall, by and large, is much the same in Telangana as in Maharashtra; if anything more favourable, since the region lies farther from the lee of the Ghats and more open to Bay of Bengal influences. But differences in terrain and soil are decisive. The area here considered is about 75,000 sq mls, of which the TSA is only about 43% (approximately 20,250,000 ac.).[29] Forest

[28] E. Reclus, *L'Inde* (1883), 506; cf. *Hyderabad Gaz.* (1909), 2.
[28] For some vivid remarks, see J. C. Molony, *A Book of South India* (1926), 166.
[29] Figures even more approximate than usual, as those of Hyderabad are internally suspect.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Telugu AWI

312 Tungabhadra scheme; but the history of large-scale irrigation here is discouraging, though of course much experience has been gained since the 377 Kurnool failure. With the development of hydro-electricity there may come 491 decentralised industrial development on the Mysore model; but Mysore 433 had a more solid backing in at least some industry, sericulture and Bhadravati iron for instance, to give a base. Telangana is not without resources such as oilseeds and fibres (including sheep and goat wool), and in view of *India's* shortages in non-ferrous metals development of the poor communication net might lead to at least some exploitation of the scattered minerals. But when all is said, it seems likely that Telangana will remain, if not a backward, at least a poor country.

The Anantapur-Chittoor Basins

● 133 Between the bold scarp of the Palkonda Range and the higher Mysore levels are a series of basins around the middle courses of the Penner tributaries—Chitravati, Papagni, Punchu/Cheyyeru, the last two with a remarkable confluence-gorge in the Palkondas. To the SE the sub-region breaks down to the Nellore/Coromandel plains through the little intermont basins of the Nagari Hills (up to 2800 ft) and through the broader Swarnamukhi valley, which may occupy a fault-trough under the Palkondas. The whole area is crossed by N/S or NE/SW trap dykes, which may also have some influence on the remarkable drainage-pattern.

311 The area is isolated and poor, except in the extreme SE—the Nagari valleys, culturally transitional to Tamilnad. Only 20% of Chittoor Dt is cultivated—less than any other Madras District except the Nilgiris—but the density is **304**, intermediate between the Ceded Districts (*c.* **185**) and the coastal plains (**450–650**). Millets account for over 40% of the cropped area, followed by rice and groundnuts (24 and 14%).

491 There is no urban or industrial development worth mentioning. The
311 Nagari basins are better cultivated than those of the plateau, but even they
133 are not very impressive agriculturally: their flattish floors are broken by patches of sandy soil, almost bare but for a thin grass/acacia cover, and by naked rock exfoliation surfaces, looking like *roches moutonnées* and often used as threshing floors. Around the plain a lateritic piedmont slope fringes the craggy hills, with boulders as big as a small house on the talus slopes.
[361] Below the lateritic apron is a better-watered and more fertile piedmont strip, which is in places a solid belt of paddy, the zone of bush and trees along the laterite margin being a favoured settlement-line. It is a strange landscape: fantastic hills, stacked and pinnacled, long ridges capped by massive quartzites, reflected in the still waters of the big tanks with their borders of toddy palms; an eerily attractive picture under iron-blue or grey skies.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Orissa AW13
Central India AW4
Telugu AW17

CI O 133

forested plateau, most of which drains to the Godavari via the Indravati; it contains a few Cuddapah inliers, but is for the most part a mass of undifferentiated gneiss, covered by a mass of jungle.

CI O 631 137 311

Nearly all this area was divided amongst a multiplicity of very backward states which, except for Bastar and Kanker (which have gone to Madhya Pradesh (CP)), are now merged with Orissa, increasing its area by 85% but its population by only 58%. A large proportion of the region consists of dense or open deciduous forest, with some sal; in Bastar, indeed, open ground amounts to only a small fraction of the state's 13,701 sq mls. The largest, indeed the only extensive, non-forested area is in the Tel valley. Koraput Dt may be regarded as typical: here nearly 4·75 m. ac. of a total of 6·39 m. are forest or scrub,[*] and of the TSA of about 1·42 m. ac. over half is rice—dry hill-rice, or terraced in the valleys—and the only other single crops of much importance are ragi and gram. Shifting agriculture, supplemented by forest produce, is prevalent; mahua flowers are distilled, and mango-stones ground for flour. Taken as a whole, and despite the mineral reserves (iron especially, chromite, bauxite, manganese), the region is probably the most jungly of all India.

CI O [135]

CI O 377

The Mahanadi gorge, however, offers sites for joint hydro-electric/irrigation development at Hirakud, Tikarpara, and Naraj (Fig. 133). The first of these sites is already being developed to irrigate 1 m. ac. (mostly in Sambalpur Dt) and to generate 350,000 kW—ultimately! It will be linked with the Pipri (UP) and Tilaya (Damodar) dams and provide power as far as Cuttack and Nagpur. In the S a smaller scheme (100,000 kW) has been initiated, or at least surveyed, on the Machkund River.

(b) *The Cuddapah Ranges and Basins*

T 133

Another Gondwana trough lies along the lower Godavari, and for about 100 miles the rampart of hills is completely breached, the plateau breaking down through dissected and forested country to the Godavari/Kistna deltas. Beyond the Kistna (which is in fact superimposed across their tip) lie the most interesting of the En Hills, which from their rocks and position may be collectively styled the Cuddapah Ranges and Basins (Figs. 137, 138).

The region forms a great crescent, the heart of it being the wide Nandyal valley (*c.* 700–800 ft), drained by the Kunderu, formed on Kurnool (L. Vindhyan) limestones and shales and extending from the Kistna/Tungabhadra confluence to Cuddapah. To the W this trough is marked off from the Deccan plateaus by the out-facing scarps of the Erramalais/Seschalam Hills/Palkondas, formed of massive quartzites interbedded with slates and lavas; in the S especially the Palkondas, here reaching 3000 ft, form a very fine scarp overlooking the Anantapur-Chittoor basins (Fig. 137). The En limb of the central Kunderu basin is formed by the parallel Nallamalais and

[*] Including uncultivated and 'not available for cultivation'.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWl India
Telugu AW17

Velikondas ('outside hills'), 2500–3000 ft high and separated by a beautifully regular development of longitudinal valleys. The evolution of this remarkable drainage-pattern, with its elements of superimposition and of strike subsequents, would make a fascinating geomorphological study; especially notable are the gorges of the Kistna, Penner, and Cheyyuru (Figs. 137, 138). In the E, especially in the Velikondas, the Cuddapah rocks have been subject to great Wwds overthrusting and inversion; the lithology here in-

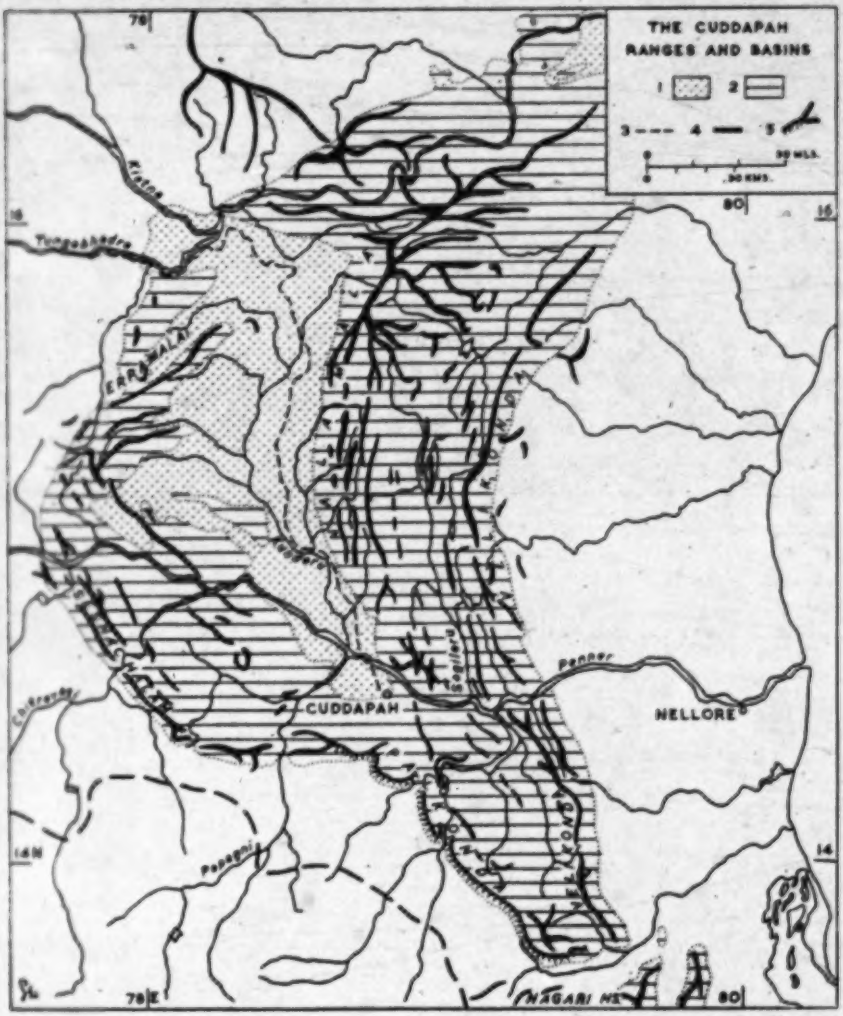

Fig. 137.—The Cuddapah Ranges and Basins. 1, Vindhyan; 2, Cuddapah, outcrop; 3, Kurnool–Cuddapah Canal; 4, approx. edge of Mysore plateau; 5, main ridges and scarps.

133 dicates deposition in shallow but not sheltered waters, and the general lie of the E coast may thus be of great antiquity. The change in strike between the Orissa Hills and the Cuddapahs is very closely followed by the coast.

137 132 523 The hills are wooded and the pattern of relief stands out clearly on forest and population maps (Figs. 18, 30); but the forest is thin, rainfall being only about 40 ins. and the rocks porous or fissured. The few inhabitants are mostly Chenchus, an aboriginal tribe living a semi-pastoral existence eked out by the collection of honey, bamboos, fuel for the railways, and other minor forest produce.

311 312 The valleys, however, though on the whole poor enough, have a fair amount of cultivation, mostly jowar (25–30% TSA), other millets, groundnut (16–20%), with some irrigated paddy. The topography in the longitudinal valleys favours the construction of large tanks by bunding a transverse [496] tributary gorge. The main (GIP) Madras–Bombay railway strikes diagonally across the S of the region, and is one of the most interesting traverses 133 in India. The hill country is first entered in the Nagaris, which are the last 361 Cuddapah outliers; here Renigunta and Tirupati are little towns control- 311 ling at once the route up the Swarnamukhi, the crossings of the river, and the col to the N between the Palkondas and Velikondas. Beyond, in the Razampeta corridor, the contrast between cultivated floor and barren hills is exceedingly sharp. The generally arid aspect is mitigated by groves of [342] mangoes around the tanks; houses are stone- or mud-walled, and round beehive huts, striped vertically in white and rusty red, attest the Telugu country. After crossing the wide bed of the Cheyyeru, the line emerges at Cuddapah from grey and arid hills into a greyer plain, a vast ash-coloured expanse largely given over to dry cultivation. The region lies on the margin of the October–December rainfall area of the Madras littoral, and the rivers rise in the dry Mysore Maidan, not in the Wn Ghats as do Kistna and Tungabhadra; hence, even in August, the great streams—Penner itself, Cheyyeru, Papagni, Chitravati—may be spreads of quartzite boulders, shingle, or sand, several hundred yards wide with a line of water a yard across, or even not a drop; while only 90 miles to the N the Ghats-fed rivers are full, great ribbons of muddy water half a mile or more wide.

312 Through the Kunderu valley runs the ill-starred Kurnool Canal, constructed in 1860–76 by a private company which apparently failed to notice the difference in the régimes of Peninsular and extra-Peninsular rivers; the complete, but inefficient, canal had eventually to be taken over by the government in 1882 after two decades of mismanagement. The topographical layout is obviously encouraging, and it is now proposed to recast the whole project, with reservoirs on the Kistna and at Someswaram in the lowest of the Penner watergaps; the project, if carried out in full, would irrigate no less than 3 m. ac., mostly, however, in the coastal plain of Nellore.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India

Telugu AW17

133

Fig. 138.—The Penner Water-gaps. *All* permanent water on original map is shown. SOI 1/253,440 57 J and N; courtesy SOI.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE EASTERN LITTORAL: ORISSA AND ANDHRA DESA

(Regions XXXIII and XXXIV)[1]

Generalities

THE En Littoral forms a strong contrast to the Wn. The lowland is in general much wider, and much of it is a true coastal plain structurally, with in-facing cuestas developed on Cretaceous and Tertiary epeirogenetic deposits; elsewhere it is formed of the great deltas of the Mahanadi, Godavari, Kistna, and Cauvery. In the S the coastal lowland is no less than 60–80 miles wide, and is backed not by a steep more or less continuous wall but by the broken Tamilnad Hills (Javadis, Shevaroys, etc.) and by the low (1000–1500 ft) plateaus around the middle Cauvery.

The climatic variation on this 1200-mile coast is highly significant. The N lies full in the track of the Bay of Bengal branch of the summer monsoon and receives *c.* 60 ins.; but Sn Orissa already lies on the fluctuant flank of this great current and receives a lower (*c.* 50 ins.) and less reliable fall. As we move S we enter the largest area of anomalous rainfall régime in the sub-continent, the SE which has its rainy season in the months of the retreating monsoon, October–December. From the great bend of the coast S of the Kistna delta this régime is dominant, and the lie of the coast—sub-parallel to the track of the rain-bearing depressions—contributes to generally low figures. The extreme S, Ramnad and Tinnevelly, is sheltered from the Arabian Sea branch by the high Anaimalai/Cardamom block, while to the N the great projection of the Cauvery delta, low-lying as it is, yet shuts off some at least of the retreating monsoon rain. Here we have remarkably low figures (25–30 ins.) for a coastal area in sub-equatorial latitudes.

The agricultural contrasts which would normally result are to some extent masked by irrigation in the great deltas, but are nevertheless striking enough (Fig. 139). Orissa is as typical a paddy-land as Bengal—indeed in Balasore Dt over 95% of TSA is *unirrigated* paddy, and millets are totally absent. S of the Kistna, however, they generally exceed the area of *unirrigated* rice, and in places all rice; paddy dominates the landscape only where irrigation is possible on a reasonably large scale. There is further the difference between tank- and canal-irrigation, the former dominant everywhere away from the deltas.

The primary division, then, is that between the areas of normal and of

[see cat. 116, pp. 361-362 and map facing p. 352.--ANALYST]

anomalous season of rain; but this is cut across by the deltas and, in the S especially, there is considerable regional diversity. Culturally also there is the great distinction between the Aryan-speaking (Oriya) lands N of Vizagapatam and the Dravidian S, itself divided into Andhra Desa (Telugu)

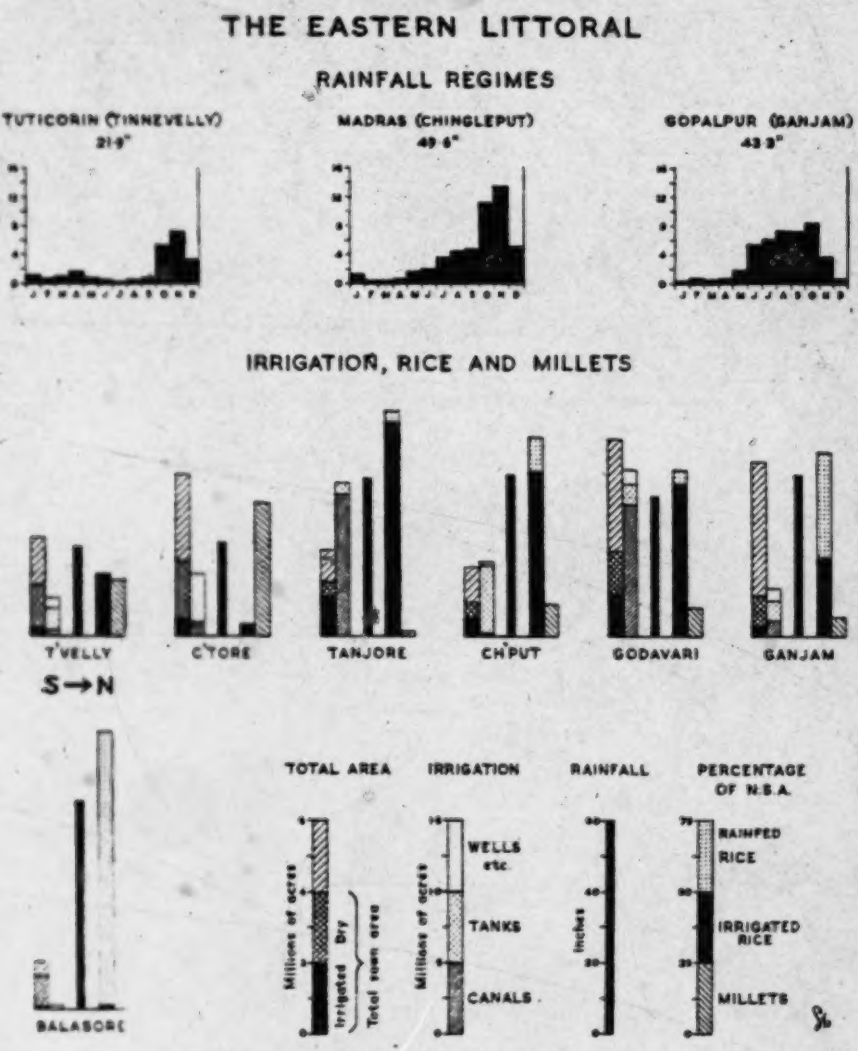

Fig. 139.—The Eastern Littoral: Rain, Rice, and Millets.

AWI India
Orissa AW13
Telugu AW 17

and Tamilnad, the latter area having the highest development of Dravidian culture. The great quadrant of Tamil country, between the Mysore Plateau, the Sn blocks, and the sea, is indeed very complex; and on the whole it seems best to separate its treatment from that of the rest of the En Littoral, especially as the activities of the Madras Geographical Society enable it to be handled in rather more detail.

With all this in mind the N can be divided as follows:

1. Deltaic Orissa.
2. Northern Circars: (a) Vizagapatam/Ganjam Coastal Plain.
   (b) Godavari/Kistna Deltas.
   (c) Nellore Coastal Plain (transitional to Tamilnad).

Deltaic Orissa

Three rivers, Baitarni, Brahmani, and Mahanadi, combine to form a great alluvial salient, 125 miles across the base (Chilka Lake-Balasore) and generally over 50 miles wide. The Mahanadi indeed is one of the most active depositing streams in the sub-continent, and its discharge is extraordinarily irregular—the maximum near its mouth is as large as that of the Ganges, nearly 2,000,000 cusecs, while it has dwindled to 1125. Flood is the greatest hazard of agriculture in Orissa, but the silt is some recompense.

There is the so frequent three-fold division: swampy jungle on the prograding seaface; a zone some 40 miles wide of firm older alluvium; the lateritic shelves on the irregular upland margin. Towards the W there are many outliers of the gneissic hills, which in the Nilgiris of Balasore, and again N of Chilka, reach nearly to the sea. Chilka itself varies in size from 350 to 450 sq mls, and is salty and fresh alternately. Only a few feet deep, it is cut off from the sea by a long spit, on which, and to the S of the lake, is a raised beach 20–30 ft above present flood-level. It is an important fishing ground and a source of thatching reeds.

Rainfall is 60 ins., and the fairly extensive canal-irrigation has never paid its way, being of value essentially as a guarantee against the occasional years of drought. The main headworks are at the head of the Mahanadi delta proper, above Cuttack; the canals were originally designed for navigation as well as irrigation, in order to break down the notorious isolation of the province, which until 1912 was a part of Bengal and thence till 1936 united with Bihar—surely one of the most unnatural administrative groupings ever devised. But the railway destroyed the *raison d'être* of the coastal canal, and the High Level Canal which skirts the landward margin of the plain is of most use as providing some outlet for upland flood water; as Reclus pointed out, control at the debouchment of the valleys is the real essential here.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Orissa AW13
Telugu AW17

Mercara in tiny Coorg, and it is in any case being superseded as the seat of government by a new town at Bhuvaneshwar, 20 miles S of Cuttack.

There may, however, be a brighter future for Orissa. The merger of the hill states increased the area by 85% (to 59,869 sq mls) and the population by 58% (to 14,645,946); these are the largest gains by merger in all *India*. The ending of the fantastic fragmentation of the State may facilitate co-ordinated development of the Mahanadi power projects and flood control (above, 678); it also gives some hope for the development of the forest resources of the excessively backward hills: timber (floated down the Mahanadi), lac, tussore silk.

The Northern Circars

This region, which corresponds to littoral Andhra Desa, is a transition zone in every respect. In the N we have the normal monsoon rainfall distribution; but the October–December proportion increases steadily in importance Swds, together with a decrease in total amount and in rainy days. Already in Kistna Dt a third of the rain comes in the last quarter of the year, but these rains are more uncertain than those of the more usual monsoon months. In Ganjam Oriya is still dominant, but where the coastal plain narrows beneath the abrupt peak of Mahendragiri (4923 ft) the Aryan tongue gives way to Dravidian Telugu, which holds sway as far as the Nagari Hills (Fig. 127). To the S Nellore represents a further stage in the transition.

Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari E and W, Kistna and Guntur Dts form the Northern Circars, brought under Muslim rule by the Golconda kings about 1575, ceded to the French in 1753; 12 years later the EIC obtained a grant of the whole from the Mogul Emperor, though of course his nominal subordinate the Nizam had exercised wh. government existed, apart from that of warring petty rajahs; this was the Company's first considerable territorial acquisition outside Bengal. Despite the Telugu culture and the modern historical identity, the region seems to lack unity. The proliferation of small ports and trading stations in the early European phase was perhaps a reflection of this; the Dutch factories at Bimlipatam and Coconada were not ceded to the EIC until 1825, and they had forced the early English settlement at Pulicat to move in 1625 to Armagaon, the parent of Madras. In Masulipatam the factory at French-pettah was not handed over to *India* until 1947, while English-palam and Volanda (Holland)-palam mark the settlements of those nations in the same town. Nizampatam was the first English station on the E coast (1611), and Yanaon (area 5 sq mls, poptn 5711) in the Godavari Delta survives as the last relic of the 18th century French holdings.

The total area is about 25,000 sq mls with a 1941 population of *c.*

12 m.; densities increase from Ganjam (420) to E Godavari (714) and then decrease to Guntur (393); beyond the regional limits Nellore, with more Archaean terrain than the central parts of the Circars, and less (and less reliable and well distributed) rain than the Nn, had only 204. On the whole it seems best to treat Ganjam/Vizagapatam and the deltas separately.

(a) *The North: Ganjam and Vizagapatam* (*Vizakhapatnam*)

Essentially this is the area with over 40 ins.: the three Sn taluks of Vizagapatam fall a little short of this. The lowland narrows to 12 miles under Mahendragiri, but on either side of this gate are the embayments of the Rushikulya (Ganjam) and the Languliya and Vansadhara (Vizag) valleys. The plains are floored by red lateritic soils near the hills, shading off into black loams and clays; but they are cut up by numerous irregular outliers of the En Hills: thus Vizagapatam itself lies between the 1600-ft Kailana Ridge to the N and the 1100-ft Yaroda to the S; the latter runs out to sea in the bold cliffs (300 ft) of Dolphin's Nose which shelters the port, while in the Nn suburbs of the town are the peculiar Waltair Highlands, *c.* 150 ft high and formed largely by the accumulation, since the Pleistocene, of red loams partly fluviatile and partly perhaps aeolian.[3]

Of a TSA of some 4 m. ac., rice accounts for about 1·65 m. ac., ragi 390,000, oilseeds (chiefly groundnut) 500,000, the balance being widely distributed amongst millets and pulses mainly. Irrigation is on the whole unimportant, much of it being dependent on temporary mud-and-brushwood dams across the short rivers.

Mineral resources are few—graphite, manganese, kaolin, mica—and hardly developed; a potential resource of some interest in this atomic age, though limited in amount in comparison with other *Indian* occurrences, is the ilmenite and monazite in the dunes and beaches around Vizagapatam.[4] Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

Again there is only one real town, 'Vizag' itself (**108,042**), which has developed considerably since the opening of the railway up the Languliya valley to Raipur and the subsequent dredging of a deep-water harbour in the tidal marshes. The accommodation at quayside is limited, but it is more up-to-date than at most E coast ports. The selection of Vizag as the main shipbuilding centre of *India* is presumably because of its situation as the nearest *ocean* port to Jamshedpur, but it is still a long way round. Ships up to 8000 tons have been launched. The hinterland extends to Nagpur and the chief trade is in Madhya Pradesh (CP) manganese, and oilseeds and their products. The small ports of Bimlipatam and Gopalpur are quite

[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Sathapathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *IGJ* XXIV (1949), 26–51.
[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

dead, especially since the cessation of coolie emigration to Burma and Malaya.

(b) *The Deltas*

These, like N Kanara on the W coast, form an 'overlap' region, the breaching of the En Hills by the Godavari and the Kistna leaving the limits in the hinterland indeterminate where the hills virtually disappear for about 100 miles. There is of course a marked break of grade where the rivers cross the line of the hills—the Kistna, as we have seen, is actually superimposed across the Nn end of the Cuddapah Ranges, and here the gradient is 3½ ft or more to the mile, against 7–9 ins. near the sea. Their discharge is of course irregular; it has been estimated that in high flood the Kistna carries enough silt "to cover daily an area of 5 sq mls to a depth of one foot".[1]

[1] *Madras Gaz.* (1908), I. 167.

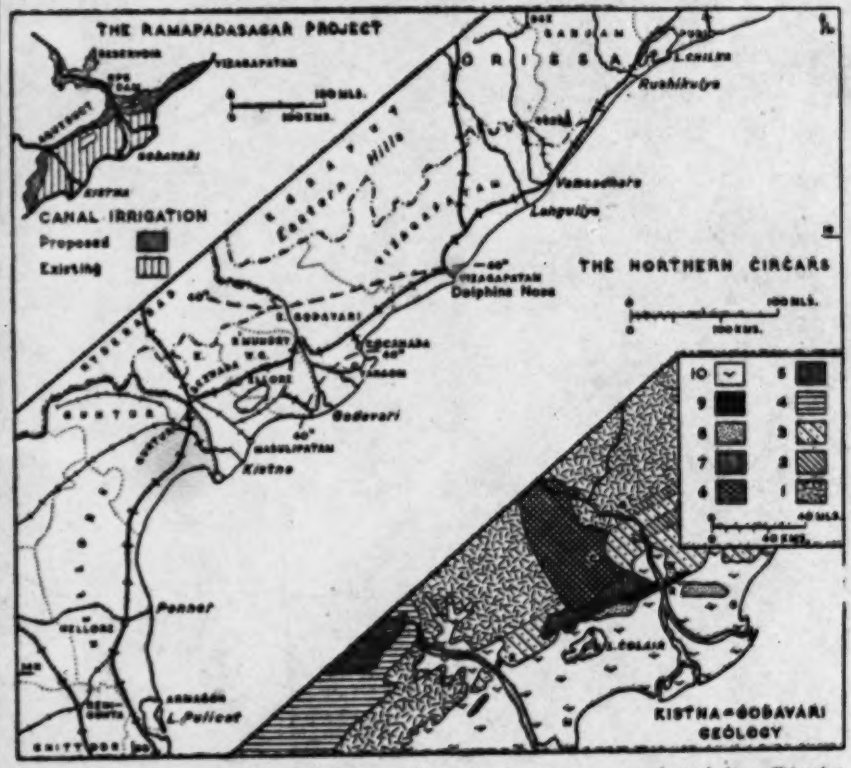

Fig. 140.—ANDHRA DESA: THE NN CIRCARS. On main map, dotted line District boundaries—K, Kistna, WG, W Godavari Dts; all railways ST, BG (thick line) or metre. *Geology*: 1, Archaean gneisses; 2, Charnockites; 3, Khondalites; 4, Cuddapah; 5, Vindhyan; 6, Lower, 7, Upper, Gondwana; 8, Tertiary; 9, Deccan Lava outlier; 10, alluvium. G, graphite; K, kaolin; C, coal (doubtful value); other initials towns, as on main map.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu
AW17

133 311 The worn-down margin of the Archaean hinterland is poor country: undulating plains broken by little hills, with much waste and stony ground; soils are mainly lateritic with some loams. The coast for several miles inland is largely fringed with mangrove swamp (valuable as a fuel reserve) or sand-dunes rising to 30 or 50 ft. Between the relatively negative upland and the completely negative coast lie the rather limited areas of true delta. At Bezwada (Vijayarada), 45 miles inland, the Kistna crosses a low gneissic ridge in a 1300-yd-wide gap; this is utilised for the headworks of canals irri- [312] gating about 900,000 ac. The Godavari Delta begins 40 miles inland at [731] Dowleshwaram, where a dam 2¼ miles long feeds canals for another 1 m. ac. (TSA; NSA 800,000). The deltas are of course liable to flood, at times disastrous; and cyclones are also a danger, that of 1864 causing 30,000 deaths and ruining the prosperity of Masulipatam port for ever. In the Kistna delta the land slopes away from the main distributaries at about 18 ins. to the mile, and in that of the Godavari below Dowleshwaram "the country is a vast expanse of ricefields dotted with gardens and villages. During the rains the greater part of this tract becomes one sheet of water, only village sites, canal banks, roads, and field boundaries appearing above it. Later in the year, as the rice grows higher, the dividing boundaries are hidden; and the whole country looks like a single ricefield, the groves around the villages, the road avenues, and the white sails of the boats gliding along the main canals breaking the uniform sea of waving green crop." * There is still a certain amount of local traffic, chiefly paddy, on the canals.

Between the deltas Colair Lake occupies a depression not yet silted up, though constantly diminishing by natural and artificial encroachment; covering about 100 sq mls in the rains, it has at times dried out. Its numerous islands are intensively cultivated, and there is a good deal of fishing.

132 241 312 Rainfall exceeds 35 ins. only in the seaward half of the Godavari Delta, and the tendency to October maxima is unfavourable to the groundnut and early paddy harvests, while cotton sowings must be late. Irrigation, if not essential, is at least highly useful; its importance is reflected in the high densities (up to 1100 plus) of some delta taluks. The following figures (in thousand acres approximately) give a summary view of the agriculture:

241 311

	Total area	*NSA*	*TSA*	*Rice*	*Total foodgrains*	*Ground-nuts*	*Total oilseeds*
E Godavari.	3981	1072	1380	692	1070	4	142
W Godavari	1511	800	1111	697	823	42	115
Kistna .	2270	1119	1225	572	877	185	195
Guntur .	3684	2092	2384	400	1405	365	395

* *Ibid.*, 268–69.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Telugu
AWI7

369 chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the
504 cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days
167 of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

● 133 The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tiru-
312 patti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

133 Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses
311 and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between
[339] low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

312 The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

135 Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral
471 wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

631 The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which neverthe-
197 less is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

CHITTOOR DISTRICT.

THETTUPALLI.

[*By E. Krishnamurthi, Christian College, Madras.*]

361 133 *Preliminary.*—Thettupalli, belonging to the Punganur Zamindari in the Chittoor district, is situated in a valley, surrounded by some rocky, and some gently sloping hills on three sides within a radius of 1½ miles, and on the north by hills more distant. The hills are not cultivated. Some have grass, some scrub jungle, some thick forest, about ten miles away there is dense jungle with tigers. It is on the same level as the Mysore plateau, about 2,000 feet above sea-level.

162 The total population of the caste village is 149—men 43, women 43, children 63 (36 males, 27 females).

[94] Castes 11.—Brahman, Komati (Vaisya), Kapu (cultivators), Balija (cultivators), Dhoby, Karamala (Blacksmith), Boya (cultivating low caste), Yekili (low caste Muhammadan), Kummara (Potter), Muhammadan, Dommara. The Dommaras are travelling pedlars who also cultivate and manufacture country carts.

Caste.		Brahman.	Komati.	Kapu.	Balija.	Dhoby.	Karamala.	Boyas.	Yekili.	Kummara.	Muhammadans.	Dommara.
Number of families		2	2	4	4	2	1	8	1	1	2	2
Individuals ...	Males.	1	2	6	4	4	1	13	1	2	3	4
	Females	2	1	4	7	4	3	11	2	2	2	4
	Children under 12.	3	5	8	6	9*	1	12	4	3	7	4
	Total ...	6	8	18	17	17	5	36	7	7	12	12
Children living under 12 ...		3	5	8	6	9	1	12	4	3	7	4
Dead		...	...	2	6*	4	...	8	2	...	4	3

* All the six belong to one family. Seven were born, of whom 6 died and the remaining one is a baby 3 months old.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

MYSORE.

GOWNIPALLE.

[*By E. Krishnamurti, Christian College, Madras.*]

361 *Preliminary.*—Gownipalle, Srinivaspur taluk, Kolar district, Mysore, is situated in a low marshy district.

● 133 It has no forests or even jungle—only thick under-growth. No big rivers—only a stream about a furlong from the outskirts of the village. No hills near by. But about nine miles off there is a very big hill clothed with forest and abounding in good game.

162 *Population.*—Total population of caste village 417—men 119, women 133, boys 77, girls 88; homesteads 116.

[564] *Castes.*—Brahman, Komati (traders), Dhobis, Kammala (blacksmith), Bōya and Yekili (agricultural labourers), Kummara (potters), Muhammadan, Barber, Besta (labourers), Edigi-Gandla (oil-mongers), Sāthāni (non-Brahman temple servants).

Number of families and individuals in each caste—

Caste.	Brahmans.	Komati.	Dhobi.	Bōya.	Yekili.	Kummara.	Barbers.	Besta.	Kammara.	Edigi-Gandla.	Sāthāni.	Muhammadans.
Number of families.	11	...	...	14	1	1	...	6	1	1	2	30
Males ..	16	6	6	10	...	1	...	6	1	1	2	44
Females ...	24	10	6	13	1	2	7	6	1	3	1	45
Children. {Boys ...	13	6	2	9	..	3	3	8	1	3	1	23
Children. {Girls ...	15	7	4	8	...	1	4	7	2	2	3	25
Total ...	68	29	18	40	1	7	22	27	5	9	6	137

Paracheri—Population.—Total 126—men 41, women 40, boys 20, girls 25. Number of families 31.

Statistics of births and deaths—

Year.	Population.				Total.	Births.	Deaths.				Total.
	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.			Adult males.	Adult females.	Children. Males.	Children. Females.	
1912	212	210	125	122	669	22	2	5	4	...	11
1913	192	201	111	120	624	24	25	7	6	6	50
1914	180	193	107	106	586	14	10	6	3	3	22
1915	160	174	97	113	544	26	2	2	4	1	9

[For general information on the distribution of soil types in India see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 80-92.]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER ONE

The Setting

1. THE SETTING

105 131 SHAMIRPET is a village situated at a distance of about twenty-five miles from the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad in the Deccan plateau of India. Culturally it lies in the region known as Telangana, which is itself a part of the wider culture-area of Andhra-desa. Telangana is a country of fertile fields and barren rocks; a land of temples, tanks and lakes. It is estimated that there are over twenty thousand lakes and tanks in this region, which covers an area of more than 42,000 square miles. Shamirpet is located by the side of one of these tanks and lies on the road that links the capital city of Hyderabad with Karimnagar, the headquarters of the northern district of that name.

133 134 137 132 The picturesque landscape of the village is truly characteristic of the Deccan plateau. The soil is in part black and in part red, and is suitable for the cultivation of rice, millet, castor and other oil-seeds, pulses and tobacco. An endless series of barren rocks formed of gneisses and granites dominates the land. Tall palmyra trees stand magnificently and imperiously against the often-clear sky, evergreen shrubs circle the rock formations and tamarind trees grow here and there near human habitation. In the countryside surrounding Shamirpet the average annual rainfall is about twenty-five inches. From Indian standards, the climate is moderate and knows no extremes either in winter or in summer. The days during the summer season are rather hot, the temperature often touching 112° F., but the evenings and nights are always cool and pleasant. In some winter nights the temperature drops to 137 45° F. There is little forest in the country immediately surrounding

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

They mostly hunt small game, and are adept in the use of traps, snares and dogs. At the time of these investigations there were six guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shooting. Similarly, fishing is done by very few people, mostly by some young Muslim men. They do not use fishing nets and traps, and practically the only method employed by them for catching the fish is that of using the rod, hook and bait. The large tank in the vicinity of the village could afford a good supply of fish, but the absence of the fishing caste in the village population leaves this possibility almost unexplored. Fishermen from the neighbouring villages, however, periodically come to the tank.

The surroundings of Shamirpet offer very few opportunities for the collection of wild food. Around the village there are not many fruit-bearing trees. Mango and *jamun* (rose apple, *Eugenia jambolana*) fruits are mostly eaten while they are still unripe by the village boys. Parties of children and young people periodically go to pick wild berries when they are in season. These are mostly eaten on the spot. When wild figs are ripe children collect and eat them. Another item of food eagerly sought by everyone is the *chikur*—tender tamarind leaves, These leaves are curried, as well as pickled and preserved. Honey is collected by some men of lower castes and inferior social status, whenever they can spot a comb. Medicinal herbs, roots, tubers and barks are collected according to need.

Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic organization of the community, the traditional occupations and functions of the different castes have already been described. With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

or in kind. In the course of a long ceremony, two or three times they may get money, twice or thrice some grain or a few brass or bell-metal utensils, and ultimately a set of new clothes. Like the other castes, the barber and the washerman also work independently outside the system of these traditional arrangements.

564 296 305

OTHER CASTES

Before describing the system of family affiliation between the Madiga untouchables and the agriculturists, brief mention should be made of the other castes in the village.

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There is only one family of Katike (Hindu butchers) in the village. In point of social status this family ranks equal to the Kapu group. The head of the family slaughters goats and sheep and sells meat to the villagers. The Muslims slaughter their goats and sheep separately or buy their requirement of beef from the market in the city. Shamirpet is largely a Hindu village, and partly out of regard for the sentiments of the majority community, and partly to avoid trouble, the Muslims do not slaughter cows in the village.

[262]

The solitary family of the Darzi (tailor) with an old sewing machine is obviously a new addition to the population of the village. Even by modest city standards the abilities of this tailor in his craft must be regarded as rather crude. Yet he has a fairly good business in the village. Except for the well-to-do people, and a few others who maintain regular contact with the city, all others either buy cheap ready-made clothes, or they get their tailoring done by this man in the village, who also attracts considerable custom from nearby villages.

294 564

The families of Vaddars (stone-workers) always have sufficient work, either in Shamirpet itself or in some of the neighbouring villages. Those who can afford a house of a superior type have it built of stone. Use of bricks is very rare in this part of the country and thus practically all substantial houses in the village are of stone. The rocky surroundings of the village provide an ample supply, and the Vaddars, adept in the traditional technique of breaking and shaping stone, turn it into a useful building material. Because of their crude technique the work of the Vaddars is very hard indeed and entails considerable physical exertion. Payment for this work is generally on the basis of piece wages. In the busy agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also on [illegible] wages,

324 564 [342] [135] [415]

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India Telugu AW17

kharif, especially on heavier soils which, with the intense May heat and late start of considerable rains, may not be workable till August. While groundnut is the kharif cash crop, cotton is entirely rabi. Jowar is grown for fodder as well as grain; ragi and other millets as well as rice are often wet crops; and millets are sown mixed with pulses, which take longer to mature and are a safeguard against the failure of the cereals. Most of these features point to the general precariousness of the agriculture in the region, which as a whole is a food-deficit area.

Differences of expert opinion in the two states long impeded work on the great dam, 1½ miles long and 160 ft high, being built across the Tunga-

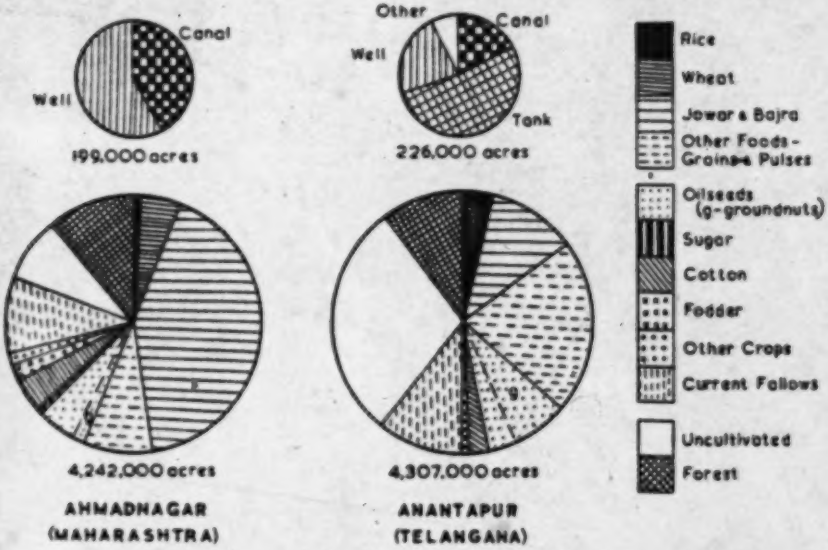

Fig. 136.—The Lava/Archaean Contrast. Upper circles represent areas irrigated.

bhadra: this will irrigate 600,000 ac. in Hyderabad and 300,000 in Madras, as well as generating about 150,000 kW. But the execution of the 7 major and some of the 32 minor projects in Hyderabad, which together might command 3·5 m. ac. and produce 500,000 kW, probably lies in an indefinite future. Terrain and climate impose severe limitations on Telangana, and the unlucky history of the Kurnool project (below, 680) suggests that a cautious policy may be essential for real progress.

Other Resources; Settlement and Towns

The mineral resources of Telangana are scattered and little exploited. The most important production is probably that of Gondwana coal, mined chiefly at Singareni; in NE Hyderabad are some outliers of the great iron

135 316 zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda), copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E, and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history—and legend—rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

161 361 Population densities are not high—**170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in Hyderabad. Villages are essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.[22]

369 471 Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest, and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an important railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial development is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

[464]

369 Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins; old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness—a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

[197]

361

Telangana: Aspect and Prospect

[161] 631 Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own internal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

[22] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

135 The mineral wealth of the region is probably considerable in the aggregate, but scattered and not very accessible. It includes unworked copper and antimony; in asbestos and barytes the region produces practically all India's output, but the amounts are only *c.* 1200 cwt. and 1800 tons p.a. respectively. Cuddapah, with a little industry, is the only town of any significance; or was until the selection in 1953 of Kurnool on the Tungabhadra for the capital of the new Andhra State, to consist of the Ceded Districts and the Northern Circars. This selection, against the claims of say Bezwada (below, 691) makes sense only if it is intended eventually to bring in the Telugu portions of Hyderabad. Kurnool has only about 13,000 people; it is perhaps significant that strong opposition came from the left-wing parties. The motivation was perhaps a desire to give the Ceded Districts some token that they would not be neglected.

369

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6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
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161 12 m.; densities increase from Ganjam (420) to E Godavari (714) and then decrease to Guntur (393); beyond the regional limits Nellore, with more Archaean terrain than the central parts of the Circars, and less (and less reliable and well distributed) rain than the Nn, had only 204. On the whole it seems best to treat Ganjam/Vizagapatam and the deltas separately.

(a) *The North: Ganjam and Vizagapatam (Vizakhapatnam)*

[132] 133 Essentially this is the area with over 40 ins.: the three Sn taluks of Vizagapatam fall a little short of this. The lowland narrows to 12 miles under Mahendragiri, but on either side of this gate are the embayments of the Rushikulya (Ganjam) and the Languliya and Vansadhara (Vizag) valleys. The plains are floored by red lateritic soils near the hills, shading off into black loams and clays; but they are cut up by numerous irregular outliers of the En Hills: thus Vizagapatam itself lies between the 1600-ft Kailana Ridge to the N and the 1100-ft Yaroda to the S; the latter runs out to sea in the bold cliffs (300 ft) of Dolphin's Nose which shelters the port, while in the Nn suburbs of the town are the peculiar Waltair Highlands, *c.* 150 ft high and formed largely by the accumulation, since the Pleistocene, of red loams partly fluviatile and partly perhaps aeolian.[3]

311 312 241 Of a TSA of some 4 m. ac., rice accounts for about 1·65 m. ac., ragi 390,000, oilseeds (chiefly groundnut) 500,000, the balance being widely distributed amongst millets and pulses mainly. Irrigation is on the whole unimportant, much of it being dependent on temporary mud-and-brush-wood dams across the short rivers.

135 Mineral resources are few—graphite, manganese, kaolin, mica—and hardly developed; a potential resource of some interest in this atomic age, though limited in amount in comparison with other *Indian* occurrences, is the ilmenite and monazite in the dunes and beaches around Vizagapatam.[4]

471 Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

369 [504] 316 Again there is only one real town, 'Vizag' itself (108,042), which has developed considerably since the opening of the railway up the Languliya valley to Raipur and the subsequent dredging of a deep-water harbour in the tidal marshes. The accommodation at quayside is limited, but it is more up-to-date than at most E coast ports. The selection of Vizag as the main shipbuilding centre of *India* is presumably because of its situation as the nearest *ocean* port to Jamshedpur, but it is still a long way round. Ships up [439] to 8000 tons have been launched. The hinterland extends to Nagpur and the chief trade is in Madhya Pradesh (CP) manganese, and oilseeds and 504 their products. The small ports of Bimlipatam and Gopalpur are quite

[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Sathapathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *IGJ* XXIV (1949), 26–31.

[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

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For the purely delta taluks, of course, the rice proportion would be higher. Tobacco covers some 200,000 ac. in all, the best being grown on temporary sand-islands in the larger streams. Some sugar is grown, but this tall and long-standing crop must be protected from cyclones by expensive fencing with bamboos.

Again mineral potentialities are slight and development slighter. There are two tiny unworked coalfields, of dubious value, in the Gondwanas along the Godavari; graphite and kaolin are worked in a small way, mainly for Rajahmundry paper mills (which use paddy straw as well as bamboo from the hills) and for the small crucible industry at the same town. Salt evaporation at Cocanada might lead to a chemical industry. Industry itself, though very small-scale, is interesting; as well as the Rajahmundry works just mentioned, and the rice and tobacco trades to be expected, there are cement, silk, fruit canning, and vegetable ghee works. Most of these are congregated along the Kistna below Bezwada and between Rajahmundry and Cocanada. Varied as it is, the total is not impressive: the crucible industry has 150 skilled workers, the paper mill a capacity of 3000 tons p.a.; the 77 rice mills in E Godavari employ only 1800 workers, the three silk factories 122; and the total industrial population of this District is only 7200—0·39% of total population, and at that not much below the figure for Madras State (0·42%). Such as it is, this industrial development has yet led to an ominous, if incipient, competition for land in a few tracts between tobacco and paddy; fortunately the region, except for Guntur, has a sizeable rice surplus (about 400,000 tons less 110,000 tons deficit in Guntur); and counting all foodgrains Guntur also has a surplus.[1]

The industrial, and to some extent the agricultural, future of the region will depend on whether or not the great Ramapadasagar multi-purpose scheme is executed; at present financial difficulties stand in the way. The proposed dam, 428 ft high with foundations 190 ft below the river bed, and 1½ miles long, would impound 15·6 m. ac.-ft of water, irrigate for paddy some 2·35 m. ac. of un- or under-developed land, improve the supply to 2 m. ac. already irrigated, and develop at least 100,000 kW; it might also, and less beneficially, trap the silt.

There are a fair number of minor towns. The site-significances of Bezwada (**161,198**) and Rajahmundry (**105,276**) are plain; Guntur (**125,255**) and Ellore (64,911) are trading centres with a little industry. The ports of Cocanada (75,140) and Masulipatam (59,146) are of little use. At Masulipatam large ships must lie 5 miles offshore (weather permitting!) and the half-dozen wharves are three miles up a winding creek; yet in early European days it was a place of great importance, famous for carpets and

[1] This discussion is based on (i) Dr. V. L. S. P. Rao's interesting summary of his doctoral dissertation, "Industrial Problems, Development, and Planning [in] . . . the Lower Godavari Region" (*IGJ* XXIII (1948), 1–15); (ii) V. V. Ramanadham and V. L. S. P. Rao, *Economic Atlas of Andhra Desa* (Calcutta, 1949).

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India Telugu AWI7

369 chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the
504 cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days
167 of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

133 The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tiru-
312 patti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

133 Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses
311 and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between
[339] low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

312 The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

●135 Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral
471 wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

631 The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which neverthe-
197 less is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

137 Shamirpet and the neighbouring cluster of villages. However, villagers are able to collect some fuel as well as small quantities of edible and marketable minor forest produce from the local
●136 scrub jungle. In this type of landscape little game is to be expected. Tigers from the forests fifteen or twenty miles away are occasionally seen, but panthers, in search of stray goats, calves and dogs, are more frequent visitors to the village. Wild pigs are plentiful and always do very considerable damage to the crops. Spotted deer make an occasional appearance in the surrounding areas, while hares which abound in the shrubs are very often shot or hunted with dogs trained for this purpose. Wild ducks come seasonally to the large tank near the village, and green pigeons and partridges are among the other feathered game found in the vicinity of Shamirpet.

131 It has been pointed out that Shamirpet is only some twenty-five miles from Hyderabad and Secundrabad, which rank fourth among the cities of India in respect of population and size. It is only fifteen miles from the Bolarum cantonment and twelve miles
[494] from the military aerodrome of Hakimpet. A regular bus service plying between Hyderabad and Karimnagar touches Shamirpet, and there are about twelve buses running in both directions on this road every day. From this it should not be assumed, however, that Shamirpet is just a suburban extension of Hyderabad. Although it is in regular and constant touch with the capital, it is an independent village with an organization of its own.

621 No village in India can be singled out as being typical of the
631 country as a whole, but Shamirpet possesses most of the characteristics which are common to the rural communities in middle and peninsular India. As an independent socio-economic and ritual unit it enjoys partial self-sufficiency in several aspects of community life. In the wider organization of the rural community it possesses partial autonomy. Its component units are mostly the occupational castes which are integrated into the structure of the village. Finally, it has a semi-judicial village council composed of caste elders and other influential persons. This council administers justice in socio-religious cases involving breaches of the traditional norms of society. The village as a unit of social organization performs several significant functions which form an important agency of social control.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER ONE

The Setting

1. THE SETTING

105 131 SHAMIRPET is a village situated at a distance of about twenty-five miles from the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad in the Deccan plateau of India. Culturally it lies in the region known as Telangana, which is itself a part of the wider culture-area of Andhra-desa. Telangana is a country of fertile fields and barren rocks; a land of temples, tanks and lakes. It is estimated that there are over twenty thousand lakes and tanks in this region, which covers an area of more than 42,000 square miles. Shamirpet is located by the side of one of these tanks and lies on the road that links the capital city of Hyderabad with Karimnagar, the headquarters of the northern district of that name.

133 134 137 132 The picturesque landscape of the village is truly characteristic of the Deccan plateau. The soil is in part black and in part red, and is suitable for the cultivation of rice, millet, castor and other oil-seeds, pulses and tobacco. An endless series of barren rocks formed of gneisses and granites dominates the land. Tall palmyra trees stand magnificently and imperiously against the often-clear sky, evergreen shrubs circle the rock formations and tamarind trees grow here and there near human habitation. In the countryside surrounding Shamirpet the average annual rainfall is about twenty-five inches. From Indian standards, the climate is moderate and knows no extremes either in winter or in summer. The days during the summer season are rather hot, the temperature often touching 112° F., but the evenings and nights are always cool and pleasant. In some winter nights the temperature drops to 137 45° F. There is little forest in the country immediately surrounding

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

137 Shamirpet and the neighbouring cluster of villages. However, villagers are able to collect some fuel as well as small quantities of edible and marketable minor forest produce from the local
136 scrub jungle. In this type of landscape little game is to be expected. Tigers from the forests fifteen or twenty miles away are occasionally seen, but panthers, in search of stray goats, calves and dogs, are more frequent visitors to the village. Wild pigs are plentiful and always do very considerable damage to the crops. Spotted deer make an occasional appearance in the surrounding areas, while hares which abound in the shrubs are very often shot or hunted with dogs trained for this purpose. Wild ducks come seasonally to the large tank near the village, and green pigeons and partridges are among the other feathered game found in the vicinity of Shamirpet.

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They mostly hunt small game, and are adept in the use of traps, snares and dogs. At the time of these investigations there were six guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shooting. Similarly, fishing is done by very few people, mostly by some young Muslim men. They do not use fishing nets and traps, and practically the only method employed by them for catching the fish is that of using the rod, hook and bait. The large tank in the vicinity of the village could afford a good supply of fish, but the absence of the fishing caste in the village population leaves this possibility almost unexplored. Fishermen from the neighbouring villages, however, periodically come to the tank.

The surroundings of Shamirpet offer very few opportunities for the collection of wild food. Around the village there are not many fruit-bearing trees. Mango and *jamun* (rose apple, *Eugenia jambolana*) fruits are mostly eaten while they are still unripe by the village boys. Parties of children and young people periodically go to pick wild berries when they are in season. These are mostly eaten on the spot. When wild figs are ripe children collect and eat them. Another item of food eagerly sought by everyone is the *chikur*—tender tamarind leaves. These leaves are curried, as well as pickled and preserved. Honey is collected by some men of lower castes and inferior social status, whenever they can spot a comb. Medicinal herbs, roots, tubers and barks are collected according to need.

Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic organization of the community, the traditional occupations and functions of the different castes have already been described. With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
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and Tungabhadra valleys lie at 1000–1500 ft, and to the NW the watershed between the Bhima and the Godavari is a great swelling upland reaching 2400 ft in places. But the general aspect nearly everywhere is that of practically senile peneplains, intersected by broad, open, almost completely graded valleys, and littered with monadnocks which range from considerable hill-groups to innumerable fantastic tors which look like dumps of gigantic road-metal. Around Hyderabad City these form "a chaos of granitic boulders . . . piled up in bizarre heaps, as if giants had amused themselves with childish games"; in places these rocky belts form a wilderness wide enough to act as a marchland.[34] With the poor sandy red soils of the gneisses and granites, a variable rainfall of 25–35 ins., and May mean temperatures in the 90s, life is hard except in favoured basins, where soil-wash and tank irrigation give some prosperity. Bare hills, reddish-khaki plains with scattered thorny scrub, rivers merely ribbons of sand for half the year or more, tanks bunded into the little valleys, all combine to produce a landscape with a desolate and brooding charm. The contrast between Hyderabad Marathwara and Telangana is extremely striking, and is brought out by Figs. 130 and 131.

The Ceded Districts are if anything worse.[35] In Marathwara there is hardly any surface water in the hot weather, except in the bigger streams; in Sn Telangana even this exception hardly holds. The railway bridges are stoutly built to withstand the immense volume of monsoon water in rivers which are then half a mile or more wide; in the hot weather they traverse great flats with a yard or so of water in the middle, and the herds of cattle or goats crossing the bed are recognisable from afar by their great clouds of dust.

Except for the jungles of the N, the region presents a decided savannah aspect, poor savannah with widely spaced acacias. Most of the tors are absolutely naked, and their skirts (with much of the more or less level ground) carry only a thorny scrub, in which euphorbias are prominent, while in damper depressions there are scattered palms, toddy or the wild Indian date. The scrub is secondary, on ground long subject to the depredations of sheep and especially goats, or once cultivated.

Agriculture

Rainfall, by and large, is much the same in Telangana as in Maharashtra; if anything more favourable, since the region lies farther from the lee of the Ghats and more open to Bay of Bengal influences. But differences in terrain and soil are decisive. The area here considered is about 75,000 sq mls, of which the TSA is only about 43% (approximately 20,250,000 ac.).[36] Forest

[34] E. Reclus, *L'Inde* (1883), 506; *cf. Hyderabad Gaz.* (1909), 2.
[35] For some vivid remarks, see J. C. Molony, *A Book of South India* (1926), 166.
[36] Figures even more approximate than usual, as those of Hyderabad are internally suspect.

133 dicates deposition in shallow but not sheltered waters, and the general lie of the E coast may thus be of great antiquity. The change in strike between the Orissa Hills and the Cuddapahs is very closely followed by the coast.

● 137 The hills are wooded and the pattern of relief stands out clearly on forest 132 and population maps (Figs. 18, 30); but the forest is thin, rainfall being 323 only about 40 ins. and the rocks porous or fissured. The few inhabitants are mostly Chenchus, an aboriginal tribe living a semi-pastoral existence eked out by the collection of honey, bamboos, fuel for the railways, and other minor forest produce.

311 The valleys, however, though on the whole poor enough, have a fair 312 amount of cultivation, mostly jowar (25–30% TSA), other millets, groundnut (16–20%), with some irrigated paddy. The topography in the longitudinal valleys favours the construction of large tanks by bunding a transverse [496] tributary gorge. The main (GIP) Madras–Bombay railway strikes diagonally across the S of the region, and is one of the most interesting traverses 133 in India. The hill country is first entered in the Nagaris, which are the last 361 Cuddapah outliers; here Renigunta and Tirupati are little towns control- 311 ling at once the route up the Swarnamukhi, the crossings of the river, and the col to the N between the Palkondas and Velikondas. Beyond, in the Razampeta corridor, the contrast between cultivated floor and barren hills is exceedingly sharp. The generally arid aspect is mitigated by groves of [342] mangoes around the tanks; houses are stone- or mud-walled, and round beehive huts, striped vertically in white and rusty red, attest the Telugu country. After crossing the wide bed of the Cheyyeru, the line emerges at Cuddapah from grey and arid hills into a greyer plain, a vast ash-coloured expanse largely given over to dry cultivation. The region lies on the margin of the October–December rainfall area of the Madras littoral, and the rivers rise in the dry Mysore Maidan, not in the Wn Ghats as do Kistna and Tungabhadra; hence, even in August, the great streams—Penner itself, Cheyyeru, Papagni, Chitravati—may be spreads of quartzite boulders, shingle, or sand, several hundred yards wide with a line of water a yard across, or even not a drop; while only 90 miles to the N the Ghats-fed rivers are full, great ribbons of muddy water half a mile or more wide.

312 Through the Kunderu valley runs the ill-starred Kurnool Canal, constructed in 1860–76 by a private company which apparently failed to notice the difference in the régimes of Peninsular and extra-Peninsular rivers; the complete, but inefficient, canal had eventually to be taken over by the government in 1882 after two decades of mismanagement. The topographical layout is obviously encouraging, and it is now proposed to recast the whole project, with reservoirs on the Kistna and at Someswaram in the lowest of the Penner watergaps; the project, if carried out in full, would irrigate no less than 3 m. ac., mostly, however, in the coastal plain of Nellore.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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1a. E.R.: A Reddi Woman.

1b. A Mala Woman.

1c. A Muslim.

1d. Middle-aged Man from a clean caste

[Facing p. 16]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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2a. Mother and Son

2b. A Mala Untouchable.

2c. A Madiga Untouchable

2d. Village Barber.

[Facing p. 17]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

resent this disability, but nevertheless they recognize the value of realizing their own limitations and continue to conform to the traditional norms of behaviour.

The people of Telangana and Andhra-desa belong to the great family of Dravidian-speaking people who developed a great civilization in the south and have materially contributed to the final make-up of Indian civilization as we know it to-day. Racially they represent a mixture of several elements. In physical types also the people of Shamirpet show great variation. Most of the Muslim inhabitants of Shamirpet are the descendants of local converts and do not therefore greatly differ in physical characteristics from the local Hindu inhabitants, but the few immigrants whose arrival dates from recent times present a marked contrast with their more delicate features and fairer skin colour.

In point of dress and ornament the Hindus and Muslims differ widely. Muslim men and boys wear loose trousers of thin white cloth called *pyjama*, and a vest or a shirt. Out of doors they put on the more conventional long coat buttoned up to the neck known as *sherwani*. They invariably wear a red fez cap or a black cap made of sheepskin. Muslim girls wear a tight *pyjama* and a long, loose tunic which often touches the knees. Round the shoulders and thrown round the back they wear a thin white or coloured scarf known as *dupatta* or *odhni*. On festive occasions these clothes are very colourful. Married Muslim women usually wear a blouse or bodice, and a *sari*—a wide piece of cloth, some five or six yards long, which is tied round the waist to form a skirt that nearly touches the ankles. It is tied in such a way that one end of the cloth is taken over the chest to one shoulder and then passed behind the neck to the other shoulder. Married Muslim women are obliged by the rules of their religion to observe *purdah*, i.e. veil themselves in the presence of all but their closest relations. Whenever they leave their houses they wear this veil known as *burkha*, a garment which falls from the crown of the head to the ground. The Hindu mode of dress is quite different, and varies greatly according to the financial status of the different families. Among the poorer classes, infants remain naked, but occasionally a few rags are tied round their waists; and in childhood they go about in these tattered rags. Boys wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Girls wear a skirt (*lahanga*) and a blouse. Among the poorer classes these clothes are almost always dirty, for within a few days of their

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

231 diseases. Plough-cattle are on the whole better looked after. But the neglect of the cow, traditionally regarded as 'the mother', is indeed pathetic. Absence of good breeding bulls and lack of grazing grounds further account for the poor condition of the cattle. In the absence of a good pedigree bull, scrub bulls of no particular [311] description are allowed to move freely among the cows. According to village land records there are 1,482 acres of pasture-land in the area surrounding the settlement; but this land is almost always auctioned to contractors from outside the village. As these pastures are not available for grazing to the village cattle, they roam about the shrubs and rocks around the village and eat whatever fodder is available there.

241 The shortage of draught-cattle is a serious handicap to the pros-
231 perity of average peasants in the village. The well-to-do agriculturists always have a sufficient number of cattle to meet their own agricultural requirements. But the average and poorer peasants find great difficulty in tilling their fields in time with the limited number of their own or hired cattle. Dependence on the monsoons obliges them to make certain variations in their agricultural schedule to fit in with the uncertainty of the rains. Some of their operations must precede the first rainfall; others must follow it almost immediately. For some days during the busy season this causes great pressure on available resources in men and cattle. The cultivators who depend on hired cattle or who practise co-operative lending and borrowing of cattle cannot take the best advantage of the first rains, and this enforced wait results in untimely sowing and poor crops.

234 The absence of good milch cattle affects the nutrition of the
● 146 people. In May 1951 the total daily yield of milk in the village
235 was about 14 lb. only. Earlier it has been pointed out that most people in the village keep poultry, but in general its quality is poor, and the production of eggs is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 1,400 a year.

5. OTHER ECONOMIC PURSUITS

224 Before we pass on to the other occupations brief reference should be made to some common exploitative activities of the people.

Hunting is done regularly by a very limited number of people. Only the Erkalas have adopted it as a part of their profession.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

262 morning; and a combination of any two menus given above may be adopted for the two principal meals.

POOR FAMILIES

First Meal

Millet gruel.
Chilly powder and salt.

or

Rice left-over from previous evening.
Chilly powder and salt or pickles.

Second Meal

Rice.
Boiled vegetables or lentils (with salt and chillies) or meat curry.

or

Millet bread.
Boiled vegetables or lentils (with salt and chillies) or meat curry.

or

Rice.
Chilly powder and salt.
Pickles.

Third Meal

Rice.
Meat or vegetable or lentil or fish curry.

262 In the making of curries the rich people use considerable
263 quantities of oil or other fats, and their choice of spices too is more varied. In the average households the curries are not so rich. Finally in the poorer sections they are more or less boiled vegetables and lentils with the addition of salt and chilly powder. It may be added that sweets do not form a regular part of the diet of the people in the community. They are prepared on ceremonial occasions, and may be prepared now and then in the comparatively richer homes. As fish and meat are very expensive, the average and poor families have to depend for most of the time on watery lentil curries or cheap vegetables.

125 The ethnographic record of the diet appeared to be so appalling
146 that we organized a comprehensive nutritional survey of the community in conjunction with our research project. This work was planned and carried out under the supervision of a nutritional expert from the Medical Faculty of the Osmania University. A

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

random sample of families covering all levels of living in the community was selected, and, following the universal weighing-method, every item of the diet was weighed correctly to an ounce in these families. The International Scale of Family Coefficients was used to calculate the number of consumption units in each family, and data was carefully analysed for working out the mean intake of diet per consumption unit and the intake of calories, proximate principles, minerals and vitamins. Simultaneously, a medical examination of all members of the families selected for the survey was also undertaken; in the course of which along with height and weight measurements a general clinical examination with special reference to abnormalities of hair, eyes, skin, lips, gums, tongue, and the peripheral nervous system was done. While a detailed summary of the above survey would be inappropriate in a sociological study, some of its main conclusions will not be out of place here:

(i) The picture of nutrition emerging from the survey gives room to believe that there is mild sub-nutrition in the 'rich' and 'well-to-do' families and mild malnutrition in the 'average' and 'poor' families.

(ii) There is a sub-clinical deficiency of thiamine, riboflavin and Vitamin A. Phrynoderma of the skin, cheilosis, multiple fissuring of the tongue, gingivitis, and xerosis of the conjunctivae are fairly common in the community; their incidence being greater on the lower strata. The use of un-milled, slightly home-pounded rice explains the lack of any gross Vitamin B^1 deficiency. It may partly be explained also by the consumption of fermented palm-juice in nearly all sections of the community.

(iii) The protein intake is slightly inadequate. This is more apparent in the families classed as average and poor. In the lower income brackets the intake of fats is also insufficient.

(iv) With the exception of venereal diseases and malaria which are evenly distributed in all levels of the society, the incidence of other diseases—particularly deficiency diseases—is much higher in the lower income groups.

As a rule menfolk eat first, women follow. Children are served as soon as the meals are cooked. Among men, it is expected that the elders as well as others occupying a higher position in the scale of kinship should be served first and younger members of the family should wait for their turn. But during the busy season, or

unmistakable appreciation. Cowardice and treachery are condemned, but people still indulge in malicious gossip and back-biting. Mutual suspicion characterizes the general nature of inter-personal relations. Two families on the road to prosperity are likely to be jealous of each other; but adversity almost never fails to bring them nearer and closer. Exercising little control over their emotions, people get excited very quickly; anger and friendship are both aroused in them with equal ease.

A study of inter-group relations will give us a better idea of the nature and quality of the attitudes that largely govern inter-personal relations in the community. For this we shall first examine the inter-caste attitudes embodied in stereotypes, and later analyse similar attitudes and opinions covering two sets of rival groups—educated and uneducated, and those with urban contacts and those without them.

INTER-CASTE ATTITUDES: SOME STEREOTYPES

Inter-caste attitudes find expression in several stereotypes which are a part of the thought patterns of the people, and find expression both in jest and banter as well as in quarrels and outbursts of anger. Among others, the following stereotypes and related anecdotes were noted in Shamirpet.

The Brahmin is 'pious from outside, but not so at heart'. He is 'tricky and calculating'. 'He instigates people, but always keeps himself in the background.'

The Komti is 'a born coward, but a shrewd business man'. 'When he says anything on oath, take it that he is telling a deliberate falsehood.' 'He spares no ingenuity to save even a counterfeit coin.' 'Gods do not penalize a Komti for telling lies, he is born to do that.' The anecdotes concerning the miserliness of the Komtis are indeed many and varied. 'If a fly falls in butter-milk, rich people will throw the butter-milk away, the poor will throw away the fly and drink the butter-milk. But the Komti squeezes out the butter-milk before throwing the fly away.' 'If a relation comes to the house of a Komti and the time of the evening meal approaches, he will think, "If this guest goes home, I shall be able to save one meal." The guest on the other hand thinks, "If I stay here a little while more, one meal will be saved at home." And a battle of wits goes on to save just one meal.' The stories of their

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER SEVEN

Living Together

I. INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS

The people of Shamirpet, like the other peasants of Andhra, exercise considerable reserve in their initial dealings with outsiders. The first impression that one gets regarding their attitude is one of extreme constriction, suspiciousness and guarded behaviour. When this initial reserve is broken down, they reveal themselves in a totally different light—as emotional, communicative, and at times even boisterous. Nearly all of them have great curiosity, and are easily attracted by anything that is even slightly uncommon or unusual. Opinions are freely expressed, and all public gatherings—big or small—are rather noisy. Middle-aged and elderly people generally have a grim expression, and it is considered a mark of respectability in women if they walk with their eyes downcast. But unobtrusiveness is not regarded as a virtue, and the people freely make comments and counter-comments on all subjects with which they may or may not have any concern. There is a great tradition for argument, which can easily drift into becoming a noisy quarrel or altercation. Tempers rise easily, and abuse may be showered volubly by both sides; but differences are patched up as easily, and it is not uncommon to see two people walking together as great friends although on the previous day they may have quarrelled bitterly on some trifling issue. In their inter-personal relations the people are hypercritical and very sensitive. This leads to a perpetual attitude of fault finding. As the people do not easily let go an opportunity of commenting on and criticizing their neighbours, their relations are never very smooth and certain. However, on occasions which demand a display of good-neighbourliness and generosity people

come forward very readily to help those who need it. It is common to suspect others' motives; and not unusual to be always on the alert to read hidden meanings into the seemingly innocent utterances of others. Analysis of their life-histories shows that the people are not given to introspection. They are always on the defensive; but their inter-personal relations are not characterized by detachment. In their thoughts, likes and dislikes they are quite open, and all persons having even casual contacts have a fair acquaintance with one anothers' ideas and attitudes

It is not uncommon for people to analyse and describe the personality-traits of other inhabitants of the village as well as of outsiders coming into the settlement. Positive qualities, having obvious approval, find expression in such epithets as: 'good person', 'hard-working', 'honest', 'respectable', 'well-behaved', 'intelligent', 'generous' or 'large-hearted' and 'faithful'. Epithets describing negative traits which do not meet with social approval are many and varied, and among others include: 'bad person', 'lazy', 'dishonest', 'shameless', 'mannerless', 'foolish', 'miserly', 'small-hearted', 'unfaithful', 'good-for-nothing', 'liar', 'all talk but no deeds', 'ill-tempered', etc. Analysis of such traits is firmly established in the culture-pattern, and occupies an important place in the conversation of the people when they meet in small groups. Although conformity to social norms is idealized and emphasized, when there is a breach of traditional ways the person responsible likes to confess it in confidence to someone else. Long conversations and the mutual sharing of secrets are quite frequent. However, when friendships break up the sanctity of earlier secrets is not protected by any code of honour. Within limits originality and innovation are admired; but excess and ostentation soon lead to social censure and ridicule.

Subjects coming under the critical eye of society are: (i) breaches of traditional norms, (ii) display and exhibitionism, (iii) sexuality, (iv) efforts to rise in the power hierarchy, (v) conspicuous success, and (vi) originality and 'too many new ideas'. Carrying tales and 'whispering about the doings in others' houses' go on in the community on a wide scale. It is criticized by the aggrieved persons and their sympathizers, but no one regards it as inherently bad. 'Incidents' or breaches of established norms are discussed in small conversational groups at first, and the more important ones among them gradually filter through and reach the respon-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

2. THE PEOPLE

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	B. Untouchables or Scheduled castes .	680
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The predominant language in Shamirpet is Telugu, the main language of Telangana and Andhra-desa. It is known as 'the Italian of the East' and is praised for its sonorous and lyrical qualities and possesses a vast literature, both classical and modern. However, the dialect of Telugu, which is spoken in Shamirpet, and generally in the countryside, is criticized by the more sophisticated Andhras for its harshness and rustic accent. In the census of 1951, 2,008 persons in this village were recorded as speaking Telugu, while 340 persons were recorded as speaking Urdu, which was until 1948 the official language of Hyderabad administration. These figures are, however, misleading, and make reference only to the mother-tongue. In practice most men in the village are bi-lingual; those whose mother-tongue is Telugu have at least a smattering of Urdu, and of the 340 Urdu speakers at least half possess a working knowledge of Telugu. As a generalization it may be stated that knowledge of the mother-tongue alone is confined only to women, although several women among both the Hindus and the Muslims are also bi-lingual.

Thus the two major divisions in the population of the village may be distinguished on the grounds of religion and language. Culturally also the Hindus and Muslims stand in marked contrast to each other.

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1. Cultivators.
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In the first group we can place the following castes: the Reddi, the Muttarasi, and their subdivisions. These groups are often

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW19

zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda), copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E, and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history—and legend—rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

Population densities are not high—**170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in Hyderabad. Villages are essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.[28]

Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest, and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an important railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial development is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins; old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness—a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

Telangana: Aspect and Prospect

Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own internal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

[28] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Orissa AW13
Telugu AW17

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Mercara in tiny Coorg, and it is in any case being superseded as the seat of government by a new town at Bhuvaneshwar, 20 miles S of Cuttack.

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There may, however, be a brighter future for Orissa. The merger of the hill states increased the area by 85% (to 59,869 sq mls) and the population by 58% (to 14,645,946); these are the largest gains by merger in all *India*. The ending of the fantastic fragmentation of the State may facilitate co-ordinated development of the Mahanadi power projects and flood control (above, 678); it also gives some hope for the development of the forest resources of the excessively backward hills: timber (floated down the Mahanadi), lac, tussore silk.

The Northern Circars

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This region, which corresponds to littoral Andhra Desa, is a transition zone in every respect. In the N we have the normal monsoon rainfall distribution; but the October–December proportion increases steadily in importance Swds, together with a decrease in total amount and in rainy days. Already in Kistna Dt a third of the rain comes in the last quarter of the year, but these rains are more uncertain than those of the more usual monsoon months. In Ganjam Oriya is still dominant, but where the coastal plain narrows beneath the abrupt peak of Mahendragiri (4923 ft) the Aryan tongue gives way to Dravidian Telugu, which holds sway as far as the Nagari Hills (Fig. 127). To the S Nellore represents a further stage in the transition.

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Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari E and W, Kistna and Guntur Dts form the Northern Circars, brought under Muslim rule by the Golconda kings about 1575, ceded to the French in 1753; 12 years later the EIC obtained a grant of the whole from the Mogul Emperor, though of course his nominal subordinate the Nizam had exercised wh.* government existed, apart from that of warring petty rajahs; this was the Company's first considerable territorial acquisition outside Bengal. Despite the Telugu culture and the modern historical identity, the region seems to lack unity. The proliferation of small ports and trading stations in the early European phase was perhaps a reflection of this; the Dutch factories at Bimlipatam and Coconada were not ceded to the EIC until 1825, and they had forced the early English settlement at Pulicat to move in 1625 to Armagaon, the parent of Madras. In Masulipatam the factory at French-pettah was not handed over to *India* until 1947, while English-palam and Volanda (Holland)-palam mark the settlements of those nations in the same town. Nizampatam was the first English station on the E coast (1611), and Yanaon (area 5 sq mls, poptn 5711) in the Godavari Delta survives as the last relic of the 18th century French holdings.

T
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The total area is about 25,000 sq mls with a 1941 population of *c.*

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Telugu

12 m.; densities increase from Ganjam (420) to E Godavari (714) and then decrease to Guntur (393); beyond the regional limits Nellore, with more Archaean terrain than the central parts of the Circars, and less (and less reliable and well distributed) rain than the Nn, had only 204. On the whole it seems best to treat Ganjam/Vizagapatam and the deltas separately.

(a) *The North*: *Ganjam and Vizagapatam* (*Vizakhapatnam*)

Essentially this is the area with over 40 ins.: the three Sn taluks of Vizagapatam fall a little short of this. The lowland narrows to 12 miles under Mahendragiri, but on either side of this gate are the embayments of the Rushikulya (Ganjam) and the Languliya and Vansadhara (Vizag) valleys. The plains are floored by red lateritic soils near the hills, shading off into black loams and clays; but they are cut up by numerous irregular outliers of the En Hills: thus Vizagapatam itself lies between the 1600-ft Kailana Ridge to the N and the 1100-ft Yaroda to the S; the latter runs out to sea in the bold cliffs (300 ft) of Dolphin's Nose which shelters the port, while in the Nn suburbs of the town are the peculiar Waltair Highlands, *c.* 150 ft high and formed largely by the accumulation, since the Pleistocene, of red loams partly fluviatile and partly perhaps aeolian.[3]

Of a TSA of some 4 m. ac., rice accounts for about 1·65 m. ac., ragi 390,000, oilseeds (chiefly groundnut) 500,000, the balance being widely distributed amongst millets and pulses mainly. Irrigation is on the whole unimportant, much of it being dependent on temporary mud-and-brush-wood dams across the short rivers.

Mineral resources are few—graphite, manganese, kaolin, mica—and hardly developed; a potential resource of some interest in this atomic age, though limited in amount in comparison with other *Indian* occurrences, is the ilmenite and monazite in the dunes and beaches around Vizagapatam.[4] Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

Again there is only one real town, 'Vizag' itself (**108,042**), which has developed considerably since the opening of the railway up the Languliya valley to Raipur and the subsequent dredging of a deep-water harbour in the tidal marshes. The accommodation at quayside is limited, but it is more up-to-date than at most E coast ports. The selection of Vizag as the main shipbuilding centre of *India* is presumably because of its situation as the nearest *ocean* port to Jamshedpur, but it is still a long way round. Ships up to 8000 tons have been launched. The hinterland extends to Nagpur and the chief trade is in Madhya Pradesh (CP) manganese, and oilseeds and their products. The small ports of Bimlipatam and Gopalpur are quite

[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Sathapathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *IGJ* XXIV (1949), 26–51.

[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

KISTNA DISTRICT.

VUNAGATLA.

[*By K. S. Narayana Murti, Christian College, Madras.*]

361 Vunagatla, in the Yernagudem taluk of the Kistna district, is an upland village, four miles distant from Nidadavolu, an important centre of railway and river traffic. On one side it is bounded by the high road from Nidadavolu to the Gōdāvari Agency, on the other by a great sandy tract filled with palmyra trees. The 132 climate is extreme, the unbearable heat of summer being followed by the excessive rains of the rainy season, and the extreme cold of winter. It is a purely dry village, depending entirely on the annual rains.

161 *Population.*—The population has been increasing steadily since the first census.

Census.	Population.	Census.	Population.
1871	... 1,237	1901	... 2,150
1881	... 1,567	1911	... 2,519
1891	... 2,017		

Brahmans and Vaisyas are increasing, and so are the Sudras, who are temperate and simple and hardy in habits. The rate of mortality is high among the Pariahs and washermen and other low castes.

163 The official figures of births and deaths cannot be entirely relied on. They are, for 1911—15, as follows:—

Births.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1911	33	52	85
1912	55	49	104
1913	49	49	98
1914	48	52	100
1915	41	52	93
	226	254	

165 *Deaths.*

Year.	Cholera.	Small-pox.	Fevers.	Respiratory diseases.	Other causes	Men.	Women.	Children under 14.	Total.
1911	226	...	42	...	28	71	88	137	296
1912	...	...	48	...	47	30	24	41	95
1913	...	...	62	3	2	18	20	29	67
1914	6	8	62	4	18	33	40	25	98
1915	...	112	41	17	13	53	49	81	183

M Te Ta K 197, M Te Ta K 113, M Te Ta K 162 ●

Marathi AW12
●Telugu AW17
Tamil AW16
Kanada AW10

[For distribution of languages, see map, p. 645, category 116, in 6: Spate, AWI India.]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

Introduction

I

INDIA is predominantly an agricultural and rural country. An overwhelming majority of her people live in the countryside. In undivided India it was estimated that there were over 700,000 villages within the country. Since partition this number has diminished, but the rural-urban ratio in the population still remains more or less the same. According to various estimates, 70% to 80% of India's population live in villages.

From time immemorial the village has been a basic and important unit in the organization of Indian social polity. It finds prominent mention in the classical texts of the land. For example, according to the *Rig-Veda* (generally dated in the latter half of the 2nd millennium B.C.) society developed in a series of ascending formations, starting from the family (*griha* or *kula*) and gradually extending to the village (*grama*), the clan (*vis*), the people (*jana*) and the country (*rashtra*). The term *grama*, still largely used in India for village, denoted an aggregate of several families sharing the same habitation. Besides mentioning that the village was headed by the *gramini*, chief of the village, the *Rig-Veda* does not give us any details regarding its internal structure or organization or its external affiliations. In post-vedic literature, particularly the epics, we have somewhat more detailed glimpses of the then existing settlements. The *Mahabharata* (*c.* 2nd century B.C.–2nd century A.D.) mentions several types of habitations and settlements, such as cattle farm (*ghosh* or *vraja*), small barbarian hamlets (*palli*), forts to protect surrounding settlements (*durga*), villages developing around the forts (*grama*), town (*kharvata* or *pattan*) and city (*nagara*). Through the *Mahabharata* we get an

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

THE SETTING

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31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

CHITTOOR DISTRICT.

THETTUPALLI.

[*By E. Krishnamurthi, Christian College, Madras.*]

361 153 *Preliminary.*—Thettupalli, belonging to the Punganûr Zamindari in the Chittoor district, is situated in a valley, surrounded by some rocky, and some gently sloping hills on three sides within a radius of 1½ miles, and on the north by hills more distant. The hills are not cultivated. Some have grass, some scrub jungle, some thick forest, about ten miles away there is dense jungle with tigers. It is on the same level as the Mysore plateau, about 2,000 feet above sea-level.

162 The total population of the caste village is 149—men 43, women 43, children 63 (36 males, 27 females).

[564] Castes 11.—Brahman, Komati (Vaisya), Kapu (cultivators), Balija (cultivators), Dhoby, Karamala (Blacksmith), Boya (cultivating low caste), Yekili (low caste Muhammadan), Kummara (Potter), Muhammadan, Dommara. The Dommaras are travelling pedlars who also cultivate and manufacture country carts.

Caste.		Brahman.	Komati.	Kapu.	Balija.	Dhoby.	Karamala.	Boya.	Yekili.	Kummara.	Mohammadan.	Dommara.
Number of families		2	2	4	4	2	1	8	1	1	2	2
Individuals ...	Males.	1	2	6	4	4	1	13	1	2	3	4
	Females	2	1	4	7	4	3	11	2	2	2	4
	Children under 12.	3	5	8	6	9	1	12	4	3	7	4
	Total ...	6	8	18	17	17	5	36	7	7	12	12
Children living under 12 ...		3	5	8	6	9	1	12	4	3	7	4
Dead		...	...	2	6*	4	...	8	2	...	4	3

* All the six belong to one family. Seven were born, of whom 6 died and the remaining one is a baby 3 months old.

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Telugu AW17

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Castes.	Brahman.		Komati.		Kapu.		Balija.		Dhoby.		Karumala.		Boyas.		Yekili.		Kummara.		Muhammadan.		Dommara.		Total.		Grand total.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Under 1 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	..	1	...	..	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	3	5
1—5 ...	2	...	2	...	1	1	1	2	2	1	...	1	3	2	...	...	..	1	...	1	...	1	11	10	21
5-10 ...	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	3	1	..	...	...	2	..	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	8	5	13
10-15 ...	...	...	...	1	3	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	1	1	1	...	..	1	..	..	..	..	6	5	11
15-20 ...	...	...	...	1	2	..	..	1	...	1	...	...	...	3	..	...	...	...	1	1	..	...	3	7	10
20-25 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	1	3	4	...	...	1	...	2	..	...	1	7	8	15
25-30 ...	...	1	..	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	..	..	1	3	4	7
30-35 ...	...	...	..	1	..	2	1	...	1	1	2	...	3	1	2	...	...	1	1	...	2	..	12	5	17
35-40 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	..	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	4	...	4
40-45 ...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	..	1	1	1	...	..	..	1	...	...	3	5	8
45-50 ...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	3	1	...	1	...	..	..	...	...	7	4	11
50-55 ...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	3	7
55-60 ...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	2	4	6	10
60-65 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	..	..	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	..	1	5	3	8
65-70 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1
70-75 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1

M. = Male. F. = Female.

The population of the paracheri is—men 13, women 12, children 19; 44 in all in 30 homesteads.

	Family No. I.	Family No. II.	Family No. III.	Family No. IV.	Family No. V.	Family No. VI.	Family No. VII.	Family No. VIII.
	1	1	Age	1	1	1	Age	1
Men ...	(age 60)	(age 45)	2 {20, 16}	(age 60)	(age 35)	(age 50)	5 {55, 30, 27, 25, 20}	(age 56).
	1	1		1	1		1	
Women ...	(age 36)	(age 30)	3 {50, 16, 13}	(age 50)	(age 20)	2 {35, 35}	(age 12)	2 {40, 35}
Children ..	6	2	...	2	...	3	...	6
Number dead.	...	3	...	...	1	...	...	...

311 *Land.*—There is jungle all round the village, where the cattle belonging to the village are allowed to graze on paying grazing fees to the zamindar.

312 There are five tanks. Out of these only two are of some size. The rest are small tanks. Even in the big tanks the water stored is sufficient for only one crop.

There are about 20 wells. Water is lifted up in most of them by means of the picottah. Four of the wells have been dug out of hard rock.

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Telugu AW17

MYSORE.

GOWNIPALLE.

[*By E. Krishnamurti, Christian College, Madras.*]

361 *Preliminary.*—Gownipalle, Srinivaspur taluk, Kolar district, Mysore, is situated in a low marshy district.

133 It has no forests or even jungle—only thick under-growth. No big rivers—only a stream about a furlong from the outskirts of the village. No hills near by. But about nine miles off there is a very big hill clothed with forest and abounding in good game.

462 *Population.*—Total population of caste village 417—men 119, women 133, boys 77, girls 88; homesteads 116.

[564] *Castes.*—Brahman, Komati (traders), Dhobis, Kammala (blacksmith), Bōya and Yekili (agricultural labourers), Kummara (potters), Muhammadan, Barber, Besta (labourers), Edigi-Gandla (oil-mongers), Sāthāni (non-Brahman temple servants).

Number of families and individuals in each caste—

Caste.	Brahmans.	Komati.	Dhobi.	Bōya.	Yekili.	Kummara.	Barbers.	Besta.	Kammara.	Edigi-Gandla.	Sāthāni.	Muhammadans.
Number of families.	11	...	...	14	1	1	5	6	1	1	2	30
Males ...	16	6	6	10	...	1	6	6	1	1	2	44
Females ...	24	10	6	13	1	2	7	6	1	3	...	45
Children. Boys ...	13	6	2	9	...	3	3	8	1	3	1	23
Children. Girls ...	15	7	4	8	...	1	4	7	2	2	3	25
Total ...	68	29	18	40	1	7	22	27	5	9	6	137

Paracheri—Population.—Total 126—men 41, women 40, boys 20, girls 25. Number of families 31.

Statistics of births and deaths—

Year.	Population.				Total.	Births.	Deaths.				Total.
	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.			Adult males.	Adult females.	Children. Males.	Children. Females.	
1912	212	210	125	122	669	22	2	5	4	...	11
1913	192	201	111	120	624	24	25	13	6	6	50
1914	180	193	107	106	586	14	10	6	3	3	22
1915	160	174	97	113	544	26	2	2	4	1	9

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165 The figures for deaths are in general accurate, according to information collected in the village, with the exception of the deaths in the cholera epidemic of 1911 and the small-pox epidemic of 1915. In the latter, according to non-official information between 80 and 85 children died, and 160 persons in all. The record of births appears to be very defective.

• 162 By the 1911 census there were 396 homesteads; there are now 430 to 440, there being many recent extensions of the inhabited village into the fields on the north and south.

An approximate statement of the population according to caste is as follows:—

	Adults.	Children.
Brahmans	25	13
Vaisyas	55	40
Sudras, Kammas	225	220
„ Kapus	275	240
Carpenters and silversmiths	33	24
Weavers	26	22
Barbers	10	4
Washermen	100	150
Toddy-tappers	283	305
Shepherds	52	33
Potters	4	2
Muhammadans	5	1
Oil-mongers	11	5

Land.

311

	Acres.
Wet land	Nil.
Dry land, cultivated	1,545·27
Land watered by wells	7·40
Common waste	145·36
Pasture other than common waste	415·82

Most of the land is cultivated by the pattadar, but 226 acres are sublet to tenants. There are about 350 agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land.

241 The following are the principal crops:—

	Acres.
Paddy	166·39
Cholam	468·88
Kambu	73·68
Gingelly	194·74
Horsegram	151·34
Ragi	...
Chodi	1·90
Korra	6·10
Chillis	0·67
Jute	1·80
Tobacco	1·34

651 Lands assessed for revenue at the following rates:—

	Per acre. Rs.	A.	P.
Best black clay	1	12	0
Best black loam	1	10	0
Best red loam	1	10	0
Best red sand	0	10	0

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Ta 691 consent. The case was decided in the High Court in favour of the plaintiff. A similar dispute is in progress now.

Ta 556 About half of the Brahmans are well-to-do. Most of them have no children. They adopt children. The wealth of the father and of the adoptive father goes to the son. Thus the properties of two persons go to one. Being well-to-do, they do not engage in work; but spent their time in idleness and gossip. Some engage in money-lending at usurious interest.

POTHAVARAM, RAZOLE TALUK, GODAVARI DISTRICT.

[*By B. Lakshminarayana Sastri, Christian College, Madras.*]

Te • 162 *Population.*—Brahmans, 8 families, 53 individuals; Sudras, 191 families, 948 individuals; Muhammadans, 5 families, 28 individuals. Birth-rate 44 per thousand; death-rate 35 per thousand.

Te 423 "The Brahmans used to monopolize the land till recently and cultivate it through non-Brahman (Pariah) servants. But being far away from their land their property was not safe with the uneducated Pariahs. A sect of non-Brahmans called Kapus are now buying lands through their economy and industry and low standard of life. The Brahman having to maintain a high standard is slowly incurring debts. There is a chance of the non-Brahman Kapu sect in the village gaining the lands if they maintain their low standard of life and economical and industrious habits. While the non-Brahman always remains in the field or garden the Te [793] Brahman stays for a major part of the day in the main village as he has to perform his daily religious ceremonies and social functions. The Brahman cannot live in such an isolation as the non-Brahmans. He cannot do hand labour and his supervision is inefficient.

Te 454 "People buy land as a secure form of investment. The educated classes after saving money buy lands with it though they never cultivate it. It is the only form of secure investment with which they are familiar being ignorant of other safe investments. Moreover, land investment pays a man better and gives him some Te status among his neighbours. The emigration from this village is 167 slow. Some are leaving for neighbouring towns for their sons' 871 education while a few are emigrating to Burma for labour. The former rarely return except during vacations while the latter return after four or five years. This emigration once started catches fire, education is simply being undergone for appointments, there being a sort of respect and awe attached to this sort of life. Every average villager now eagerly wants to educate his son in spite of heavy debts and great inconveniences. Economically it is a loss though intellectually it may be a gain. Socially it is removing some of the superstitions of the villagers. The mixing with the educated villagers is removing many deep-rooted superstitions. The emigration to Burma of coolies is to a small extent an economic gain; but at the expense of family life and social intercourse. The husband has to part from his wife and friends for a very long time. He does not even become intellectually advanced and his earnings are spent on drink."

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KISTNA DISTRICT.

VUNAGATLA.

[*By K. S. Narayana Murti, Christian College, Madras.*]

361 Vunagatla, in the Yernagudem taluk of the Kistna district, is an upland village, four miles distant from Nidadavolu, an important centre of railway and river traffic. On one side it is bounded by the high road from Nidadavolu to the Gōdāvari Agency, on the other by a great sandy tract filled with palmyra trees. The 132 climate is extreme, the unbearable heat of summer being followed by the excessive rains of the rainy season, and the extreme cold of winter. It is a purely dry village, depending entirely on the annual rains.

161 *Population.*—The population has been increasing steadily since the first census.

Census.	Population.	Census.	Population.
1871	... 1,237	1901	... 2,150
1881	... 1,567	1911	... 2,519
1891	... 2,017		

Brahmans and Vaisyas are increasing, and so are the Sudras, who are temperate and simple and hardy in habits. The rate of mortality is high among the Pariahs and washermen and other low castes.

163 The official figures of births and deaths cannot be entirely relied on. They are, for 1911—15, as follows:—

Births.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1911	33	52	85
1912	55	49	104
1913	49	49	98
1914	48	52	100
1915	41	52	93
	226	254	

165 *Deaths.*

Year.	Cholera.	Small-pox.	Fevers.	Respiratory diseases.	Other causes	Men.	Women.	Children under 14.	Total.
1911	226	...	42	...	28	71	88	137	296
1912	...	...	48	...	47	30	24	41	95
1913	...	...	62	3	2	18	20	29	67
1914	6	8	62	4	18	33	40	25	98
1915	...	112	41	17	13	53	49	81	183

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

random sample of families covering all levels of living in the community was selected, and, following the universal weighing-method, every item of the diet was weighed correctly to an ounce in these families. The International Scale of Family Coefficients was used to calculate the number of consumption units in each family, and data was carefully analysed for working out the mean intake of diet per consumption unit and the intake of calories, proximate principles, minerals and vitamins. Simultaneously, a medical examination of all members of the families selected for the survey was also undertaken; in the course of which along with height and weight measurements a general clinical examination with special reference to abnormalities of hair, eyes, skin, lips, gums, tongue, and the peripheral nervous system was done. While a detailed summary of the above survey would be inappropriate in a sociological study, some of its main conclusions will not be out of place here:

(i) The picture of nutrition emerging from the survey gives room to believe that there is mild sub-nutrition in the 'rich' and 'well-to-do' families and mild malnutrition in the 'average' and 'poor' families.

(ii) There is a sub-clinical deficiency of thiamine, riboflavin and Vitamin A. Phrynoderma of the skin, cheilosis, multiple fissuring of the tongue, gingivitis, and xerosis of the conjunctivae are fairly common in the community; their incidence being greater on the lower strata. The use of un-milled, slightly home-pounded rice explains the lack of any gross Vitamin B^1 deficiency. It may partly be explained also by the consumption of fermented palm-juice in nearly all sections of the community.

(iii) The protein intake is slightly inadequate. This is more apparent in the families classed as average and poor. In the lower income brackets the intake of fats is also insufficient.

(iv) With the exception of venereal diseases and malaria which are evenly distributed in all levels of the society, the incidence of other diseases—particularly deficiency diseases—is much higher in the lower income groups.

As a rule menfolk eat first, women follow. Children are served as soon as the meals are cooked. Among men, it is expected that the elders as well as others occupying a higher position in the scale of kinship should be served first and younger members of the family should wait for their turn. But during the busy season, or

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361 489 station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

465 [804] *Economic condition.*—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.* Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

435 Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee	
Ragi	...	...	...	10	„ „
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10	„ „
Cholam	...	...	...	9	„ „
Tamarind		...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*	
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6	„
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8	„

426 The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

[452] There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

435 Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

796 *Expenditure on religious festivals.*—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

•164 [759] [743] *Sanitary condition.*—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

562 Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

364 Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

312 For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¼ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzalu or cholam about 1¾ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, *Festivals*.

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Telugu AW17

426 Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

435 Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

426 Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

796 *Festivals.*—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gownipalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, [782] wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. [782] The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

• 164 *Sanitary condition.*—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease 759 people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest [743] hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

352 All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

582 No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.
[582] All Muhammadans observe purdah.

313 Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

871 *Education.*—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

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426 poorer classes, when they find that their debts have overgrown their income, generally hand over their lands to the lenders of money.

167 Emigrants leave the village for two reasons:—(1) indebtedness and (2) want of sufficient work and means of living. As previously stated two families of weavers have gone to Rajahmundry for factory work, and one family of Komatis to the Gōdāvari Agency. Some of the Panchamas and toddy drawers go to Rangoon, Moulmein, Singapore, and formerly went to Natal and the Transvaal. They return at the end of 1½ or 2 years. Some have made a little profit by going out, but not much. One effect of such emigration is to prevent people from lending money freely to all. The poorer classes do not get loans so easily now for want of security.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—There is no malaria. Six years ago there was a heavy attack of cholera, the number of deaths being between 150 and 200. It was impossible to keep any accurate account. Two years ago there was a serious attack of smallpox, when about 160 adults and children together died. It is significant that among Brahmans not a single person was attacked by either of these diseases. Among the Vaisyas the number of deaths was 5 and 3, respectively, among the Sudras it was 50 from cholera, 60 from small-pox. All the rest of the cases were in the lower castes. The death-rate of the children was far greater than that of adults.

165 The village statistics show 480 children born in the five years from 1911 to 1915, 321 under 14 years of age dying during these
759 years. The record of births is probably very defective, but the rate of mortality among infants and young children is certainly terribly high. There is no effective medical assistance available. The quack doctors of the village are merely deceitful and ignorant and practice the trade with no schooling or knowledge. Men following various occupations, who do not earn much at their proper calling, are the doctors of the village, who administer red or black powders to the patient one after another, call the fever this and that, starve the patient for 15 or 20 days, keep him in comfortable delusions all the while, and having made up 20 or 30 rupees send him to an untimely grave. The villagers prefer to entrust their lives to these doctors than to risk them in the hands of an English trained doctor. The hospital assistant near by has not won a good name for English medicine.

The wife of the barber is the nurse for all cases of pregnancy, and the general authority on all cases of feminine complaints.

758 For want of education, people do not observe the elementary principles of sanitation. For instance in times of epidemic diseases they do not isolate patients. They spread the disease by cleaning all kinds of cloth in village tanks. They do not reveal the disease immediately after the attack. They keep the patients in crowded houses and move and eat and sleep very close to them. Even for ordinary fevers, the patient is starved for 5 or 6 days, so that he will be weak and useless for work for a number of days afterwards.

511 The poorer classes are often subjected to disease for want of
356 healthy and sufficient food, and clean surroundings. Every poor man has two or three cattle at least; and their huts being crowded, with limited space, it happens generally that the cattle are kept

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KISTNA DISTRICT.

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1913	...	...	62	3	2	18	20	29	67
1914	6	8	62	4	18	33	40	25	98
1915	...	112	41	17	13	53	49	81	183

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31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

165 The figures for deaths are in general accurate, according to information collected in the village, with the exception of the deaths in the cholera epidemic of 1911 and the small-pox epidemic of 1915. In the latter, according to non-official information between 80 and 85 children died, and 160 persons in all. The record of births appears to be very defective.

162 By the 1911 census there were 396 homesteads; there are now 430 to 440, there being many recent extensions of the inhabited village into the fields on the north and south.

An approximate statement of the population according to caste is as follows:—

	Adults.	Children.
Brahmans	25	13
Vaisyas	55	40
Sudras, Kammas	225	220
„ Kapus	275	240
Carpenters and silversmiths	33	24
Weavers	26	22
Barbers	10	4
Washermen	100	150
Toddy-tappers	283	305
Shepherds	52	33
Potters	4	2
Muhammadans	5	1
Oil-mongers	11	5

Land.

311

	Acres.
Wet land	Nil.
Dry land, cultivated	1,545·27
Land watered by wells	7·40
Common waste	145·36
Pasture other than common waste	415·82

Most of the land is cultivated by the pattadar, but 226 acres are sublet to tenants. There are about 350 agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land.

241 The following are the principal crops:—

	Acres.
Paddy	166·39
Cholam	468·88
Kambu	73·68
Gingelly	194·74
Horsegram	151·34
Ragi	...
Chodi	1·90
Korra	6·10
Chillis	0·67
Jute	1·80
Tobacco	1·34

651 Land is assessed for revenue at the following rates:—

	Per acre. Rs.	A.	P.
Best black clay	1	12	0
Best black loam	1	10	0
Best red loam	1	10	0
Best red sand	0	10	0

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

426 poorer classes, when they find that their debts have overgrown their income, generally hand over their lands to the lenders of money.

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164 *Sanitary condition.*—There is no malaria. Six years ago there was a heavy attack of cholera, the number of deaths being between 150 and 200. It was impossible to keep any accurate account. Two years ago there was a serious attack of smallpox, when about 160 adults and children together died. It is significant that among Brahmans not a single person was attacked by either of these diseases. Among the Vaisyas the number of deaths was 5 and 3, respectively, among the Sudras it was 50 from cholera, 60 from small-pox. All the rest of the cases were in the lower castes. The death-rate of the children was far greater than that of adults.

165 The village statistics show 480 children born in the five years from 1911 to 1915, 321 under 14 years of age dying during these 759 years. The record of births is probably very defective, but the rate of mortality among infants and young children is certainly terribly high. There is no effective medical assistance available. The quack doctors of the village are merely deceitful and ignorant and practice the trade with no schooling or knowledge. Men following various occupations, who do not earn much at their proper calling, are the doctors of the village, who administer red or black powders to the patient one after another, call the fever this and that, starve the patient for 15 or 20 days, keep him in comfortable delusions all the while, and having made up 20 or 30 rupees send him to an untimely grave. The villagers prefer to entrust their lives to these doctors than to risk them in the hands of an English trained doctor. The hospital assistant near by has not won a good name for English medicine.

The wife of the barber is the nurse for all cases of pregnancy, and the general authority on all cases of feminine complaints.

758 For want of education, people do not observe the elementary principles of sanitation. For instance in times of epidemic diseases they do not isolate patients. They spread the disease by cleaning all kinds of cloth in village tanks. They do not reveal the disease immediately after the attack. They keep the patients in crowded houses and move and eat and sleep very close to them. Even for ordinary fevers, the patient is starved for 5 or 6 days, so that he will be weak and useless for work for a number of days afterwards.

511 The poorer classes are often subjected to disease for want of
356 healthy and sufficient food, and clean surroundings. Every poor man has two or three cattle at least; and their huts being crowded, with limited space, it happens generally that the cattle are kept

166

166 INTERNAL MIGRATION--shifting of residence between communities and districts within the society; organized resettlement; trends toward redistribution of the population; etc. See also

Seasonal migrations 221
Degree of permanence or impermanence of settlements 361
Travel 434
Rule of residence in marriage 591

sexual union of any type between the two is regarded as a kind of incest. It has already been pointed out that these units have no functions beyond those mentioned above and have no common organization, authority or ceremonial distinctively belonging to them.

Although in general we can regard Shamirpet as fairly representative of Telangana villages, some Telugu-speaking castes which play an important part in rural Telangana are not to be found in the village; and it will be perhaps advantageous to make a passing reference to some of these castes here. The Velma are a rich agricultural caste more or less equal in status to the Reddis. The Kamma are another caste of the Kapu group who inter-dine with the Reddi, but they are regarded as equals of the lower clean caste groups. The Balja traders are Shaivite Hindus whose status is regarded as being a little higher than that of the Komti. The Gandla works the oil press, and his status is similar to that of the Sale and the Gaondla. The Yenadi, who in some parts of Telangana act as village guards, are in status equal to the Erkala. The Lambada provide a colourful though somewhat alien element in the population of Telangana. In language, dress and ornament they stand out from the rest of the people of Telangana. Their northern origin is clear both from their physical appearance and from their language. The dress of the Lambada woman is picturesque. Her multi-coloured skirt (*lahanga*), tight bodice (*choli*) and upper covering (*odhni*) are elaborately embroidered and worked with appliquéd mirror. Her ornaments are heavy and distinctive, and their tinkling sound lends an air of romance to the dusty roads of the countryside. There is a Lambada settlement some six miles from Shamirpet and they are a common sight on the nearby road.

Mention should also be made of three wandering caste groups—the Balsantanam, the Sharda-galu and the Dasari. The Balsantanam live in small, low, portable huts and move from village to village. They weave mats, sing songs and legends, and beg from village cultivators. The Sharda-galu are professional story-tellers and earn their livelihood by reciting the legends of their vast repertoire. Similarly, the Dasari are country dramatists who contribute towards the entertainment of the villagers by performing folk plays. Members of many of the castes mentioned above make occasional appearances in Shamirpet.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

In the organization of the family the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement, and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger people, especially among those who have had some education or urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an increasing scale. In making records of the biographies and general attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two steps of people emerged clearly. While the elderly and the middle-aged, mostly illiterate, complained about the inconveniences of village life, they still regarded it as the only way of life possible for *them*. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal their contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs there; and on the other it has generated disharmony and dissensions within the family causing considerable dislocation in the established principles according to which priorities and concessions went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies is not more than 10% or 15% of the total in their age-group.

The caste system in the community presents only slight variations in some directions. As before, caste still retains its endogamous character. Similarly, caste continues to be a part of, and is sanctioned by, the traditional religion. However, its occupational character has undergone some change. People are now taking to new occupations. A goldsmith has opened a tea shop. Washermen and similar other castes are accepting menial jobs in the city. These are not their traditional occupations. Besides Muslims some non-Komti Hindus have set up general shops in the village; in the traditional system only Komtis could do so. Thus people are either giving up their traditional occupations, or they are taking to occupations which by tradition belong to some other castes.

167

167 IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION--extent and sources of immigration; extent and destination of emigration; reasons of migration; trends; restrictive regulation; colonization; etc. See also:

Prehistoric migrations 174
Travel 484
Ethnic stratification 563
Slave trade 867
Colonial dependencies 636
Naturalization 841
Transplantation of conquered populations . . . 728

369 chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the
504 cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days
● 167 of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

133 The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tiru-
312 patti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

133 Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses
311 and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between
[339] low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

312 The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

135 Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral
471 wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

631 The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which never-
197 theless is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI 7

871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other [212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the [191] ability latterly. No one knows English.

There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about 214 seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

624 *Village administration.*—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

691 For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

167 In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

325 Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

426 allowed by the Government for waste lands. An economic enquiry is held by the village officers every year and a report is sent to the Government.

311 There is scope for improvement on a large scale if only ryots are prepared to start with a large capital and adopt modern methods of agriculture. There does not seem to be any possibility of extending the irrigated lands. Almost all available land has been used up, and brought under cultivation.

312 The condition of tanks and wells has been improved of late. More wells could be sunk with advantage, but are not sunk owing to lack of funds.

733 The barbers, dhobis and others are tending to lose their lands
426 owing to their pernicious habit of drinking. People sell land in order to pay off old debts. Loans are given only on mortgage of lands. The chief purchasers are money-lenders.

●167 There has been no emigration. But two Muhammadans are at
702 the front as sepoys. About a hundred belonging to this particular taluk are in the army and most of them are at the field of operations.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

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31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Tamil AW18
Telugu AW17

Ta 691 consent. The case was decided in the High Court in favour of the plaintiff. A similar dispute is in progress now.

Ta 556 About half of the Brahmans are well-to-do. Most of them have no children. They adopt children. The wealth of the father and of the adoptive father goes to the son. Thus the properties of two persons go to one. Being well-to-do, they do not engage in work; but spent their time in idleness and gossip. Some engage in money-lending at usurious interest.

POTHAVARAM, RAZOLE TALUK, GODAVARI DISTRICT.

[*By B. Lakshminarayana Sastri, Christian College, Madras.*]

Te 162 *Population.*—Brahmans, 8 families, 53 individuals; Sudras, 191 families, 948 individuals; Muhammadans, 5 families, 28 individuals. Birth-rate 44 per thousand; death-rate 35 per thousand.

Te 423 "The Brahmans used to monopolize the land till recently and cultivate it through non-Brahman (Pariah) servants. But being far away from their land their property was not safe with the uneducated Pariahs. A sect of non-Brahmans called Kapus are now buying lands through their economy and industry and low standard of life. The Brahman having to maintain a high standard is slowly incurring debts. There is a chance of the non-Brahman Kapu sect in the village gaining the lands if they maintain their low standard of life and economical and industrious habits. Te [793] While the non-Brahman always remains in the field or garden the Brahman stays for a major part of the day in the main village as he has to perform his daily religious ceremonies and social functions. The Brahman cannot live in such an isolation as the non-Brahmans. He cannot do hand labour and his supervision is inefficient.

Te 454 "People buy land as a secure form of investment. The educated classes after saving money buy lands with it though they never cultivate it. It is the only form of secure investment with which they are familiar being ignorant of other safe investments. Moreover, land investment pays a man better and gives him some Te status among his neighbours. The emigration from this village is ● 167 slow. Some are leaving for neighbouring towns for their sons' 871 education while a few are emigrating to Burma for labour. The former rarely return except during vacations while the latter return after four or five years. This emigration once started catches fire, education is simply being undergone for appointments, there being a sort of respect and awe attached to this sort of life. Every average villager now eagerly wants to educate his son in spite of heavy debts and great inconveniences. Economically it is a loss though intellectually it may be a gain. Socially it is removing some of the superstitions of the villagers. The mixing with the educated villagers is removing many deep-rooted superstitions. The emigration to Burma of coolies is to a small extent an economic gain; but at the expense of family life and social intercourse. The husband has to part from his wife and friends for a very long time. He does not even become intellectually advanced and his earnings are spent on drink."

171

171 **DISTRIBUTIONAL EVIDENCE--occurrence of similar culture traits in other societies; inferences from trait distributions; etc. See also:**

Distribution of biological traits 14
Affiliation with particular culture areas or subareas 101
Linguistic relationships 197

RITUAL STRUCTURE

Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations. They do not believe in any of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, nor in any of the later incarnations; but they share with the Hindus a living faith in the existence of malevolent ghosts, spirits and witches. They participate with the rest of the community in village ceremonies and sacrifices. To ward off cholera, plague and smallpox, they too think that it is necessary to propitiate the local deities and goddesses.

Village Hinduism is not easy to describe. It is an extremely elastic religion, and within its all-India framework admits of a considerable degree of regional and local variation. In his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, M. N. Srinivas has introduced the useful concept of 'spread', and split up village Hinduism into 'All India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and 'Local Hinduism'.

The people of Shamirpet worship all the major gods of the Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. The concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their consequences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth also have such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

[The Muslims — Analyst]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

mention in Hindu scriptures. Being the most important river of the Deccan region its significance is very great to the Hindus of this area.

Along with the great gods of all-India Hinduism the people also continue to observe cults associated with regional and local deities and goddesses. The nature and characteristics of these goddesses differ widely in the different culture-areas of the land. Some of the goddesses listed below are commonly found in the Telugu-speaking areas, particularly in the Telangana districts of Hyderabad. Their main characteristics according to the residents of Shamirpet have also been mentioned.

They are:

1. Pochamma—goddess of smallpox.
2. Mutyalamma—goddess of chickenpox.
3. Balamma—goddess of fertility whose wrath causes sterility in women.
4. Mahakalamma—goddess of cholera.
5. Durgamma—goddess presiding over the destinies and welfare of the village.
6. Maisamma—goddess protecting the village boundaries.

Besides the above, certain other goddesses are also worshipped. Important among them are Ellamma (for the cure of boils), Pinamma (when naming a child after one of his deceased grandparents), and minor goddesses of the fields who protect the crops. To these must be added several other named and unnamed deities and goddesses whose worship is confined only to the village of Shamirpet.

All the characteristics of Hinduism having an all-India spread, described above, are in evidence in the religion of the people of Shamirpet. There is a small Shiva temple near the house of the Brahmin; another with several images on a hillock by the side of the Deshmukh's house. There are two platforms in the village on which the monkey god Hanuman[1] is lodged. In many clean caste houses there are images or pictures of some of these gods. Those

[1] Hanuman, the 'Son of the Winds', was one of the monkey helpers of Rama in his search for Sita when she was abducted by the demon Ravana (according to the epic poem *Ramayana*). Modern tradition seeks to interpret the Monkeys and Bears of this story as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Deccan at the turn of the Christian era.

[P 71]

CHAPTER V

MODES OF WORSHIP IN THE CANARESE COUNTRY

171 THE Canarese are closely allied ethnologically to the Telugus,[1] and we should naturally expect, therefore, to find a close connexion between the ceremonies used by the two peoples in the worship of their village goddesses. A brief account of the ceremonies used in different parts of the Canarese country will show how far this is actually the case.

776 796 *Bellary District.* In the Bellary district Durgamma,[1] Sunkalamma, and Uramma are very commonly worshipped. Uramma means simply the village goddess, and is equivalent to the general term grāma-devatā. Her festival is not celebrated annually, but when there is a specially good crop, or when cholera or plague break out. The following account of it was given me by an Asādi of a village near Bellary, and may be taken as describing fairly the general type of such festivals and sacrifices throughout the district.

776 755 772 We will suppose that cholera has broken out in the village. The villagers then make vows to offer the sacrifice if the epidemic ceases. The day appointed for the festival is invariably a Tuesday, and on the previous Tuesday a basin-shaped earthen lamp, filled with oil and furnished with a stout cotton wick, is placed in the house of the *Reddy* (village magistrate) and kept lighted till the festival and all the ceremonies are ended. The carpenter, also, prepares beforehand a wooden image of the goddess and a small cart, while

[1] Durgā is one of the many names of Kālī, the wife of Śiva.

173

173 **TRADITIONAL HISTORY--oral historical traditions and evidence as to their reliability; dynastic lists and genealogies; historical inferences from myth and tradition; etc. See also:**

Traditions of kin groups	61	Mythology	773
Myth texts	830	Historians and genealogists	814
Kinship genealogies	60		

291 purchase they lose their new look; and although they are periodically washed, soap or soda-ash is rarely used and consequently they appear to be stained and soiled. In families which are financially better placed, and among those who have received some degree of education or who have been influenced by urban friends and relations, the children's clothing is markedly superior in quality and cleanliness. Boys wear shirts cut in modern style and *dhotis* or occasionally *pyjama*. Girls wear either a blouse and skirt or frocks bought ready-made from the city stores or made by the local tailor. Men wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Influential and well-to-do persons put on a coat when leaving their houses, particularly when going to the city. Women wear a *sari* and a bodice, the latter invariably embroidered. The favourite colours of the women in the countryside appear to be the deeper shades of red, yellow and green. The village shepherds have a distinctive dress. When they go out to graze their herds of goats and sheep they always have a locally made black blanket on their shoulders, even in the hottest season.

301 The people of Telangana, particularly the women, are extremely fond of ornaments. The commonest types are those made of metal which include ear-plugs and ear-rings, nose-pins and nose-rings, rings worn on the fingers and toes, bracelets, anklets, several types of light and heavy necklaces and belts worn round the waist. Among well-to-do people ear and nose ornaments as well as necklaces are generally made of gold; the rest of a woman's ornaments are of silver. However, very few people can afford ornaments of a metal as expensive as gold, and most people have a few silver pieces, the rest of their ornaments being made of cheaper metals and alloys. In addition to the metal jewellery all Hindu women except widows wear a number of glass bangles on the wrists. The Muslim women's choice of ornament differs from that of their Hindu neighbours, and such jewellery as they wear often comes from the shops in the city and is not made according to the designs of the local goldsmith.

3. THE VILLAGE

173 Shamirpet cannot claim to be a village of any great age. No historical records relating to the actual founding of the village are available, but the elderly people have some information regarding

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

its past history 'as it was passed on to them by their forefathers'. The village of Shamirpet owes its present shape to the construction of the large and beautiful tank which lies some three furlongs north of the village site. Before the construction of this tank there was a tiny hamlet on the present site which consisted of a few households and was known as Shahpur. Some three hundred and fifty years ago Ibrahim Quli Qutub Shah, then ruler of Hyderabad, wishing to perpetuate his name, ordered the construction of a huge tank which, he expected, would be called after him. This tank is the hyphen linking the city of Hyderabad with Secundrabad. However, according to the legend, the people associated it with the name of the engineer Hussain Khan and called it 'Hussain Sagar'. So the ruler decided on the building of a second tank, and chose the site of Shamirpet. But the Shamirpet tank was his second disappointment. On the completion of the tank, he is believed to have come to the site and asked the people, 'Whose tank is this?' The people unwittingly answered, 'It is Shah Mir's tank.' The people's tribute to the man whose brain had created the project did not satisfy the Qutubshahi ruler. He ordered a third tank to be constructed at a different site some thirty-five miles away, and it is this tank which now commemorates his name and is known as 'Ibrahimpatan Sagar'. The second of these tanks, constructed near the hamlet known as Shaepur, changed the fortunes of that tiny settlement. The people who had worked on the construction of the tank settled permanently in the vicinity of the hamlet and were joined by more settlers attracted by the irrigation facilities provided by the tank, so that the village gradually grew to a considerable size. Because of its association with Shah Mir's tank, the hamlet was given the new name of Shah Mir Pet, which became gradually corrupted into Shamirpet.

In the year 1798 H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad (until 1948 the feudal ruler of Hyderabad) granted this village together with several others as *jagir* (feudal estate) to one of his nobles, the late Fakhrul Mulk Khan Khanan. On his death the estate was inherited by his son Nawab Nizam Yar Jung, also known as Nawab Ehsan-ul-Mulk Khan Khanan. The last in the line of the Jagirdars of Shamirpet was Kemal Yar Jung. He constructed a beautiful summer house, which is now in ruins, adjoining the tank, as well as several office buildings in the village which house the post office, the school, the police station and the village granary. After

174

174 HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION--inferences as to origins, migrations, contacts, prehistory and culture history from various types of evidence (e.g., anthropometry and language); etc. See also:

Historical research 814

[For historical sketches of cities, see category 369 or Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

175

175 **RECORDED HISTORY**--written sources (e.g., chronicles, reports of travelers, official records and documents) and their evaluation; evidence and inferences about prehistoric events from such sources; summaries of historical development within the periods distinguished under 101; specific historical information pertinent to an understanding of culture change; etc. See also:

Records . . . . . 21 Historiography 814

Literary texts 839

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

its past history 'as it was passed on to them by their forefathers'. The village of Shamirpet owes its present shape to the construction of the large and beautiful tank which lies some three furlongs north of the village site. Before the construction of this tank there was a tiny hamlet on the present site which consisted of a few households and was known as Shahpur. Some three hundred and fifty years ago Ibrahim Quli Qutub Shah, then ruler of Hyderabad, wishing to perpetuate his name, ordered the construction of a huge tank which, he expected, would be called after him. This tank is the hyphen linking the city of Hyderabad with Secundrabad. However, according to the legend, the people associated it with the name of the engineer Hussain Khan and called it 'Hussain Sagar'. So the ruler decided on the building of a second tank, and chose the site of Shamirpet. But the Shamirpet tank was his second disappointment. On the completion of the tank, he is believed to have come to the site and asked the people, 'Whose tank is this?' The people unwittingly answered, 'It is Shah Mir's tank.' The people's tribute to the man whose brain had created the project did not satisfy the Qutubshahi ruler. He ordered a third tank to be constructed at a different site some thirty-five miles away, and it is this tank which now commemorates his name and is known as 'Ibrahimpatan Sagar'. The second of these tanks, constructed near the hamlet known as Shaepur, changed the fortunes of that tiny settlement. The people who had worked on the construction of the tank settled permanently in the vicinity of the hamlet and were joined by more settlers attracted by the irrigation facilities provided by the tank, so that the village gradually grew to a considerable size. Because of its association with Shah Mir's tank, the hamlet was given the new name of Shah Mir Pet, which became gradually corrupted into Shamirpet.

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THE SETTING

the death of Kemal Yar Jung the property came under the administration of the Court of Wards. In the meantime, vast changes were taking place in Hyderabad. After the Police Action of 1948, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Republic. With the inauguration of the democratic order the Nizam has become a constitutional ruler and the feudal system within the State has been abolished. In consequence Shamirpet now comes under the jurisdiction of the normal district administration.

Shamirpet is situated at a distance of about a furlong from the north-bound road which runs between Hyderabad and Karimnagar. An unmetalled road links the village with the main road, from which some of the houses in the village are clearly visible. Between the road and the village there is a flat and fairly level patch of ground, and in the centre of this ground there is a tree around which the Muslims bury their dead. At the junction of the main road and the diversion leading to the village there is a small shelter for passengers awaiting the buses, built in stone and lime. A little way down to the north stands the Inspection Bungalow of the State Public Works Department. It is intended for the use of touring government officials, and can also be used by occasional visitors, who have to make a small payment for its use. Further north, at a distance of about two and a half furlongs, is the tank, which in its setting of barren rocks and tall trees provides a beautiful landscape. Between the tank and the road now lie the ruins of the 'summer house' which was built on the tank-bund by the last feudal landlord of the village. In his time it was provided with an electric generator, pipe lines and modern sanitary fittings, but after the Nawab's death it was deserted and is now a melancholy but romantic sight.

The village itself is not built according to a definite plan. A wide main street lies in the centre and runs almost parallel to and roughly a furlong away from the main road. As we proceed northwards down this street we find on the right a number of whitewashed stone buildings housing the various government offices, and on the left there are a number of small tea and betel shops. On the right there are also the residential quarters of the sub-inspector of police who is in charge of the police station, a government granary, living quarters of the police constables, the village dispensary, the school and the post office. Lanes branch off both right and left from the street, and on either side of these lanes are

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Changing Scene

178 THERE is a tendency among some Western writers to regard the rural societies of the East, particularly of India, as almost static and unchanging. For over a century 'the timeless and changeless Indian village' has been the ideal of the romanticist. However, a micro-sociological study of a village like Shamirpet, which was insulated in feudal surroundings and was thus kept almost unaffected by the currents of social, economic and political changes that were sweeping the countryside in British India, shows certain unmistakable trends in the direction of cultural and institutional variation.

175 To analyse the changing scene in the village a brief recapitulation of its history is necessary.

According to government records there was at first a small hamlet on the site on which the present comparatively large village of Shamirpet is situated. Nearly two hundred and eighty years ago the ruler of Hyderabad State decided to get a large tank constructed near this hamlet. When the construction was started the population of the village increased considerably by the influx of labourers from the neighbouring villages who built temporary shelters for themselves mid-way between the place of work and the existing settlement. As the work progressed, some of these people started building permanent huts for themselves. With the completion of the tank the village acquired excellent irrigation facilities. This finally induced most of the families working at the construction of the tank to settle down permanently in the village. In addition to these people, there was also a fresh wave of immigrants. This included the Reddis and Muslims who were attracted by the irrigation facilities now available in the village. They

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

bought land for cultivation, built substantial houses, and thus became a part of the permanent population of the village. With the extension of agriculture a number of artisan and occupational castes were drawn into the village population. These castes are a necessary adjunct to the traditional system of agriculture in rural India, and the growing number of agriculturists in the village had already created a demand for them. Thus the population of the once-small hamlet of Shahpur gradually increased and consequently its status among the neighbouring villages was also enhanced. It has been pointed out that at this time it was renamed as Shamirpet to commemorate the engineer who had planned and supervised the construction of the tank. One of the ancestors of the present headman, who had successfully undertaken a contract for the carting of materials required in the construction of the tank, was duly rewarded by the ruler of the State with a substantial grant of land. He invested most of his earnings from the contract in buying more land. Thus he became the biggest landowner in the village. He was also appointed as the Mali Patel, a village official responsible for assisting the State officials in the collection of land revenue. At this time he was granted a *sanad*, a document appointing him as the headman of the village. In the context of these continued changes the internal organization of the village kept on modifying itself. Finally, when the population of this comparatively large village had become stable it reorganized its *panchayat* (village council). It now consisted of the Deshmukh (headman) who was its presiding officer, the three Ganadi (organizers of village ritual) and all the Kulam-pedda (heads of the different castes living in the village).

In the later history of the village there are two significant turning points. The first of these directly affected the village. The second affected Hyderabad State as a whole and brought in its wake certain currents which had significant repercussions on the countryside.

To begin with, about one hundred and fifty years ago the Nizam of Hyderabad granted Shamirpet, along with several other villages, as a *jagir* or feudal estate to one of his nobles. In the villages granted to him the feudal landlord replaced the normal district administration of the State. Shamirpet was selected as the headquarters of the estate, and as a direct consequence of this

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

175 decision several substantial houses were built in the village to accommodate its offices and officials. Forty years ago an ambitious Nawab built a row of modern-looking houses for his various offices. These were built in stone, had plastered and white-washed walls, and also had tiled roofs. Obviously they were in keeping with the urban styles of that time, commonly met with in the small towns having subdivisional administrative offices. One by one a school, a police station, a dispensary and a post office were added to the village.

In the race for modernization and introduction of Western technology feudal Hyderabad was much behind British India. Apparently very little happened in the rural areas of the State during the first one hundred and twenty-five years of British rule in India. Modern roads, buses and railways came in here much later than in the rest of the country outside the domains of native princes. In the later phases of this period the State maintained an impressive array of 'nation-building', 'welfare' and technical departments, but their activities in the rural areas were limited. However, these were very crucial years in the life of the village as a variety of complex socio-economic factors were influencing the fabric of the rural community. Urban contacts and modern education were acquired by a small section of the village population. Administrative contacts with State officers and law courts increased in this period. Owing to its nearness to the capital city Shamirpet received a somewhat favoured treatment at the hands of the nation-building and technical departments whose touring officials and propagandists visited this village more often than the other remote and distant villages.

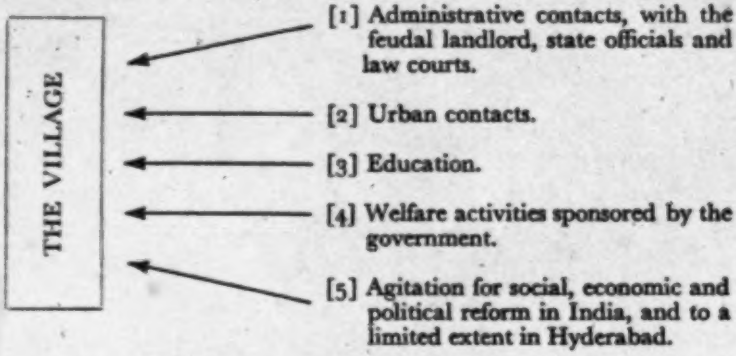
The last fifty years of British rule in India witnessed the gradual emergence of a strong national movement for the liberation of the country from foreign political domination, and under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the Indian National Congress took the message of non-violent non-co-operation and passive resistance to the masses in the different parts of the country. This had a profound influence on the rural areas in several parts of the land, and led to some modification in the ways and outlook of the people. In Hyderabad there was no such mass movement, but what was happening in the rest of the country was not without significance for the people of this State. Later, inspired by the Indian example, there was some agitation for political reform and self-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

175

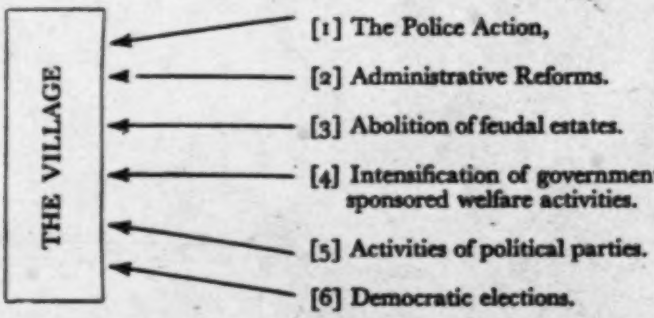
government in the State. This too had some influence on the village.

The major influences that were at work during the Jagir period, especially in the last five or six decades, are illustrated in the following diagram:



The year 1948 witnessed many vital changes in the Hyderabad State. As an outcome of successful intervention of India, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Union. This paved the way for several radical reforms in the State. The Nizam himself became a constitutional ruler. With the abolition of Jagirs the feudal system within the State came to an end. Rural development and welfare activities were intensified. Finally, democratic institutions were introduced and in 1951 the people went to the polls for the first time to elect their representatives, for the State Legislature and the Union Parliament.

The Police Action was the second turning point in the life-history of the village, as it inaugurated the operation of a new set of influences in the life of the community. These influences were:



6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Orissa AW13
Telugu AW17

Mercara in tiny Coorg, and it is in any case being superseded as the seat of government by a new town at Bhuvaneshwar, 20 miles S of Cuttack.

There may, however, be a brighter future for Orissa. The merger of the hill states increased the area by 85% (to 59,869 sq mls) and the population by 58% (to 14,645,946); these are the largest gains by merger in all *India*. The ending of the fantastic fragmentation of the State may facilitate co-ordinated development of the Mahanadi power projects and flood control (above, 678); it also gives some hope for the development of the forest resources of the excessively backward hills: timber (floated down the Mahanadi), lac, tussore silk.

The Northern Circars

This region, which corresponds to littoral Andhra Desa, is a transition zone in every respect. In the N we have the normal monsoon rainfall distribution; but the October–December proportion increases steadily in importance Swds, together with a decrease in total amount and in rainy days. Already in Kistna Dt a third of the rain comes in the last quarter of the year, but these rains are more uncertain than those of the more usual monsoon months. In Ganjam Oriya is still dominant, but where the coastal plain narrows beneath the abrupt peak of Mahendragiri (4923 ft) the Aryan tongue gives way to Dravidian Telugu, which holds sway as far as the Nagari Hills (Fig. 127). To the S Nellore represents a further stage in the transition.

Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari E and W, Kistna and Guntur Dts form the Northern Circars, brought under Muslim rule by the Golconda kings about 1575, ceded to the French in 1753; 12 years later the EIC obtained a grant of the whole from the Mogul Emperor, though of course his nominal subordinate the Nizam had exercised what government existed, apart from that of warring petty rajahs; this was the Company's first considerable territorial acquisition outside Bengal. Despite the Telugu culture and the modern historical identity, the region seems to lack unity. The proliferation of small ports and trading stations in the early European phase was perhaps a reflection of this; the Dutch factories at Bimlipatam and Coconada were not ceded to the EIC until 1825, and they had forced the early English settlement at Pulicat to move in 1625 to Armagaon, the parent of Madras. In Masulipatam the factory at French-pettah was not handed over to *India* until 1947, while English-palam and Volanda (Holland)-palam mark the settlements of those nations in the same town. Nizampatam was the first English station on the E coast (1611), and Yanaon (area 5 sq mls, poptn 5711) in the Godavari Delta survives as the last relic of the 18th century French holdings.

The total area is about 25,000 sq mls with a 1941 population of *c.*

176

176 INNOVATION--analyses or general summaries of discoveries and inventions originating within the cultural group; factors involved (e.g., accident, genius, cultural base); number, range, and frequency of innovations, inventors and innovators; etc. For specific inventions see the appropriate descriptive category. See also:

Patents and copyrights 424

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Muslims
Hindus

787 difficulties, and for the fulfilment of comparatively simple wishes, recourse is taken to other methods. Fasting on a certain day in honour of a particular god or goddess for the satisfaction of a specific desire (or for overcoming a difficulty) is very common; and women take recourse to it quite often. Thus when T. was involved in a law suit, both he and his wife used to fast on Monday, and pleaded with their family god to get the court decision in their favour. Promising a food offering, sacrifice, or fasting for a specified period on a certain day, in return for the fulfilment of a wish is also resorted to. E. R.'s daughter was seriously ill and there was no hope of her life. E. R. went to the shrine of the goddess to whom her family was attached and said, 'Mother, we have always worshipped you. My daughter is on the point of death. I cannot bear to let her go before me. Save her and I will sacrifice two goats in your honour.' The girl recovered and E. R. did sacrifice the promised goats. S., a Komti woman, was worried because her daughter's husband was 'going astray'. She promised her family god: 'If you join what is breaking I shall fast on Mondays for three months and make offerings to you on all days of the fast.' The husband after a while, again started taking an interest in her daughter, and true to her word the mother kept her vow. When the wishes are not fulfilled people curse their luck, blame their own past actions, and reconcile themselves to the unfavourable attitude of the gods. 'All that we can do is to pray and worship. It is for the gods to hear or not to hear us. What else can we do? How can we have a quarrel with them?' would typify the average man's attitude in all cases where the powers of the supernatural world do not yield to their prayers and offerings.

751 176 The Muslims too have faith in ghosts and evil spirits. Their methods of dealing with them are similar to those of the Hindus. In addition they read passages from the Koran and invoke the assistance of their sages and seers. For overcoming minor ailments and difficulties they eagerly seek amulets from holy persons.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

Sandy tracts with palmyras fetch a rent of Rs. 10 per acre, without trees, Rs. 2 or 3 only; black clay Rs. 15 to 16 per acre. 427

The black clay land sells at about Rs. 350 per acre, the red sand at about Rs. 150. But the price has fallen now owing to two bad harvests. 435

Stock.

	By official information.	Non-official.
Working oxen	539	800 about.
Cows	412	600 „
Male buffaloes	6	14 „
Cow buffaloes	184	200 „
Young stock—buffaloes	208	250 „
Do. cows	637	650 to 700
Horses	...	...
Donkeys and mules	...	...
Sheep	58	61
Goats	225	200
Pigs	100	...

231

According to the census of 1900 and 1910 they were—

	1900.	1910.
Bullocks and he-buffaloes	650	545
Cows	580	412
She-buffaloes	171	184
Young stock	802	845
Sheep and goats	778	283

The straw of cholam and paddy is reserved for the summer feed of cattle; in the rainy season the green grass of the common pasture is available. Each ryot reserves one or two fields for pasture for his cattle. In days of heavy work, the bullocks are given cooked horsegram mixed with the husk of paddy, and the fine dust from the grain which is mixed with it in husking. Cotton seeds are also cooked and given for food; and oil cake, especially for milch cows. Ryots who have insufficient pasture send some of their cattle to the Agency tracts for the three months, July to September; they are charged Rs. 3 or 5 per pair.

Only about 50 per cent of the cattle-dung is used as manure, the rest is used for fuel. The average ryot applies six to eight cart-loads of dung per acre; besides the manure of the cattle kept in fields at nights. He accumulates a stock at home throughout the year and applies it at the end of the year to the fields. 241 [231]

No green manure or chemical manure is used.

Garden cultivation has been tried as an experiment with water-supply from a well, lifted by a water pump got from Bombay. Lemons and plantains are planted. The pump required some slight repairs, which were delayed for want of a mechanic near by. The garden too has not yet proved to be decidedly profitable; and all the villagers laugh at it as an innovation. [176]

Cost of cultivation.—The following is an account of the expenditure for ten acres of an average ryot, obtained from four ryots. 241 435

177

177 ACCULTURATION AND CULTURE CONTACT--number, character, and intensity of contacts with alien cultures; factors affecting cultural receptivity; instances of cultural borrowing; adaptive modification of introduced elements; agencies and agents of culture change; etc. See also:

Immigration 187
Loan words 192
Foreign trade 439
Ethnic stratification 543
Colonial administration 638
Foreign relations 648
Missions 797

THE SETTING

871 Children of all communities now go to school, and the old prejudice against admitting untouchable students is dying out. In recent years some Mala and Madiga boys joined the school, but most of them attended only in name, playing truant so consistently that they derived little benefit and eventually stopped going altogether. The school is ill-equipped, having some miserable-looking furniture, a few charts and maps and the inevitable blackboard. The master still wields his stick, and among other reasons this explains perhaps the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the lower-class children and their parents for the school.

743 737 The dispensary is housed in a small room and its adjoining verandah. The rest of the building is used as living-quarters by the Medical Officer. This small dispensary was started by one of the Jagirdars, and has had a succession of Medical Officers who had no qualifications for the job. The present incumbent too is not properly qualified, for he is not even a medical licenciate. He is paid Rs. 45 per month and is supplied with a small quantity of drugs by the Medical Department of the Hyderabad Government.

●[177] As a result of contact with the cities, the villagers have developed a great liking for injections, expecting them to work like magic and provide quick and certain cure for all ailments. The Medical Officer, although he is not authorized to give injections, does so in the course of his limited private practice. People go to the dispensary only for the treatment of common ailments, such as scabies, cough and malaria. For want of proper equipment and a qualified medical practitioner, the dispensary at Shamirpet has very few patients. In addition to the allopathic dispensary there are several elderly people in the village who administer herbal preparations according to Indian indigenous systems of medicine.

755 Magic and divination are also employed to a considerable extent by all sections of the people. 'Where herbs and medicines do not work, proper chants and spells do not fail us', the people often say. Indeed, for certain categories of disease and difficulties recourse

757 to divination is often regarded as the only proper remedy. It must be added that increased contact with the cities and the influence of education have greatly enhanced the value of modern medicine in the eyes of the people. There is now practically no prejudice against vaccination, although some people are still afraid of plague and cholera inoculations because they cause pain and fever. A minority of the villagers take advantage of the qualified doctors

1: O'Malley G-S (no date) 1941 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

dates as late as the eleventh century A.D. By then it had absorbed the vocabulary, spirit, and culture of the Sanskrit language, and up to the nineteenth century, through a continuous period of eight centuries, it looked to Sanskrit as the model of literary expression. It took more than two centuries to complete the translation of the *Mahabharata*, and that great work formed the foundation for the superstructure of later literary construction. Early Telugu scholars were invariably acquainted with Sanskrit, and the vast stores of its literature afforded material for study, imitation, adaptation, and translation. Almost all the *Puranas* were translated one after another, and the habit of translation, though discouraged, persists to this day. But one good feature about the Telugu translations is that the genius of the poet-translator often permeates the whole work, so that it reads as if it were an original composition. These *Puranas* are mostly in verse form, with prose interspersed here and there in less poetic portions. Their themes were mostly mythological and religious, but the treatment of them was highly poetical. Stories of selfless love, of filial devotion, of absorbing romance, of great heroism, and of absolute renunciation can be found in scores in these *Puranas*. Another literary type that was evolved and perfected is called the *Prabandha*. A tale of the love and wedding of lovers of high lineage, written mostly in verse interspersed with prose, with a stock plot, overdrawn and ornate descriptions, and perfunctory characterization, was the sum and substance of the average *Prabandha*. Thus, as a rough estimate, it can be said that the two standard types existing in Telugu literature before it began to be subject to western influence were the *Purana*, or mythological long story, and the *Prabandha*, or romantic tale of moderate range.

The beginning of western influence can be traced to 1800 or even earlier; two books describing the life of Christ and his teachings and explaining the doctrines of Christianity were written in Telugu in 1750 and 1780 respectively. The introduction of printing and the establishment of public schools teaching the language of the land as well as English were the starting-point of a great change in the life, manners, outlook, and culture of the average Telugu man, and the change was reflected in literature. In force, in variety of topics, in its relationship to the daily life of the people, in its ready assimilation of foreign elements, in its freedom of thought, in the abundance of its literary forms, and in its general output, Telugu literature became altogether a new literature. The change has been unique and all-pervading. The modern author need no longer be bound by convention or be hard pressed for a subject; he is not hampered by traditional literary forms but has been emancipated. He makes new ventures in the

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

field of metrical composition. He sings in praise of his motherland and glories in its past history. He essays romance or adapts tales of fiction from English literature. Knowledge of English has given him the key to unlock the vast treasures of western thought. At the same time he is enriched with the learning of traditional Sanskrit lore, so that he can combine the best of the East and the best of the West.

Before we examine the literary output in greater detail and appraise the effect of the West on it, we may refer to the pioneer work done by Mr. C. P. Brown, a member of the Madras Civil Service for thirty-eight years (1817–55). This was a godsend to the Telugu language and literature. As he himself said, 'the flame of Telugu literature was just glimmering in the socket' in 1824, when he first began to make a study of the language. He helped to preserve its ancient literature by printing and publishing some of its classics; the method of collecting and editing manuscripts started by him in 1826 is substantially the same as is adopted even to-day. His essay on Telugu literature published in 1838 paved the way for the biographies of poets and histories of literature written and published in later times. The dictionary of the Telugu language which he compiled between 1845 and 1853, though not the very first of its kind, is still of distinct use.

The modern period of Telugu literature may be said to have begun about the year 1880, and critics have named it the Veeresalinga age (*yuga*) after the late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu, who has a just claim to be called its father. He was a dynamic personality with vast erudition and deep insight into human nature, a man of action and of quick and energetic resolve. The influence of Raja Ram Mohan Ray and of the Bengali reaction to the new light which came from the West was strong upon him, and he was the greatest figure in the field of literary and social reform in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. 'He laid the foundation stone of modern literature and led the way in developing the latent powers of the language into harmony and perfection'. In 1878 he published the first Telugu novel, which nine years later was translated into English and received with appreciation by the English-reading public. He claims in his autobiography to have written the first novel, to have translated the first drama, to have written the first Telugu farce and satire, and to have composed the first treatise on physical science; nearly all the different forms of composition found in English literature were transplanted by him. Literature was with him not a concoction prepared from a conventional recipe. It was an implement of social reform, a means of educating the public, a record of contemporary life, and a picture of the tumultuous changes that took place in his time.

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

538 177 It was a whip with which he lashed the conservative elements which were an obstruction in the way of progress. His farces were full of satire, his essays were simple and instructive, his translations and adaptations have the appearance of original conception and execution. Among other works he published lectures on various subjects relating to social reform, a history of the Indian States (1894–5), and *Lives of Noble Ladies and Great Women*, the last of which includes accounts of Grace Darling, Elizabeth Fry, Lady Jane Grey, and Mary Carpenter. In 1892 he published a translation of Goldsmith's *Traveller* in verse form; he also brought out translations and adaptations of some of Shakespeare's dramas and of Sheridan's *Duenna* and *The Rivals*.

He is regarded as the originator of modern Telugu prose, though he was not actually the first to make use of it. An earlier writer, Chinnaya Suri, left a book of stories entitled *Nithichandrika* which is considered a classic; and manuscripts of a few prose works, mostly tales of romance and mythological stories, have been discovered in the Tanjore palace library, which was built up by the rulers of Tanjore between 1535 and 1835. Although, however, prose-writing was not unknown, it was held in low esteem until Veeresalingam gave it dignity; till then verse alone could bestow distinction on a writer.

The stimulus given by Veeresalingam led to an increase of literary production and an improvement in quality. Publishing houses were started, not with the idea of making a profit but with the object of enriching the literature of the land; philanthropy and patriotism were associated with literary activities. One of the first products of the publishing agencies was the 'Vijnanachandrika Series', in which useful books of many different kinds were published under the able guidance of a versatile scholar, K. V. Lakshmanarao. Later he undertook the publication of an encyclopaedia in Telugu on the model of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, but his untimely death stopped progress after the first three volumes had appeared. As paper was cheap and printing was easy, almost every town of any repute or population had its serial publications and its circle of patrons and subscribers. Since then, with the increase of the number of schools and colleges, English education has spread even into remote villages, and the writers of the day exhibit unmistakable signs of western influence in their works.

One way in which contact with the West through the medium of English literature has affected Telugu literature is in a large number of translations and adaptations, some of which make the story fit into the life and conditions of the Telugu country, though others do not. Not only the novel but also the drama, the short

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India
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story, the biography, the lyric, the satire, the essay, and almost every other kind of literary production have been imported from the West by way of translation, adaptation, or abridgement. The extended knowledge and use of English have also enabled inter-provincial contacts, as a result of which scholars have become familiar with the contemporary literature of other Indian languages. A number of works, more especially novels, have been translated or adapted from Bengali, Canarese, Tamil, Marathi, and Hindi; the modern masters of Bengali literature, in particular Rabindranath Tagore and Bankim Chandra Chatterji, have been much drawn upon to enrich Telugu. With all this, the mental horizon of writers has been enlarged. Their outlook has widened and their spirit has become more or less cosmopolitan.

Translation and adaptation are only one aspect of literary development. Another and much more important is the output of productive genius, displaying itself in originality of subject and independence of thought, as, for instance, in what is called the social novel, in which the realities of daily life are portrayed and the complex problems of society tackled. This has served as a popular method of introducing social reform; many a book can be found in which the caste system, early marriage, enforced widowhood, and the illiteracy of women are boldly attacked.

The novel is an entirely new variety of literature introduced from English; the first of its kind, *Rajasekhara Charitra*, was an adaptation of Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*. Fiction soon became popular. Much of it was merely imitative. A number of Scott's novels were translated; coming to the later years of the first quarter of this century, the sensational novel and the detective novel took the fancy of writers; a number of cheap sixpenny dreadfuls have been adapted with and without acknowledgement. The novels of Conan Doyle have been translated or adapted, and counterparts of Sherlock Holmes and Doctor Watson have been created and continued from one book to another as was done by Conan Doyle. The plots of Reynolds's novels have also been imitated; some of his novels have been translated, and an adaptation of *East Lynne* has been published. On the other hand, there is much original work both in plot and construction, e.g. in the novels of Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham, some of which give a picture of Telugu life in all its attractive simplicity. A versatile writer, he also produced historical novels and stories, for which Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* provided material, and he is well known as a dramatist and humorist. The historical novel is very widely read, and almost all topics of Indian history, from the gleanings of Vedic times to the fall of the Mughal Empire, have supplied themes for writers, who have used their knowledge of

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538 English to ransack the books on Indian history published in
177 English in order to enrich the literature of their mother tongue.

The short story has also found considerable favour with the Telugu public and is a regular feature of magazines which have been started in imitation of the *Strand*. The chief themes are love and detection, both of western origin; one author in an English preface to his book frankly acknowledges the sources from which he has drawn, saying: 'Of late I have been reading a deal of sensational fiction, especially the writings of Edgar Allan Poe, Arthur Reave, Conan Doyle, Maurice Le Blanc, William Le Queux and others of note.' Of non-English authors, Tolstoi and Maeterlinck have received special attention.

Other branches of prose literature have in most cases been started in imitation of the West. The critical essays of K. V. Lakshmanarao and Veeresalingam had as their prototype some of the essays of Matthew Arnold, Walter Pater, and John Ruskin. These pioneers led the way and a number of followers have adopted their methods, which are now accepted as ordinary standards of Telugu writing, no one troubling to consider what was the model adopted or imitated. The *Spectator* and the *Tatler* have their counterparts in Telugu; the inimitable *Sakshi* of Mr. Panuganti Lakshmi Narasinham, and the *Vadarubothu*, hailing from Anantapur, are obvious adaptations of those English names. The constitution of the Spectator Club has been copied, but the author's individuality is too strong, and the social and religious conditions of the Telugu country are too unlike those of English society in the eighteenth century to make his papers servile imitations of the western originals. The humour and wit of the author are entirely different from those of Addison or Steele, and the language adopted and the situations created by him are all peculiarly suited to the manners and customs of the Telugus. Unlike the author of the *Spectator*, he not only exposes the small foibles of certain social types but often probes the depths of emotion and the springs of human action. The satire of Veeresalingam is of a more caustic type. In an adaptation of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* he successfully brought Swift's method into play, only with this difference that Swift was a misanthrope and Veeresalingam an optimist. Of more modern humorists we may mention Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham, whose foe is folly and whose weapon wit.

The literature of criticism is one of the branches of Telugu whose nature has been so completely changed that in its present form it must be regarded as a new contribution to the language. Formerly there was very little criticism except of a peculiar type. A few books were written on the lines of the treatises on *Alankara Sastra* in Sanskrit, but the aim of the critic was more or less re-

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India
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stricted to finding out whether a particular book satisfied the conditions laid down in a conventional scheme of classification. There was little attempt to examine its various aspects as a whole. The beauties of a particular verse or the propriety of a particular idea were discussed, and literary animosity, professional rivalry, or individual jealousy had free play. Now the western canons of literary criticism are applied and the authorities of western criticism are not only referred to but also quoted *in extenso*. Before the advent of English Sanskrit was the only law-giver and the treatises on aesthetics in that language were the only guides. Now the whole critical literature of the English language is at the disposal of the critic, and in his praise or condemnation of a literary production he makes use of them most freely. Recent works on the art of criticism, the standards of beauty and literary taste, the theories of dramatic technique and dramaturgy abound in references to and quotations from western authors. A lead was given by Dr. C. R. Reddi, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, who in 1899 wrote a critical appreciation of the works of a great poet of the middle ages; this work, which was new in the field, is still read as a model estimate of an author's work. Its success was as much due to his originality as it was to his introduction of methods of interpretation. To-day an accomplished scholar is required to be proficient not only in Telugu but also in English and Sanskrit, and it is not uncommon to find a critic taking an idea or a situation from a Telugu poet and quoting parallels from Shakespeare and Kalidasa at the same time.

Other branches of prose are also slowly developing. *A Short History of the World* by H. G. Wells has been translated into Telugu; short treatises on physics, chemistry, mathematics, economics, co-operation, and other subjects of practical or scientific value are making their appearance; and with the adoption of the modern languages of India as the media of instruction in schools there is a sustained effort to increase the number of publications of an educational nature.

Journalism is another western importation, and its ever-growing popularity is introducing substantial changes into the vocabulary and style of prose, which is gaining in lucidity, facility of expression, and suitability to different demands.

Telugu drama has also been influenced to a great extent by contact with the West. In one way it might be said that Telugu dramatic literature began in 1883, when Veeresalingam published a translation of *Sakuntala* from Sanskrit, which he followed up two years later with a translation of Sheridan's *Rivals*. The form of dramatic literature which he started caught the imagination of the people, and for a continuous period of nearly fifty years every

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538 536 177 town of any repute has had its theatre. Amateur and professional actors began to stage dramas which were sometimes translations from Sanskrit, sometimes from English, but also often original productions. But it should not be thought for a moment that the Telugu people before this time had no dramatic art. It was not entirely foreign to them. Examination of the manuscripts of the Tanjore palace library has revealed a good number of literary productions called 'dramas', though most of them do not approach either the Sanskrit or the English drama in plan of construction, characterization, or dramatic value. They were merely scenic representations of detached incidents with the accompaniment of music and dance. There was the invariable element of humour, and the story often centred about the marriage of a prince of a royal family or a god. Puranic stories were also dramatized in the same way, and the stage and its equipment were of a very simple nature. The itinerant village stage still puts on the boards the indigenous Telugu drama, which is very closely akin to the miracle or mystery plays of the sixteenth century in England.

The construction of theatres for the entertainment of large audiences and the cultivation of dramatic art for its own sake were undoubtedly due to western influence, and it is obvious that modern Telugu drama has been profoundly influenced in matter and manner, in sentiment and action by English models. Social topics are freely selected for dramatization, the problems which confront society are presented in an idealized or a realistic atmosphere, and thus the stage has become a powerful institution for the education of the public and for the guidance of public opinion. The modern form of drama began with translations from Sanskrit in 1880, before which time authors restricted themselves to a poetical rendering of Sanskrit works and made no attempt to present them on the stage, probably because actors had no social status and the stage was often in the hands of low-class people. The drama has now abandoned the classical unities of Sanskrit drama and has imbibed the freshness, vigour, and variety of topic found in English works. The stage has seen translations or adaptations of the dramas of Ibsen, Bernard Shaw, and many other European writers; the influence of Bengali literature is also evident, Dwinjendralal Ray and Rabindranath Tagore being models for translation. Tragedies are prohibited in Sanskrit, and for a time this ban was observed in Telugu, but the influence of English literature proved too strong, and to-day tragedy and comedy are accepted types though tragedy is not popular. The living drama is, however, being displaced in popular favour by the films displayed in the ever-growing number of 'talkie-houses', yet another western importation.

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The progressive change which we have seen in prose and drama is far less pronounced in poetry, owing no doubt to the finished form the latter had attained in pre-British days, its assured place in the heart of the people, and the strength of the traditions which it established. The Telugu classics are in a class by themselves and, as in past centuries, are the subject of continued study. There are conservative writers, the forms and subjects of whose verse reproduce those of the old *Prabandha* and *Purana*. The modern English-educated young Telugu, however, rambles into foreign fields. The works of English poets such as Byron, Shelley, Keats, Milton, and Wordsworth have been adapted. Shakespearian blank verse has created a taste for a particular variety of metre called the Telugu blank verse, which is now used extensively. The odes and the sonnets of English poets have had their effect on modern Telugu compositions, of which short poems on simple topics are a new feature, while the lyric element has received much attention.

Innovation has been the key-note of the young poets of the modern school, who have made it their object to emancipate themselves from the laws, conventional rules, and restrictions observed by poets of earlier generations, and to bring in new metres, new ideas, and new standards of value. Simple topics have been introduced such as 'the darkness', 'her eyes', 'the forest flower', 'the cuckoo'. A higher note has been struck by patriotism, the Andhra land being eulogized and the past greatness of its heroes commemorated. The cry 'This is my own, my native land' began to be raised early in the twentieth century, and it has now swelled into a chorus. The work of the modernists has a certain freshness and vigour, but the older school sees nothing good in it. It is adversely reviewed, often denounced, ridiculed, and satirized, as in a recent collection of poems (*Suklapaksham*), the author of which is himself undoubtedly influenced by Dryden, Pope, and other English satirists. Lack of scholarship, incoherence in thought, and vagueness of expression are a few of the faults laid at the door of the modern poet (*bhava kavi*), and with no little justification. There are some, however, whose writings are free from these defects and in whom western influence can be seen to the best advantage, for they combine the freedom of English literature with the strength of the indigenous culture. One point, however, has to be conceded, viz. that in certain qualities the twentieth-century Telugu poet and scholar suffer in comparison with the ancient Telugu poets. The modern scholar has widened the extent of his knowledge but he has lost in depth. The modern poet has not the same mastery of language as the ancient poets, who had metre, diction, and rhyme at their command, though there are still writers of this type who have not come under the spell of western literature.

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Two more important changes must be briefly mentioned. One is the introduction of the spoken dialect, as opposed to the literary dialect, into the writings of the day. This movement was started as a result of western influence by Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, and it is gaining ground as it gathers adherents from the younger generation. There are many scholars, however, who resist the adoption of this dialect as a literary medium on the ground that it is a defilement of their pure language. The other is the change which the vocabulary has undergone as the result of the infusion of English, a change similar to that which it underwent when it first came into contact with Sanskrit. That process still continues; to-day any Sanskrit word, simple or compounded with another, can be used in a standard work in addition to the words already adopted from Sanskrit which have become domiciled. At present the Telugu language is almost gravitating to a similar position in relation to English, because, in addition to the English words already incorporated in it with the necessary phonetic changes, English verbs and nouns are freely used in the daily speech of the educated and higher classes; as has often been pointed out, the modern graduate cannot speak Telugu for a few minutes without using some English expression or other. Any acceleration of this change will tend to the transformation of the language, which will become anglicized in the same way that it has been Sanskritized, but an effective check is likely to be afforded by the spread of the spirit of nationalism.

VI. URDU

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Urdu is the most commonly used language in India. It is spoken in the greater part of the north and in some parts of the south, including the great Indian State of Hyderabad, Deccan. In other parts of the country it is more or less understood, particularly in large towns. Its literature has thus a wide appeal and its influence is spreading with the growth of literary activity in various branches of knowledge. Though as a literature Urdu is comparatively new, yet as a language it is fairly old. There is an impression abroad that the language was born in the camp of Shah Jahan at Delhi, but this is not correct, though it is not unlikely that the camp was the origin of its name.[1] There are many theories[2] as to the origin of the language. Whatever view may be finally adopted, I think I can safely associate myself with the opinion expressed on this

[1] 'Urdu' is a Turkish word and means a camp.

[2] One theory is that the language developed in the Deccan before it travelled to Delhi. Another theory propounded some years ago by Professor Mahmud Shirani of the Oriental College, Lahore, in his book *Punjab men Urdu* is that it travelled through the Punjab to Delhi.

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178 SOCIOCULTURAL TRENDS--changes in fundamental underlying conditions; linear trends (e.g., cultural drift); cyclical trends (e.g., fashions and vogues); dynamic processes (e.g., integration, selective elimination, cultural evolution); evidence of cultural lag; evidence of cultural continuity or stability; etc. See also:

Demographic trends 161
Linguistic drift 197
Clothing fashions 391
Trends in urban development 369
Political movements 663

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we recorded three cases of protracted antagonism between a group of employing families and the occupational caste families employed. In one of them the dissatisfied employer agreed to retain the family on its promise of doing better work in the future. In another the caste people arrived at an amicable settlement by attaching another family to the employer, and attaching the dismissed caste member to a newly-settled family in the village. The third one dragged on for a little less than four years, and, yielding to the pressure and persuasion of the village elders, the caste agreed to give a substitute. The employer in this case was a hot-headed farmer, but he was a man of some wealth and considerable influence, and as such he could secure the effective intervention of the village elders in his own favour.

According to our informants 'the system to-day is not what it was a decade or two ago'. Many attribute this change to the spirit of individualism which is now manifesting itself in several walks of life in the countryside, and is bringing about changes in the established patterns of life. 'In former times,' said an agriculturist, 'these low classes knew their position and behaved themselves well. If they worked satisfactorily they were treated by us very well. In fact, with the passage of time, our relations became more and more intimate. I remember those days when a barber's son would come into the courtyard, offer salutations to us and say "Uncle, the headman has called you" or "Mother, the ceremony in the neighbour's house is about to start and they are awaiting you." In many cases they were just like the members of our family, and although both parties maintained the traditional caste distance, we could always take each other into confidence even on matters of a delicate nature. But now things have changed. Those boys don't want to work here. They want to go to the city. They are not satisfied with the traditional arrangements of payment; and so there is difficulty.' However, the system still continues more or less in its established, traditional form. Urban contacts, education or attraction of something better or more lucrative, may distract a young man, causing him to refuse to replace his old or deceased father's services with a family to which they were attached, but one of his poorer and less ambitious brothers or cousins will always be willing to take up the work.

We shall now examine the main economic functions and activities of the major caste groups in the village.

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Perhaps the fact of the matter was that Aliyabad men had obtained the favour by bribing the guards; but their excessive greed in not allowing any water into Shamirpet fields had exposed their game. Prompt official intervention checked ugly developments; and later the issue was resolved at inter-village level. But in the dispute itself the two villages had forgotten their internal differences and dissensions and each of them had acted as one body. Another instance of such concerted action and village unity is provided by the conflict between the residents of Shamirpet and eight army men from the nearby cantonment. These eight people came to the village in two army trucks and started loading their vehicles with firewood cut and stored by a resident of the village. Obviously the army men intended to take it away without payment. The owner of the house tried to check them, and in the process he was badly beaten up. In the meantime the news had reached the other village people, who came rushing to the spot armed with sticks. They did what they thought proper at the time to avenge the honour of the village. Outnumbered by the villagers, the army men returned to their camp, threatening to bring their company to destroy the entire village. Police intervened and the trouble was not allowed to develop further.

In a society resting on rigid division of the population into castes separated by strict rules governing touching, eating and drinking, sex relations and matrimony, and social distance prescribed by tradition it is essential that people realize certain limitations and accept certain conditions. Caste consciousness develops quite early in one's life and these limitations and conditions are absorbed long before maturity by all through conversation groups, play-groups and general social experience. So far there has been no attack on the general premises on which the society rests, and therefore no serious inter-group or inter-caste conflicts have arisen. The lower castes have accepted their inferior status, and while they have made efforts to improve their lot they have not openly revolted against it. In their turn the higher castes have also shown considerable adaptability, and recognizing the general social trend they have readjusted their attitudes and curbed some of the earlier excesses and injustices. They may still object to being touched by a low caste man, but they will not protest against his wearing superior clothing befitting only the upper castes.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Changing Scene

178 THERE is a tendency among some Western writers to regard the rural societies of the East, particularly of India, as almost static and unchanging. For over a century 'the timeless and changeless Indian village' has been the ideal of the romanticist. However, a micro-sociological study of a village like Shamirpet, which was insulated in feudal surroundings and was thus kept almost unaffected by the currents of social, economic and political changes that were sweeping the countryside in British India, shows certain unmistakable trends in the direction of cultural and institutional variation.

175 To analyse the changing scene in the village a brief recapitulation of its history is necessary.

According to government records there was at first a small hamlet on the site on which the present comparatively large village of Shamirpet is situated. Nearly two hundred and eighty years ago the ruler of Hyderabad State decided to get a large tank constructed near this hamlet. When the construction was started the population of the village increased considerably by the influx of labourers from the neighbouring villages who built temporary shelters for themselves mid-way between the place of work and the existing settlement. As the work progressed, some of these people started building permanent huts for themselves. With the completion of the tank the village acquired excellent irrigation facilities. This finally induced most of the families working at the construction of the tank to settle down permanently in the village. In addition to these people, there was also a fresh wave of immigrants. This included the Reddis and Muslims who were attracted by the irrigation facilities now available in the village. They

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127 In some respects the factors of social change operating at these two stages and the resultant trends are complementary, while in others they stand out in marked contrast. It will be useful first to analyse the changes that came about in the life and ways of the people in the last fifty years of the feudal period, and then to follow it up by an examination of some of the more recent changes brought about by the Police Action.

It is difficult to present a systematic account of the different stages of the slow and gradual transition of the village from its pre- and early-Jagir days to the conditions that it presented in the later part of the feudal period. Any attempt to do so would necessitate placing excessive reliance on oral tradition about the near past. In order to be able to compare the conditions in the two periods and to determine the main lines of variation, reconstruction of a picture of the first stage is necessary. This could be done on the basis of:

(*a*) Factual information regarding comparable, but remote villages of the region, which because of their comparative isolation and lack of urban contacts present to-day, in a broad sense, conditions that Shamirpet would have presented in the pre- and early-Jagir period. Cautious and limited use of this method of translating space into time is useful in providing us with a starting point.

(*b*) Oral traditions and memories of the people, in so far as they do not concern themes pertaining to family glory and personal pride, or those involving subjective idealization.

(*c*) Fragmentary evidence from documentary and historical sources reflecting conditions of life and living in that period. Police, revenue and other semi-legal records obtainable have been used in this connection.

The contrasting picture of the village representing the last phase of the feudal period can be drawn from actual ethnographic observation and record.

178 The major factors which influenced the course of developments
369 in the village have been mentioned earlier. However, they need some further elaboration. In the pre- and early-Jagir period the contacts between the village people and State administration were on a very limited scale, and were confined mostly to payment of land revenue and settlement of land disputes. Occasionally, criminal offences and civil suits of a serious nature were tried in

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the law courts in the city. Now and then State officials visited the village on tour. In the second half of the Jagir period these administrative contacts increased very considerably. At the same time the urban contacts of a section of the village population also grew gradually. These included visiting relations and friends in the city, receiving relations and friends from the city, occasional excursions for shopping in the large city stores and markets as well as for sight-seeing, temporary stay of a short or long duration for work in the city, and finally being in everyday touch with officials resident in the village, who were regarded as an urban element in the village population. Increased contacts with the towns and cities were greatly facilitated by the construction of the metalled road joining Hyderabad with the district headquarters of Karimnagar in the interior of the State. This road touches Shamirpet. With the introduction of bicycles and buses frequent and regular contacts with the urban areas were made possible. The progress of education has been rather slow. In the early-Jagir days only a few children belonging to the higher castes, and also to the upper level families, received any schooling. Even this was confined to a bare acquaintance with three R's. With the opening of a school in the village education was placed within the reach of a much larger section and even some untouchable children started attending the school. Some ambitious parents sent their children to the higher schools in the city where they could learn English. Books, periodicals and newspapers which occasionally found their way into the village conveyed to the people 'strange truths regarding the wide world through the medium of the printed word'. The State administration initiated some of its welfare and nation-building activities in the countryside. Agriculture, Veterinary and Animal Husbandry, Medical and Public Health, and Co-operation and Rural Development departments of the State started functioning in the rural areas. Their representatives and propagandists brought some new ideas and techniques to the village. The villagers saw their demonstrations, heard their talks, and were at times even coaxed into doing things in the new ways. This was indeed novel to them. In the earlier period government had only collected land revenue, heard some of their disputes, tried cases arising out of breaches of law, and occasionally forced them to provide practically free labour and 'presents' for touring government officials, but had never interfered with their agricultural

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practices or with their methods of cattle keeping. Compulsory vaccination and inoculation were introduced. The village people did not clearly understand the implications of the political movements that were developing in the city. The Muslims, thinking that they belonged to the 'ruling race', supported the Nizam and later the communalist Muslim party. The educated and city-influenced Hindus had sympathy with the Arya Samaj (a Hindu revivalist and reformist body), and the State Congress (a democratic political party affiliated to the Indian National Congress and dedicated to the ideal of self-government and democracy within the State), but could not express their sympathies openly. At least outwardly the landed Hindu peasantry maintained a loyalist attitude towards the established authority. These were the major influences that operated in the community. Nearly all of them had a slow and uncertain start, but gradually their intensity and effectiveness increased. As an outcome of their operation, at the close of the Jagir period, we get a picture of the village which is very different from the one that it would have presented in the pre- or early-Jagir period.

What then are the main lines of variation? In what spheres of community life are the changes most pronounced? As we find them most pronounced in material culture and technology, it would be appropriate to begin our analysis of change with this aspect of life. These changes have resulted in the acquisition of new habits and styles, of new tools and technological processes, and of a new outlook on things in general.

In the dress and ornaments of the village people there has been very noticeable change. The old-style peasant dress is now giving way to new-style clothes cut and stitched in imitation of the urban style. While it is still common to see an Indian lower garment—Hindu *dhoti* or Muslim *pyjama*—Western-style shirts with collars have mostly replaced the native upper garments. In the former times only the village headman, rich Reddis and Muslims, and the high-caste Brahmins and Komtis wore 'respectable' and semi-urban clothing, and that too only when they were to receive an important visitor or while going to the city. With the exception of this small minority, all others wore the traditional peasant dress. Spinning was done on the hand-wheel at home and cloth was woven by village weavers. Now the situation has changed. At present hardly any spinning is being done by the people, and the village weaver

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buys his yarn from the shops in the city. The clothing to-day can be classified into three main types: the average peasant dress, the old-style respectable dress, and the new-style clothing. In all the three types of clothes mill-made cloth is extensively used. For shirts and vests practically everyone uses mill-made cloth. The same is true of materials used for the bodices and blouses of women. Before the Second World War mill-made women's *saris* were capturing the village markets, and were making the position rather difficult for the village weaver who was unable to withstand this competition. However, due to acute war-time shortages, particularly of *saris*, there was a switch back to the locally woven material. In the three styles of clothing enumerated above, those adopting the new are imitating the current urban styles. In these two different trends can be observed: Indian clothing and semi-Indian clothing. Most people in this group are young men. During the Muslim régime they had taken to *pyjama* (thin white trousers) and *sherwani* (long, buttoned-up-to-the-neck coats) which were then extremely popular. The *kurta*—long loose tunic popularized by the Congress in the civil disobedience days—became a mark of patriotism and is currently the accepted respectable dress with young men. It can be worn with both *dhoti* and *pyjama*. Shirts with collars, shorts and European-style jackets were also used by this section. Knitted vests too became very popular. Items of clothing introduced more recently are trousers and bush-jackets. These are confined mostly to people who have served in the Hyderabad Army or who have had some small jobs in the city. In the old-style respectable dress not much change is in evidence. During the Muslim régime the clothing of the respectable people had acquired a definite court touch, and a long coat and lambskin cap became the dress of the respectable city-going village people. With the decline of Muslim rule in Hyderabad this cap was discarded by the Hindus as it symbolized their subordination to the Muslims. It has been replaced by an ordinary black cap, and the traditional long coat is still in use. The average peasants' and workers' dress has not changed much, but it is now made of mill-cloth. Many of the agriculturists and artisans, and indeed some poorer people, buy shirts with collars, and coats, to wear on special occasions. Among women brightly coloured and gaudily printed clothes have become popular. City manufactured trinkets are eagerly bought by them. Bangles, which every Hindu woman whose

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husband is alive must wear, were formerly made by one of the local castes from indigenous materials. Now factory-made glass bangles have captured the market almost completely. Children's dresses are now generally of Western style. Frocks, rompers, shirts and shorts are bought for them from the local market or from the shops in the city. Among other items of everyday wear Western-style shoes with laces are now being used alongside country shoes and sandals.

To the list of articles of daily requirement there have been several significant additions. Aluminium and 'German silver' utensils became very popular with the poorer sections of the population on account of their low prices. Glasses, as well as china cups and saucers, could be seen in several homes. Besides the public buildings five private homes now possess wall or alarm clocks. Kerosene lanterns can be seen in several homes, and there are five kerosene pressure lamps in the village. Some old people use reading glasses, and more then half a dozen young men from the village have bought sun glasses. Several people in the village use safety razors and torches. Cheap fountain-pens are also very fashionable.

In the food habits of the people there has not been much change. Sweets and other dainty eatables are bought from the shops in the city or from the bazaar. Five small stores in the village sell, among other things, lozenges, fruit-drops and biscuits made in Hyderabad. Tea and coffee are also very popular. Even those who do not drink these beverages regularly at home, occasionally have them in the village shop ostentatiously known as the 'hotel'. Aerated waters enjoy an amazing popularity as they are believed to provide relief from many stomach disorders. The cigarette factories at Hyderabad have been producing and popularizing cheap brands of cigarettes, which have been progressively replacing the country cigarettes in which tobacco is rolled in dried leaves. Along with fermented palm-juice, some people now drink other liquors supplied by distilleries in Hyderabad.

Side by side with the traditional recreations of gossip, loafing and playing indigenous games, several new varieties of entertainments are now available to the village people. The village has three gramophones. In the tea shop there is a crystal radio. Some young men in the village play volley-ball. Many people patronize the circus and cinema in the city.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

THE CHANGING SCENE

Changes in tools and technical processes are also important. Barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths are now using factory-made tools and instruments. The village tailor has a sewing machine. It is significant that there has been no mentionable change in agricultural tools. In farming methods, however, some changes have taken place. Improved seeds are being used by many cultivators. The value of green manure is realized by an increasing number of agriculturists. Oil cakes, castor, ammonium sulphate, and a special concoction of chemical fertilizers known as 'paddy mixture' are now being used. More attention is given to growing vegetables. A greater percentage of cultivators is now growing 'cash crops'.

Communications too have now improved. Many persons take advantage of the bus service. There are six private bicycles in the village. A shop-keeper has four more which can be hired. The headman of the village has recently bought a 1928 model Ford. The traditional bullock carts are still largely used for transportation of goods, and also for travel.

The opening of a small dispensary in the village, and the availability of excellent facilities of modern medical treatment in the city have considerably changed the attitude of the people towards diseases and their treatment. Although people still believe that smallpox and cholera are the result of the wrath of two goddesses and annually organize ceremonies in their honour on behalf of the village, the old fear of vaccination and inoculation has now practically disappeared. People no longer run away from the village on the appearance of the vaccinator, nor do they offer him bribes or threats for being spared the cruelty of vaccination. Divination, protective magic, chants and spells are all still employed to ward off disease and difficulty, but at the same time increasing use is being made of modern medicine. Age-old prescriptions of indigenous herbs are generally used for fevers and other common ailments. But when the disease takes a serious turn the patient may even be removed to a hospital in the city. Injections which were greatly feared a few decades ago are now eagerly sought as they are believed to give quick and sure relief from all ailments. Some people keep a limited stock of some of the popular and cheap patent medicines. Medicines for virility and strength prominently advertised in newspapers are obtained by post.

The social structure of the community is basically the same,

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178 The social structure of the village is basically the same
621 although with every administrative or political change in the village there were several organizational changes. The primary unit in this structure is either the elementary family (maintaining close contacts with allied families) or it is a large joint family. The head of each family is known as the 'big man'. The next unit is the caste; or in the case of the Muslims, the group sharing a common religion. Each of these groups has a hereditary caste headman who represents it in the village council. Finally, this council consists of these headmen of the different castes, three Ganadi and the headman of the village who is its presiding officer. The following tables show the significant lines of variation in social organization, with special reference to family, caste and village council:

I—FAMILY

178 596

Then	*Now*
(1) Insistence on family solidarity and cohesion.	(1) Growth of individualism.
(2) Greater attachment to the soil and settlement.	(2) Migrations more frequent.
(3) Intra-family relations governed by regard for age and kinship status.	(3) Less regard for these traditional principles.

II—CASTE

178 564

Then	*Now*
(1) Occupational specialization on the basis of caste.	(1) Caste no longer the final and only determinant of occupation.
(2) Prohibition on inter-dining with some equal castes and all lower castes.	(2) Rules of inter-dining less rigid.
(3) Hierarchy and permanent distance between different castes.	(3) Mild protest against social hierarchy: some modification in actual practice.

III—VILLAGE COUNCIL

178 623

Then	*Now*
(1) Constituted on hereditary principles.	(1) Also admits people with 'achieved status'.
(2) Little outside intervention.	(2) Considerable outside pressure.
(3) Decisions generally accepted.	(3) Defiance or avoidance possible.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

In the organization of the family the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement, and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger people, especially among those who have had some education or urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an increasing scale. In making records of the biographies and general attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two steps of people emerged clearly. While the elderly and the middle-aged, mostly illiterate, complained about the inconveniences of village life, they still regarded it as the only way of life possible for *them*. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal their contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs there; and on the other it has generated disharmony and dissensions within the family causing considerable dislocation in the established principles according to which priorities and concessions went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies is not more than 10% or 15% of the total in their age-group.

The caste system in the community presents only slight variations in some directions. As before, caste still retains its endogamous character. Similarly, caste continues to be a part of, and is sanctioned by, the traditional religion. However, its occupational character has undergone some change. People are now taking to new occupations. A goldsmith has opened a tea shop. Washermen and similar other castes are accepting menial jobs in the city. These are not their traditional occupations. Besides Muslims some non-Komti Hindus have set up general shops in the village; in the traditional system only Komtis could do so. Thus people are either giving up their traditional occupations, or they are taking to occupations which by tradition belong to some other castes.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

564 178 Prohibitions on inter-dining are still there; but they have been greatly relaxed. As a general rule people observe them within the village, but ignore them when they eat in the shops or restaurants in the city. The caste system is still characterized by its traditional hierarchy, but some ineffective verbal protests can now be heard against it. Among the castes on the lower level of the agriculturist group there has been some effort made at rising in the social scale by the adoption of surnames and caste appellations traditionally belonging to the higher groups. Although it has been legally abolished by the Constitution of the Republic of India, untouchability is still practised within the village. However, untouchable children can now attend the village school. Clean castes and unclean castes both ride in the same buses. No objection is taken if untouchables now dress like respectable people of the higher castes. As the colonies of the two untouchable castes are quite separate from the main village settlement and have their own wells, there has so far been no problem of their being able to draw water from the well used by the higher castes. Untouchables certainly resent their degraded status, but they are careful not to voice their protests too loudly or too publicly for they are conscious of the advantages of silence in view of their dependent position in the economic structure of the community.

178 623 Traditionally the membership of the village council is hereditary and should be inherited by the eldest male child on the death of the father. In the case of the inheritance of the office of village headman this principle has been strictly observed. Two Ganadis inherited their office from their fathers, but an additional post of Ganadi has been created in recent years to accommodate a young man who had considerable influence over his age-group and who was creating problems in the village. From among the heads of the different castes resident within the village, eight are at present ineffective, titular members, and are represented in its deliberations by some other more vocal and assertive members of the caste. Seven other rich and influential persons are also invited to participate in the proceedings. It is said that before the Jagir period there was very little outside pressure on the village council. In the Jagir period the estate officials tried to influence it indirectly. At present government officials residing within the village discreetly pull the strings and exert pressure on the council to secure favourable decisions in certain cases in which for some

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

reason they happen to be interested. In former times, as a general rule, the decisions of the village council were accepted unconditionally. Even to-day none can defy them openly, but often the cases are taken to superior law courts and factionalism within the council is exploited to get its decisions altered or modified.

In the traditional economic structure of the community the following characteristics were important:

(i) Occupation was determined by the caste of the individual.

(ii) Mobility was limited and people had great attachment to the settlement.

(iii) Different castes were integrated into the overall pattern of village economy on the basis of their functional specialization. For their co-operative labour payment was made in kind at the time of harvesting.

(iv) There was barter of occupational services between the various artisan and occupational castes.

It has already been pointed out that in the last few decades the occupational character of caste has undergone some modifications. In place of their traditional occupations people have started accepting other vocations. The traditional system of caste interdependence under which artisan and occupational castes attach themselves to the families of agriculturists is still there. But the attached labourers of untouchable castes are showing signs of discontent and figures for the last ten years show twenty-one migrations of Madiga families to the city. Barbers, washermen and carpenters also openly express preference for a basis of cash payment as that enables them to negotiate and bargain and puts an end to the uncertainty and occasional high-handedness of the employer under the old system. The traditional arrangements involving the barter of occupational services between artisan castes too is now gradually breaking down and is giving place to a basis of cash payment.

In the ritual structure of the community no significant variations have been found. Under the Muslim régime, Hindus co-operated in the public ceremonies of the Muslims. With the spread of the revivalist and reformist ideas of the Arya Samaj greater interest was taken in the Hinduism of the holy books. Preachers invited from the city added to the folklore of the people some fragments of traditional Hindu mythology. However, the regional cults as well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

The Police Action undertaken by the Indian Union in 1948 changed the fortune and status of the State of Hyderabad. The most significant outcome was that political power changed hands —from an extremist communal party to the people of the State. It had a profound effect on the rural areas. However, sufficient time must elapse before we can evaluate its total influence on the life of the community. But it has set in motion certain trends which are not without interest to the student of social change in peasant communities.

The first definite change is that Muslims who occupied a privileged position during the former régime now no longer do so. On account of some of their un-neighbourly acts of terrorism during the last phase of extremist Muslim rule in the State some of them had become very unpopular. Fearing retaliation by the Hindus they ran away from the village temporarily. Now they have all returned. For some time they were jeered at and ridiculed, but at the time of our study cordiality had returned to the Hindu and Muslim sections of the population.

The second noticeable change is that under the administrative reforms initiated by the new administration forced labour and forced extraction of hospitality by government officials have been prohibited. In practice they still continue on a restricted scale. Government's decision to take determined steps against bribery and corruption has been announced; but firm action still remains to be taken in this direction.

Thirdly, the abolition of feudal estates has been a big step in the direction of land reform. With the end of the Jagirdari system Shamirpet has once again come under normal district administration. Further reforms ensuring a more equitable distribution of land, fixing a maximum limit on land holding and ending the evils of absentee landlordism are under contemplation. When these plans materialize substantial changes can be expected.

Fourthly, the government has intensified its welfare and nation-building activities. The village is to have a better school in the near future. The Public Health Department is already more active. The Agriculture and Veterinary departments are making a better planned and organized effort towards the introduction

of more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

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of more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

Finally, there has been considerable activity in the rural areas by the political parties, culminating in the first general election of December 1951. This experience has been totally new to the villages in Hyderabad. As the Congress is the ruling party in the country, the loyalists have transferred their allegiance from the Nizam to the Congress. At any rate publicly they profess their loyalty to this organization. Because the headman of the village belongs to this group, the faction opposed to him in village matters allied itself to the Socialist party. The Communist party was illegal, but it had operated in the neighbouring area for a long time, and it was a candidate sponsored by it who ultimately won the election. Most people do not understand the intricacies of politics, and indeed frankly say so. Election propaganda has of course put several ideas into the minds of the people and raised new hopes. Those who have some educational or urban background are trying to come forward in this new field of activity. One observable consequence of this has been the revival of casteism. Although nearly every political party in its platform slogans paid lip service to the ideal of a casteless and classless society, in actual selection of the candidates due thought was given to the caste composition of the electoral districts. A candidate's pull over the members of his caste was an additional factor which was taken into account in such politically inexperienced territories as Hyderabad. In the countryside the election propaganda did take a sectarian turn and according to the occasion Hindu versus Muslim, or Reddi versus non-Reddi sentiments were freely exploited. Voting in several areas was largely done on caste considerations. The caste rivalries engendered by it lingered on even when the election was over.

Let us now briefly examine the motivation and mechanism of this process of social change. What are the major factors inspiring this change? And through what agencies does this change come about? In other words why is the community adopting new ways of life and thought, and under whose leadership are the traditional ways of the group being modified?

The reasons for change must be sought in a multiplicity of factors. In the words of Raymond Firth, 'Structural change is a product of social interaction, in which pressures are felt,

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178 advantages perceived, responsibilities recognized.'[1] Extending this approach to technical and organizational changes in peasant communities, we can attribute some changes in the life-ways of the people to State compulsion and legal prescription. In some spheres, particularly in material culture and technology, utility, convenience, availability and price determine to a great extent the adoption of new elements and traits. The prestige factor too is significant, for any externally induced or internally inspired change in the system of status evaluation brings in its wake significant modifications in the organization and life-ways of society. Innovation, variety and change for its own sake can also account for substantial variation from established norms in social behaviour at a given point of time. In a small rural community such as Shamirpet, which is situated near a big and modern city and is in everyday contact with it, the prevailing climate of opinion in social, economic and political matters in the city is bound to influence its general outlook and ways, for apart from their practical value city-ways are gradually coming to be regarded as more 'respectable' and 'progressive'.

178 554

179 So far State compulsion has been instrumental in bringing about little social and cultural change in the village community. Compulsory vaccination as well as inoculation at the time of an epidemic appear to be the only significant measures enforced by the State which have been accepted in the everyday life of the community. Although untouchability has been abolished by law, in actual practice it only gives to the hitherto untouchables an equal share in public utilities, for considerations of pollution bar all effective interaction between the high and the low castes especially in the social spheres of inter-dining and inter-marriage. Symbolic as it is, this gesture of the State has nevertheless brought about a considerable modification in the inter-group attitudes between the clean and untouchable castes.

[151] [783]

178 757

The factors of utility, convenience and availability have played a more important role in bringing several new elements into the life of the community. Although indigenous herbs and magico-religious practices are still continued in the treatment of diseases, the efficacy and utility of allopathic drugs and injections have greatly changed the attitude of the people towards modern medicine. I have pointed out earlier that they eagerly seek these

[1] Raymond Firth, *Elements of Social Organization* (London, 1951), p. 85.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

medicines and injections. The old beliefs and practices survive, partly because of the non-availability of quick and efficient modern treatment, and partly also because of its prohibitive cost. Besides the two systems do not conflict, and in order to be doubly sure, most people continue magico-religious practices along with modern medicinal treatment. Adoption of several new tools and instruments for occupational work, as well as of several other items of Western technology, such as buses, railways, razors, and electric torches, introduced in the comparatively recent times is due to their efficiency and utility. In the matter of dress and ornament other factors must also be taken into account. Mill-made cloth was not regarded only as cheap and more durable; it came to be looked upon as more respectable also. The coarse handloom cloth was regarded as rustic, the finer mill-cloth, on the other hand, was more refined and dignified. Further, mill-made cloth allowed a wider range of choice in the matter of colours, designs and patterns. The style of dress was influenced by a variety of factors. Under Muslim rule the style of dress of the rulers became fashionable. With Congress in power there was a sudden switch from the Muslim court-dress to Congress-patronized national dress. Modern Indian—as well as Western-style clothes—cigarettes, sun-glasses and tea are not only popular because of their utility, they possess a great prestige value as well.

Influence of the city has brought about adjustment and modification in several spheres, but the need of balancing different extremes in the organization of the community has so far prevented any drastic structural change in village communities. Under the impact of the new socio-economic factors the family ties have weakened, the kin-group has lost some of its characteristic strength and in the system of status evaluation achieved-status is competing with traditionally ascribed status; but the society still continues to be caste-structured as caste plays a vital role in its social, economic and ritual organization. Democracy has brought in its wake party organization and elections which demand group formation and group allegiance: in several rural areas no new groups have emerged, the loyalties of the people have only been re-affirmed to the pre-existing caste groups. While no important social or economic projects and reforms have so far been put into operation, the first major political change—the

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

178 621 [666] introduction of democratic elections—has demonstrated the strength of the traditional system which has made a bid for absorbing 'political group formation' and 'democratic elections' in its all-embracing caste structure. Deeper and more far-reaching economic and technological changes, as well as externally induced social reform, touching the basic framework of rural societies, may present a different set of problems and test the strength of the caste structure. Under their new pressures and incentives the community may have to work out a new pattern of adjustment which may necessitate important structural changes.

178 Limited as this change has been, it is none the less not unimportant to ask who inspires and leads this movement towards modification of traditional ways and adoption of new elements of culture. To answer this question it is necessary to analyse the major cultural trends operating in India as a whole. Viewing the country broadly, we find three major trends: (i) the regional culture, founded on the traditions, customs and life-ways of the culture-area; (ii) the national culture, comprising some all-India traits inspired by the national renaissance, cemented by the struggle for self-government as well as by social and economic reform, and sustained by the will to find a rightful place in the comity of nations; the elements in this category being partly revivalistic and partly conscious innovations; and (iii) adoption of traits and elements from Western technology and culture. Besides these, in any given area the 'urban' and 'folk' or rural patterns are clearly distinguishable. While in the urban areas all the three trends delineated above are found to operate with more or less equal force, in the rural areas the folk variety of the regional culture is still predominant although it has been modified by national and Western elements. The inspiration and lead for modification in the traditional ways definitely come from the urban areas brought into the village community by semi-urbanized people or inspired by the example of urban relatives. In the Indian setting while there is no polarity between 'folk' and 'urban' societies, for a proper perspective of social change this classificatory device can be used very effectively. On a limited scale the struggle for supremacy between 'old' and 'new' or between 'tradition' and 'progress' goes on in cities and smaller towns also, and every generation finds itself with a modified set of values. The rural communities clearly take the lead from the urban areas, although

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not without hesitation, misgivings, doubts and an initial resistance. The unfortunate class of people who are semi-rural and semi-urbanized find themselves rejected by both sides: they are held suspect by their fellow-villagers as demeaned by urban associations, and are looked down upon by their urban associates for their rustic ways. Petty government servants and town-returned village-folk are not expressly recognized as leaders of the community, but all the same they set the wheels of the community in motion in the direction of social change. It is through this class of people that urban items of regional culture, and several items of the national and Western cultures are brought into the community and hesitatingly absorbed into its life. Their selection or rejection naturally depends upon their need, utility, prestige-value and conformity with or opposition to the prevailing set of values in the community.

The village people have always idealized their traditional life-ways, and have shown unmistakable suspicion for those of the city, but have generally followed the lead of the élite, which formed the dominant social group, though sometimes with their own modifications and adaptations. The gradual adoption of Sanskritic ritual by the rural communities was the first major triumph of this group in the past. The process still continues, but now 'progressive' and 'modern' elements are gradually filtering in through the semi-urbanized village-folk.

To conclude, a few remarks may be made about the influence of these new trends on the ethos and world-view of the people.

The episodic, topical and complete life-histories recorded in the course of our investigations, supplemented by observation and records of conflicts and co-operative activities in Shamirpet, provide the material for these observations on the villagers' world-view. It is necessary to point out that so far no depth-psychology studies have been done in this area nor has there been any systematic attempt to study the cultural aspects of personality. In the absence of such studies, only an outline of the dominant attitudes and goals which are characteristic of the society can be attempted. In this context, following John Gillin, 'Ethos is taken to mean the constellation of acquired drives or motivations which are characteristic of a culture, plus the goals which are both explicit and implicit, towards which

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

Education.—A day school has recently been started with 40 on the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the ability latterly. No one knows English.

There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

Village administration.—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

History and prospects.—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

3b Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

871 rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

[191] The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

[213] There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

623 *Village administration.*—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

624 There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

364 *Sanitary administration.*—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

625 There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

624 The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

674 *Crime.*—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

691 No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops.

426 The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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Socially, it increases drunkenness in the lower classes; and I find more crimes in summer than in other seasons. 273 674

But it has turned the honest and sympathetic ryots into greedy money-lenders and capitalists. It has increased the lust for gold. True that the poorer classes have an opportunity of clearing off their family debts; true that they find sufficient food to eat in summer at least; true that there is more money in the village now than 20 years ago. But equally is it true that there are more debts now; that the gulf between the rich and the poor is widened more and more; that the once poor are now poorer and the once rich now richer. There is greater struggle, greater competition, and greater rises and falls of life. 178 556 477

Economic history of the village.—When compared with fifteen years ago, the village has, on the whole, progressed economically. True that estates once united are now split up into fragments; and that the once poor have now become poorer. True that there are cases where people borrow money and purchase land with it; and then sell it again to clear off that debt some years later. Still the village has improved. There is increase and improvement in agriculture. Many fields that were once forest are now brought under cultivation. There is more money in the village now than 20 years ago, more produce is now exported from the village than before. The introduction of the railway near by has revolutionized the commercial condition of the village. Prices have risen both of the commodities produced and of land in general, three or four-fold. There is a greater inflow of foreign goods into the village. Kerosene oil has completely driven out castor oil. There are sixteen Japanese wind-proof lamps in the village. The standard of living has decidedly been raised. Among the lower castes to eat solid food was a luxury; conjee, prepared of korra and ragi, was the food for all the lower castes, including Sudras. Now they all eat rice and cholam and wear better clothing. But the money is ultimately finding its destination into the hands of the rich money-lenders. Formerly there was enough corn in the land and there was a sort of self-sufficiency. Now there are more debts, consequently more ruin of families with the higher rates of interest, and greater servitude and misery. 178

If the Government were to open a sugar factory and utilize the jaggery, both the Government and the villagers would be profited. Wells can be very profitably sunk in the fields. But the ryots never do it, though it costs only Rs. 200. A ryot is prepared to spend even Rs. 1,500 in litigation but not Rs. 200 for a well in his fields, even though he is rich and knows that it is profitable. By example they may improve.

The Brahmans have almost lost their former property for want of any profession, while they incur heavy expenses for marriages, etc. Only one family is now well off. The Vaisyas too have lost their former lands by litigation, marriages, and other expenses. On the whole, the Sudras have grown richer, both with agriculture and the jaggery trade, and the rise of prices for their produce. The weavers, washermen, the Panchamas, many of the Sudras, are growing poorer; they are selling off the little lands they have for debts and other expenses.

Lands are sold chiefly to clear off old debts, though there are some cases where profits tempt people to purchase or sell. The 426

[i.e. the seasonal nature of industrial employment--Analyst]

181

181 ETHOS--general orientation of the culture; predominating interests, values, themes, and motivations; characterizations of the total culture (e.g., as "conservative," "competitive," "militaristic," "spirit-ridden," "Apollonian," "folk," "urban"); allegations and inferences as to national character; etc.

See also:

Cooperation and competition 47
Prevalent personality types 187
Ethics 577
General character of religion 771
Social philosophy 929

183

183 NORMS--native and scientific definitions of custom (e.g., as ideal patterns, as ranges of variation within limits, as statistical inductions from observed behavior); positive and negative norms (e.g., folkways, taboos); verbalized and covert norms; investment of norms with affect and symbolic value (e.g., mores, idealization); discrepancies between ideals and behavior; configurations of norms (e.g., culture complexes, institutions); etc. See also:

Attitudes 208
Ethical ideals 577
Legal norms 671
Taboos 794
Transmission of social norms 867

571 157 come forward very readily to help those who need it. It is common to suspect others' motives; and not unusual to be always on the alert to read hidden meanings into the seemingly innocent utterances of others. Analysis of their life-histories shows that the people are not given to introspection. They are always on the defensive; but their inter-personal relations are not characterized by detachment. In their thoughts, likes and dislikes they are quite open, and all persons having even casual contacts have a fair acquaintance with one anothers' ideas and attitudes

827 [186] 577 It is not uncommon for people to analyse and describe the personality-traits of other inhabitants of the village as well as of outsiders coming into the settlement. Positive qualities, having obvious approval, find expression in such epithets as: 'good person', 'hard-working', 'honest', 'respectable', 'well-behaved', 'intelligent', 'generous' or 'large-hearted' and 'faithful'. Epithets describing negative traits which do not meet with social approval are many and varied, and among others include: 'bad person', 'lazy', 'dishonest', 'shameless', 'mannerless', 'foolish', 'miserly', 'small-hearted', 'unfaithful', 'good-for-nothing', 'liar', 'all talk but [521] no deeds', 'ill-tempered', etc. Analysis of such traits is firmly established in the culture-pattern, and occupies an important place in the conversation of the people when they meet in small groups. ● [183] Although conformity to social norms is idealized and emphasized, when there is a breach of traditional ways the person responsible likes to confess it in confidence to someone else. Long conversations and the mutual sharing of secrets are quite frequent. However, when friendships break up the sanctity of earlier secrets is not protected by any code of honour. Within limits originality and innovation are admired; but excess and ostentation soon lead to social censure and ridicule.

829 626 577 Subjects coming under the critical eye of society are: (i) breaches of traditional norms, (ii) display and exhibitionism, (iii) sexuality, (iv) efforts to rise in the power hierarchy, (v) conspicuous success, and (vi) originality and 'too many new ideas'. Carrying tales and 'whispering about the doings in others' houses' go on in the community on a wide scale. It is criticized by the aggrieved persons and their sympathizers, but no one regards it as inherently bad. 'Incidents' or breaches of established norms are discussed in small conversational groups at first, and the more important ones among them gradually filter through and reach the respon-

184

184 CULTURAL PARTICIPATION--prevalence of "specialties" and "alternatives"; degree of proliferation of subcultures, intra-cultural differences, and special statuses; extent to which the entire culture is socially shared; etc. See also:

Social stratification 86
Individual roles within statuses 156
Dialectic differentiation 197
Urban and rural differences 369
Regional specialization in production. . . . 438
Occupational specialization 463
Differences in standard of living 511
Ascribed and achievable statuses. 554
Ethnic stratification 563

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rural community within this region invariably has a number of common cultural characteristics and social forms and values. 621 631

Yet we cannot regard the Indian village community as static, timeless and changeless. Time and the interplay of historical and sociological factors and forces have influenced the structure, organization and ethos of these communities in many significant ways.

II

To-day it is common to speak of the 'Indian village' or of 'the Indian peasant'. While it is true that many problems are common to the entire Indian countryside, this practice tends to give one an impression that the village as a social and cultural unit possesses a basically uniform organization and structure of values all over the Indian sub-continent. This would obviously be an over-simplified presentation of a rather complex situation. For a proper understanding of their social structure as well as of their problems, it is necessary to classify them into clearly distinguishable types. For such classification several criteria could be employed, including, among others, the following: 621 184

i. Size, population and land-area.
ii. Ethnic composition and caste-constitution.
iii. Pattern of land ownership.
iv. Structure of authority and power hierarchy.
v. Degree of isolation.
vi. Local traditions.

Each culture-area of India has its own nomenclature to classify the villages within its territory in respect of their size and population. In the Hindi-speaking parts of north and middle India it is usual to distinguish between *kheda* (a hamlet), *gaon* (a small village) and *kasba* (a large village). In Telangana, the Telugu-speaking part of the State of Hyderabad to which the village of Shamirpet described in this book belongs, a similar distinction is made between *gumpu*, *majra* and *grama*. The first of these denotes a tiny collection of huts, the second is a larger hamlet and the third is the village proper. The differences between these rural settlements are not confined only to their size and population. All three can be classified as belonging to the 'folk society', but they differ so greatly in their internal organization, economic self-sufficiency,

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patterns of adjustment with the outside world and the degree of influence and prestige in the wider rural community that any attempt to combine them would be tantamount to overlooking significant sociological facts. The residents of the large villages look upon themselves as the leaders of the rural community, regarding those from smaller villages as a little less civilized and those from small hamlets as rustics. The man from the smaller village is suspicious and critical about the ways of the people from bigger villages, but he has in his heart of hearts an admiration and respect for them. To him also the people living in still smaller settlements appear to be rather crude and rustic. As the division of labour in the community is governed to a very great extent by traditional caste occupations, and co-operative labour of a number of different castes is required not only for agricultural activities, but also for socio-religious life, the large village, having within its population all the occupational castes, has a comparatively more integrated and self-sufficient economic and socio-religious life than the smaller villages, which, in the absence of one or more occupational castes, may have to depend on some other settlement. Because of its multi-caste constitution, larger population and greater complexity of internal problems, the organization of the larger village is often remarkably different from that of smaller villages. In fact, some of the smaller villages and hamlets come to be regarded as appendages of the larger villages, and although they have considerable autonomy in domestic matters they are very greatly influenced by the views and preferences of their larger neighbour.

The ethnic and linguistic composition of a village, as well as its caste constitution, also determines its character. The structure, ethos and problems of a wholly tribal village will be very different from those of a village with a mixed or homogeneous population. A tribal village is often unitary in respect of its authority structure, the tribal authority itself being supreme in secular, ritual and cultural village matters. On the other hand, in the case of a village which has a mixed population of tribes on the one hand and Hindu castes on the other, or of two different groups of parallel Hindu castes separated from each other by the fact that they speak different languages and belong to different culture-areas, or of Hindus and Muslims, the nature of its internal organization and authority is bound to be different. If the diverse elements of its population have equal strength—numerical as well as economic—

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it generally has a federal type of organization, in that each culture group within this settlement is semi-autonomous, and a common village authority drawn from all these groups has overriding powers for the community as a whole. In areas where there are intense or even pronounced inter-caste rivalries and tensions, the caste composition of the village will largely determine its patterns of inter-group adjustment.

It goes without saying that in a primarily agricultural country land must be greatly prized; and, with the great pressure of population and the conditions of private ownership, possession of land has not only an economic but a social and prestige value as well. Where all the land belongs to a landlord or is held by two or more landlords—as in the case of 'joint-villages'—the organization of the village is sure to be very different from that of a village inhabited by proprietary tenants. The general ratio of land distribution between two or more castes, between certain families or between one big landowner and the rest of the community may have a vital influence on the nature of village organization and problems.

No village in India is completely autonomous and independent, for it is always one unit in a wider social system and is a part of an organized political society. An individual is not the member of a village community alone; he also belongs to a caste, religious group or tribe which has a wider territorial spread and comprises several villages. These units have their own organization, authority and sanctions. Politically the villages are under the legislative, executive and judicial authority of the Indian Union and one of its constituent States. For administrative convenience these States are divided into districts, the latter being subdivided into *tehsils* or *taluquas*. In day-to-day administration the villages come into contact with the authorities and officials of this subdivision and of the district, although the laws of the State and the Union are binding on them. The village thus has independence and autonomy only in its domestic affairs. But who exercises the authority in this field? Is there a petty feudal landlord who has some administrative and judicial powers as well? Is there a government-recognized landlord who has arrogated to himself administrative powers? Or, has the village a *panchayat* (village council) constituted on the basis of local tradition? All the feudal states have been abolished in Republican India; but petty feudal estates still continue in

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621 631 184 some parts of the country, and effective steps have been taken in very few areas to abolish village landlordism. On the other hand, with a view to reviving village self-government, some State governments are establishing village councils with recognized legal powers, the members of which are appointed by the government. Locus of power in the community is another criterion in respect of which Indian villages often present very different pictures.

369 621 184 Nearness to or isolation from large administrative or industrial centres also has a bearing on the nature of the organization of a village and of its view of the world. Availability of or nearness to modern means of transport and communications also modifies the setting and fabric of a village, and in its classification it is necessary to take into account these vital factors.

621 184 Lastly, village settlements are governed by certain traditions—regional and local. The dress, speech and manners, as well as the lay-out of the village and construction of the houses, follow the prescribed patterns of the culture-area. Thus in the different areas we can naturally look forward to a certain degree of diversity in village organization. But apart from these regional variations villages have a corporate unity, and each one possesses an individuality of its own. Some villages are regarded as 'peaceful', others as 'difficult'. Some have a reputation for generosity and fair play, while others are notorious for their meanness. Some are known for being 'upright and strict'; others are criticized for their laxity. Love of litigation is a characteristic feature of some villages; ostentation and display of others; while still others may be very sensitive about their good name. Again, co-operativeness or its absence may characterize some villages. These attributes and qualities may have their roots in strong local traditions or in a combination of factors working at a particular time. But they do give a distinctive character to the village, and a study of the social ways, processes and motivations in such villages will not be without considerable sociological and psychological interest.

In view of the operation of factors delineated above, it is difficult to regard any one village as typical or representative of rural India as a whole. In fact, I would go a step further to say that such a village could hardly be regarded as representative even of its culture-area, except in a very general way. The problem before the social anthropologist and the sociologist is therefore a complex one, and what we need to-day is a series of studies of village com-

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munities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos. Until this is done our picture of social systems in rural India will remain vague and inadequate.

From the old ethnographic surveys and some preliminary studies published recently, an outline of the structure and organization of Indian villages is beginning to emerge clearly. Notwithstanding many significant differences, they have a number of structural similarities. In the north, middle and peninsular India, as well as in the eastern and western parts of the country, the following features characterize a very large number of villages.

1. As a territorial, as well as social, economic and ritual unit, the village is a separate and distinct entity. The residents of this settlement recognize their corporate identity, and it is recognized as such by others. It is not uncommon to find in them a sentiment of attachment towards their own settlement site. In several matters the village acts as a unit.

2. These settlements have a composite population comprising a number of groups belonging to different Hindu castes, and in some cases to tribes as well as to other religious groups. As far as the Hindu section of the population goes, these diverse groups are inter-dependent and integrated in the social, economic, ritual and administrative organization of the community. No caste alone is self-sufficient, for it requires the services of several other occupational castes which hold the monopoly of certain crafts and professions. This system of co-operative labour, based on a pattern of inter-caste relations approved by tradition, is not confined only to economic activities but also extends to ceremonial and ritual life. The hierarchical organization of castes within the community is so fixed in the structural patterns of rural India that the tribal as well as the non-Hindu (such as Muslim and Christian) segments of the population come to be regarded as other castes in the village.

In many parts of India, while maintaining their socio-religious identity, several of these non-Hindu groups have acquired some caste characteristics, particularly occupational specialization. For example, in some areas of rural India the Muslims function as an occupational caste variously, making fireworks, weaving, driving *tongas*, *ikkahs* and other hackney-carriages, selling vegetables or playing musical instruments.

3. The members of this local group are bound together by ties

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3. The members of this local group are bound together by Hes
621 of mutual and reciprocal obligations. Inter-personal and inter-
184 group relations in several spheres of village affairs are governed by
626 an established usage and social ethics. Breaches of the norms of the community and its established usage are dealt with either by the village elders or by a village council. The village council, speaking for the village, has the final authority of social ostracism through which it can effectively enforce its sanctions.

III

114 Modern community studies represent a very significant development in the field of social anthropology and sociology. The concepts and techniques formerly applied to the study and analysis of primitive and isolated tribal societies are now being adapted for the study of peasant communities, non-literate as well as literate, and also for the analysis of more complex and industrialized communities. This new direction in the focus of interest of an increasing number of social scientists and field-workers has inevitably led to important modifications in our conceptual framework and to a sharpening of our tools of research. The methodology of social sciences and techniques of field research have both gained very considerably from this new trend. The work of Robert Redfield, John Gillin, Sol Tax and Ralph Beals, among others, represents a substantial advance in this field, both in theory and in methodology. From Robert Redfield's *Tepotzlan: A Mexican Village* to Oscar Lewis's *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepotzlan Re-Studied* this branch of social anthropological enquiry has travelled far: the former inaugurated an epoch, which then appeared to be full of promise; the latter is a convincing proof of its maturity. On Middle America we now have a series of interesting and useful studies. In other parts of the world also important researches of this kind have been made. Studies of the great peasant societies of the East received encouragement and support from scholars both in Great Britain and in the United States. Malinowski's and Radcliffe-Brown's forewords to the works of Fei and Embree bear testimony to the interest evinced in community studies by the British social anthropologists. The work of Martin C. Yang and Francis L. K. Hsu received constructive support in the United States. A remarkable feature of some of these Far Eastern studies is that they were done not by Western scientists but by scholars

RITUAL STRUCTURE

Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations. They do not believe in any of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, nor in any of the later incarnations; but they share with the Hindus a living faith in the existence of malevolent ghosts, spirits and witches. They participate with the rest of the community in village ceremonies and sacrifices. To ward off cholera, plague and smallpox, they too think that it is necessary to propitiate the local deities and goddesses.

Village Hinduism is not easy to describe. It is an extremely elastic religion, and within its all-India framework admits of a considerable degree of regional and local variation. In his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, M. N. Srinivas has introduced the useful concept of 'spread', and split up village Hinduism into 'All India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and 'Local Hinduism'.

The people of Shamirpet worship all the major gods of the Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. The concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their consequences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth also have such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

½ [The Muslims _ Analyst]

796 563 for the sake of the fun that they expect to find in the fair. A closer examination of the Hindu festivals and ceremonies reveals that a large number of all-India Hindu festivals are observed in the community; but a good many of these are restricted to the 'twice 796 born' castes of the Brahmin and the Komti. Some of them are 564 observed by a few other higher castes, or often only by a few 'respectable' families in these castes. Ceremonies and worship connected with these festivals are conducted by the Brahmin in castes occupying a level higher than that of the Sakali and the Mangali (excluding the Panch Bramha group). The Sakali and the Mangali invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, or else they manage with a caste priest. While the Brahmin and the Komti, of all the castes, are most interested in a majority of the festivals of this category, in the common village ritual they are passive and distant observers. In the two major festivals of the village, which involve considerable inter-caste co-operation, it is the Kummari[1] who officiates as the priest and not the Brahmin. The bulk of Hindus celebrate relatively few of the all-India festivals with great enthusiasm, but it could be said that groups occupying higher rungs in the ladder of caste hierarchy are found to observe more of these festivals. In fact the higher the status of a caste the greater is the number of these that it observes; and thus we find the Komtis observing more of these festivals than any other Hindu caste, with the sole exception of the Brahmin who, being of a superior caste, observes a few festivals more than the Komti. The local village cults are still living and vital. In them the participation of the two highest castes is nominal; but that of the other castes complete. The Kapu group of agricultural castes occupying an intermediate position in the caste hierarchy participate in both sets of rituals with equal enthusiasm.

4. RITUAL OF THE LIFE CYCLE

184 561 The basic pattern of ceremonies connected with the major crises of life is the same in all sections of the Hindus in the village community; but in the minor details of the ritual there is considerable difference in the practices of different castes. More than this, even within a particular caste the rites and observances are not identical, for in some respects individual families have their own traditions. In the course of our field-work we found the catalogu-

1 [i.e., member of potter caste.--ANALYST]

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Hindus
Muslims

ing of these variant customs quite a stimulating, though somewhat tedious, task; but a full ethnographic record of them will be out of place here, and only a broad outline of the essentials will be presented, to illustrate their place in the socio-religious life of the Hindus. As the Muslims differ from the Hindus vitally in respect of their *rites de passage* their observances will be described separately.

Birth. On the birth of a child the mother, as well as other members of the family, is ritually impure. On the third or fifth day after the birth the *purudu* rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of all members of the family except the mother. The mother continues to be ritually impure for twenty-one to thirty days. On the twenty-first day—in some castes on the thirtieth day—the name-giving ceremony of the child takes place. The mother is bathed. The child's head is shaved, and it is put in a cradle. If it is the first child, or the first son, relations from other villages are also invited to participate in the name-giving ceremony. Friends and neighbours from the village itself are always invited. Women sing songs suitable for the occasion. If an ancestor is believed to have taken re-birth the newborn is named after him; otherwise the elders, after mutual consultation or at the suggestion of an important and influential relation, decide upon a name for the child. The name is announced to the assembly of men and women present. Singing is continued for some time longer. The ceremony ends with a feast for relations and some very special friends.

The Brahmin may be consulted for his astrological predictions regarding the future of the child, and also regarding the implications of the position of the stars at the time of birth for the members of the family. On this occasion the Komtis, the Reddi agriculturists as well as other higher caste Hindus with urban contacts may also invite him. Women from the barber's caste act as midwives among all the clean castes; untouchables manage with experienced women from their respective castes. Services of four other castes are essential: the barber for shaving the child's head, the washerman for washing the linen and clothes before the twenty-first day ceremony, the potter for the supply of new pots for ritual purification, and Madigas for playing musical instruments. Payments for these services are prescribed by tradition; and are both in cash and kind.

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185 CULTURAL GOALS--social foresight; concept of progress; reform movements and utopian goals; prevention of waste; social planning; conservation policies; etc. See also:

Organization of production and distribution	47	Land reform	423
Individual achievement	55	Economic planning and development	433
Specific government projects	65	Saving and investment	454
Population policy	168	Political doctrines, policies, and programs	668
Dynamics of culture change	178	Social insurance	745
City planning	361	Social philosophy	829

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[For notes on ethos and world view see category 116, pp. 231-32.]

113, 185, 427 Telugu AW17

[For information on tenancy reform legislation in Madras see 39: Patel, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 307-315.]

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They mostly hunt small game, and are adept in the use of traps, snares and dogs. At the time of these investigations there were six guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shooting. Similarly, fishing is done by very few people, mostly by some young Muslim men. They do not use fishing nets and traps, and practically the only method employed by them for catching the fish is that of using the rod, hook and bait. The large tank in the vicinity of the village could afford a good supply of fish, but the absence of the fishing caste in the village population leaves this possibility almost unexplored. Fishermen from the neighbouring villages, however, periodically come to the tank.

The surroundings of Shamirpet offer very few opportunities for the collection of wild food. Around the village there are not many fruit-bearing trees. Mango and *jamun* (rose apple, *Eugenia jambolana*) fruits are mostly eaten while they are still unripe by the village boys. Parties of children and young people periodically go to pick wild berries when they are in season. These are mostly eaten on the spot. When wild figs are ripe children collect and eat them. Another item of food eagerly sought by everyone is the *chikur*—tender tamarind leaves. These leaves are curried, as well as pickled and preserved. Honey is collected by some men of lower castes and inferior social status, whenever they can spot a comb. Medicinal herbs, roots, tubers and barks are collected according to need.

Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic organization of the community, the traditional occupations and functions of the different castes have already been described. With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

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578 the general tone of life in the community. Inter-group tension between Hindus and Muslims, engendered partly by political controversies in the Hyderabad State, threatened disharmony and possible breach of peace in the village in the period preceding and following the intervention of the Government of India. The recognition of the *fait accompli* in the State by the Muslims and the change in their approach and attitude towards the Hindus soon 666 established cordial relations between the two communities. At 578 the time of our investigations the Brahmin/non-Brahmin controversy, which was governing the political alignments of people within the State to a considerable extent, had its echoes in Shamirpet also. In the Telangana area, in general, it was taking the shape of an open conflict of interest between Brahmins and Reddis. In Shamirpet the individual relations between the Brahmin household and the Reddi residents of the community were very cordial; but in the discussion of general political and social questions there was a persistent anti-Brahmin feeling. Casteism was a force of no mean significance in the first general elections under the Republican Constitution, and manifested itself in such slogans as 'Reddis must solidly stand together', 'Irrespective of party considerations Reddis must vote for a Reddi candidate', or 'Non-Brahmins must unite to strike a blow to Brahmin domination'. As the interaction between the different castes in the wider political field is still in its initial stages, the pattern of group alignments has not emerged 578 very clearly. A third factor may also be mentioned here. Under 564 the influence of the social and political propaganda of the Sched- 185 uled Caste Federation, the untouchable castes have started voicing their grievances and protests against their position in the caste hierarchy. So far these protests have been mild and verbal only. Perceiving the economic advantages of the traditional system, the untouchables have not yet seriously challenged the assumptions that underlie the structure of the community. However, the abolition of untouchability by law, the granting of equal shares to them in all public utility services, and protests against the traditional system by the more vocal and assertive untouchables have aroused some tension with regard to them in the higher castes. 'Times are changing. The untouchables were admitted to schools first, then they started travelling with us in the same railway trains and buses; and now they want to draw water from our wells and eat with us in public eating-houses. The

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government is indulging them; and for vote-getting the political parties are spoiling them. If things go on like this, in the future these low castes will want to marry our daughters and sisters,' remarked a Reddi agriculturist. Those standing nearby nodded their assent. The above remark is illustrative of the general attitude of 'responsible' persons in the higher castes.

EDUCATED VERSUS UNEDUCATED

Adverse comments are frequently heard from the educated and uneducated people against each other. The uneducated especially have some stereotypes regarding the educated; and the latter often express derogatory opinions about the illiterate members of the community.

Remarks echoing the following opinions and sentiments are commonly heard from the uneducated people: 'What use is education to us? After four years at the school all that our children learn is to hold a pen in their hands. What we really want them to learn is the holding of the plough firmly.' 'By learning to read a couple of books at the school the youngsters begin to think that they have in their skulls all the knowledge and learning in the world. They scoff at their parents, belittle the experience of the elders, and seem to think no end of themselves. Realities of life soon teach them a lesson. Sooner or later they repent and fall at the feet of the elders.' 'Everyone says, "Send your children to school; uneducated people are like animals; education makes them human beings." But what do we get out of education? Boys learn to read and write, but they forget the traditional ways. They do not want to cultivate the family land, and are ashamed of their traditional profession. They all want jobs in the city. If things go on like this what will be the future of the community?' 'The educated people excel each other in tall talk and boasting. They will drink, gamble and intrigue. There is nothing else that they can do.' 'What service do the educated people render to the community? They instigate simple illiterate people to quarrel, and later exploit the situation to their own advantage.' 'We village people are simple. Education makes us crooked.' In substance the average attitude boils down to this: education shakes a person's belief in the traditional ways and creates in turn new desires and ambitions; these factors operating simultaneously make the educated persons misfits in the community.

On the other hand, the educated people think: 'The illiterate

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186 ETHNOCENTRISM--exaltation of the ingroup (e.g., consciousness of kind, local pride, patriotism, class consciousness, old school tie); unfavorable judgments of other groups (e.g., race prejudice, religious intolerance, national antipathies); overt manifestations (e.g., snobbishness, discrimination, ethical dualism, nationalism); symbolic representation (e.g., flags, anthems, emblems, national heroes); channeling of hostilities (e.g., sports rivalry, ethnic scapegoats); etc. See also:

Sports and games 82
Prejudice and discrimination toward ethnic and other stratified groups 86
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Behavior toward nonrelatives, strangers, and aliens 609
Society rivalries 616
Development of nationalism 619
Citizenship 841
International relations 848
Political parties 865
Nationalistic and nativistic movements . . . 868
Military morale 703
Religious persecution 798
Ideas about race 823

come forward very readily to help those who need it. It is common to suspect others' motives; and not unusual to be always on the alert to read hidden meanings into the seemingly innocent utterances of others. Analysis of their life-histories shows that the people are not given to introspection. They are always on the defensive; but their inter-personal relations are not characterized by detachment. In their thoughts, likes and dislikes they are quite open, and all persons having even casual contacts have a fair acquaintance with one anothers' ideas and attitudes

It is not uncommon for people to analyse and describe the personality-traits of other inhabitants of the village as well as of outsiders coming into the settlement. Positive qualities, having obvious approval, find expression in such epithets as: 'good person', 'hard-working', 'honest', 'respectable', 'well-behaved', 'intelligent', 'generous' or 'large-hearted' and 'faithful'. Epithets describing negative traits which do not meet with social approval are many and varied, and among others include: 'bad person', 'lazy', 'dishonest', 'shameless', 'mannerless', 'foolish', 'miserly', 'small-hearted', 'unfaithful', 'good-for-nothing', 'liar', 'all talk but no deeds', 'ill-tempered', etc. Analysis of such traits is firmly established in the culture-pattern, and occupies an important place in the conversation of the people when they meet in small groups. Although conformity to social norms is idealized and emphasized, when there is a breach of traditional ways the person responsible likes to confess it in confidence to someone else. Long conversations and the mutual sharing of secrets are quite frequent. However, when friendships break up the sanctity of earlier secrets is not protected by any code of honour. Within limits originality and innovation are admired; but excess and ostentation soon lead to social censure and ridicule.

Subjects coming under the critical eye of society are: (i) breaches of traditional norms, (ii) display and exhibitionism, (iii) sexuality, (iv) efforts to rise in the power hierarchy, (v) conspicuous success, and (vi) originality and 'too many new ideas'. Carrying tales and 'whispering about the doings in others' houses' go on in the community on a wide scale. It is criticized by the aggrieved persons and their sympathizers, but no one regards it as inherently bad. 'Incidents' or breaches of established norms are discussed in small conversational groups at first, and the more important ones among them gradually filter through and reach the respon-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

577 unmistakable appreciation. Cowardice and treachery are condemned, but people still indulge in malicious gossip and back-
152 biting. Mutual suspicion characterizes the general nature of inter-personal relations. Two families on the road to prosperity are likely to be jealous of each other; but adversity almost never fails to bring them nearer and closer. Exercising little control over their emotions, people get excited very quickly; anger and friendship are both aroused in them with equal ease.

571 A study of inter-group relations will give us a better idea of the nature and quality of the attitudes that largely govern inter-personal relations in the community. For this we shall first examine the inter-caste attitudes embodied in stereotypes, and later analyse similar attitudes and opinions covering two sets of rival groups—educated and uneducated, and those with urban contacts and those without them.

564 INTER-CASTE ATTITUDES: SOME STEREOTYPES

●186 Inter-caste attitudes find expression in several stereotypes which
[522] are a part of the thought patterns of the people, and find expression both in jest and banter as well as in quarrels and outbursts of anger. Among others, the following stereotypes and related anecdotes were noted in Shamirpet.

The Brahmin is 'pious from outside, but not so at heart'. He is 'tricky and calculating'. 'He instigates people, but always keeps himself in the background.'

The Komti is 'a born coward, but a shrewd business man'. 'When he says anything on oath, take it that he is telling a deliberate falsehood.' 'He spares no ingenuity to save even a counterfeit coin.' 'Gods do not penalize a Komti for telling lies, he is born to do that.' The anecdotes concerning the miserliness of the Komtis are indeed many and varied. 'If a fly falls in butter-milk, rich people will throw the butter-milk away, the poor will throw away the fly and drink the butter-milk. But the Komti squeezes out the butter-milk before throwing the fly away.' 'If a relation comes to the house of a Komti and the time of the evening meal approaches, he will think, "If this guest goes home, I shall be able to save one meal." The guest on the other hand thinks, "If I stay here a little while more, one meal will be saved at home." And a battle of wits goes on to save just one meal.' The stories of their

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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cowardice are also many. 'A Komti is a warrior in words, but a rat in deeds.' 'If you strike him once he will say, "Strike me a second time and I will see." If you strike him a second time, he will say, "Strike me a third time and I shall show you what it means to beat me." You go on beating him, and all that he will do is to repeat his threats without having the courage to hit back even once.'

Of the Kapu, or agricultural castes, general public opinion seems to be good. 'They are a hard-working people, faithfully attached to the soil.' 'The Kapus are the *annadata*, literally producers of agricultural wealth. If they do not cultivate the land and produce grain, what shall we eat?' Social comment is generally unfavourable on the rich Reddi landlords who make excessive demands on the tenants.

The Kummari's place in common village talk is not very enviable. 'Living in the world of his earthen pots, he knows little of the world outside.' 'Because he works continuously at the wheel, no strength is left in his loins. No wonder, he cannot satisfy his wife.'

More than anyone else, the Golla is the butt of many cruel jokes. He is criticized for his simplicity, for his dirtiness and for his awkward gestures and rustic manner of speech. His shocking cowardice too is often commented upon. 'He tends sheep. He is no better than one of his flock.' 'The Golla is a model of cleanliness. Look at his body, it is covered with lice all over.' 'See, how a Golla talks! If you hear him from a distance you will think that he is quarrelling with someone; but no, he is discussing with his wife what to cook for the evening meal.' In animated discussion the Gollas are certainly given to much gesticulation. 'Others also gesticulate but the mannerisms of the Gollas are remarkably different.' 'In sheer cowardice only a Sale will excel him.' 'Bluff him, threaten him and a Golla will readily agree to what you say. He is too thick-headed to understand you otherwise.' 'You can never know what a Golla will do. Give him a sweet-smelling flower and he will put it in his anus.'

In the village community the Sale caste symbolizes cowardice. If anyone is afraid of going out in the dark or runs away from a fight, people remark, 'Are you the son of a Sale? That alone can explain your remarkable bravery.' This is one of the most widely prevalent and generally accepted stereotypes. Many a Sale would

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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also accept it, and using different words would say, 'We mind our work and do not get mixed up in local affairs. What use is it fighting like animals?' Others generally say, 'If you strike a Komti with a stick, he will hit you back with his tongue. He has at least a store of filthy abuse which he uses as a weapon of defence. But the Sale is too timid to do even this. All that he can do is to run into his house and hide himself.'

The Gaondla, 'when he is poor, carries empty pots of palm-juice from every house; but when he amasses wealth, his head turns. Then he learns to speak the language of the urban people.'

The Sakali is 'after all a washerman. One who washes the dirty clothes of the rest of the community cannot himself remain clean.' Women belonging to this caste have a reputation for their great capacity for drinking. 'They do not require much persuasion for granting sexual favours to people outside the caste; and the devils —Sakali women—are such adepts in sexual technique that anyone falling into their clutches once remains their slave for ever.'

There are several witty stories about the status of the Mangali (barber). 'No doubt his general status is low, but he always has the advantage of the company of rich and influential men. Do you not sit with him while he is cutting your hair and giving you a shave? Even rich agriculturists have to allow him to sit near them as if he were their equal in status.' 'It is true that his status is not very high. But who does not bow to him? While cutting a king's hair the barber orders "Bend a little towards me", and the king unquestioningly obeys him. Who else can catch hold of your hair, pull your ears or slap you on the cheek? Ask a barber to cut your hair and shave you, and you will have the answer.' 'The agriculturists always have to worry about their crops—in some years they grow well, in others they do not. But there is no uncertainty about the crops harvested by a barber—the beards of his clients grow with an unfailing regularity.'

[751]

The castes in the Panch Bramha group are not regarded as particularly auspicious. 'While starting on a journey if you happen to see a person belonging to one of these groups, you should take it as a sign of ill-luck. It indicates a possible failure of your mission.'

'The Mala and the Madiga will be rude if you are gentle with them, and will be gentle if you are rude to them.' 'Kick him first

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus
Muslims

and then ask him to do a thing, a Madiga will never refuse. Ask him to do something in soft words and he will have a thousand excuses ready.'

Although Shamirpet has maintained, even in the worst years of communal tension, a fairly honourable record of communal harmony and the relations between the Hindu and the Muslim sections of the village population have been cordial in every sense, the two communities have some generalized notions about the inherent qualities and attributes of each other. The Hindus will say, 'The untouchables are impure, but Muslims are poisonous. If you touch a Madiga you may have to sever only the finger with which you touched him, but if you touch a Muslim you will have to cut off the arm itself.' 'The Muslims are good only in two things —they eat and copulate like beasts. Who else except a Muslim would ever think of going to bed with his uncle's daughter, who is next only to his real sister.' The Muslims are regarded as showy and ostentatious. 'A Muslim will eat stale rice inside his house, but when coming out he will apply some clarified butter to his lips. Then he will belch loudly and say, "How much fried rice and meat have I eaten to-day".' With regard to conversion to Islam the Hindus often say, 'A Hindu untouchable of yesterday becomes a Muslim to-day; and to-morrow he will start proclaiming that his forefathers lived in Arabia!' The Muslims, having for generations prided themselves as the ruling race of Hyderabad, tend to look down upon the Hindus, and make fun of their numerous gods and superstitious beliefs. On the whole the Muslims regard the other community as 'cowardly and mean'. But the recent changes in the political fortunes of the State, resulting in the end of Muslim rule, have had a sobering effect on the Muslims, and now they do not take the offensive against their Hindu neighbours, as some of them very commonly did in the period preceding the Police Action of 1948.

I have pointed out earlier that most of these stereotypes find expression in jest and banter, and occasionally in outbursts of anger. While each caste seeks to proclaim and prove its own superiority in some respect it invariably holds some generalized notions, such as those described above, about the inherent qualities of the other castes. It is believed that there can be individual exceptions to the rule, but regarding the castes themselves these stereotypes are valid. However, very few of these notions influence

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

829 cultural activities are directed, or upon which high value is placed.'[1]

What is the universe according to the average way of thinking in this village community? Notwithstanding the historical traditions of the Andhra culture-area to which this village belongs, and the nearness of the settlement to the large cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad the universe in people's thoughts remains extremely limited both in time and space. Some educated persons, especially the Brahmin and the Reddis, have vague ideas about the cultural traditions of Andhra and of the glorious past of India, but to the great bulk of the people caste-mythology is their only history. Traditional social institutions and life-ways are idealized: they originated long, long ago when men first appeared on the earth and the salvation of people lies in their faithful observance of these divinely ordained ways. It is customary to criticize the change of times in so far as the present is concerned; but the idealized past does not have much depth—at the most it goes to the great-grandfather's generation and above that to legendary heroes of caste-mythology. The Muslims have a fair acquaintance with the history of the origin of their religion, but not of their own connections with it. While people know about the existence of several different cultures, languages and religions in India, and also something about the lands beyond the seas, have been to places of pilgrimage and a few have even seen some of the larger cities of the land; their mental horizon is definitely regional. The village, their own caste, villages in the neighbourhood and some of the developments in the nearby capital city—generally only those affecting the rural areas—constitute their effective universe. [186] The focus is local and regional, confined to family, kin, caste and some neighbouring villages. National consciousness is rather vague, and it was a surprise to us that in a village so near a large city there were many people who did not know the names of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and had only the haziest of ideas regarding the struggles of the Indian National Congress against British rule. Recent political changes in Hyderabad and activities of the different political parties have sought to widen this universe, but so far the change has been extremely limited. Newspapers, increased political activity, and compulsory educa-

[1] Sol Tax, ed., *The Heritage of Conquest*, "Ethos and Cultural Aspects of Personality" by Gillin, p. 195.

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191 SPEECH--notions about language; standards of correctness; individual speech idiosyncrasies; ideas about speech defects (e.g., stuttering); speech aids (e.g., megaphone); bilingualism; etc. See also:

Telephony	206	Oratory	537
Radio	207	Vituperation	678
Writing	212	Deafmutism	733
Sound recording	216	Cursing	789
Conversation	521	Acquisition of speech	868
Vocal music	533		

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu A[illegible]

THE SETTING

2. THE PEOPLE

According to the census of 1951, the total population of Shamirpet, which included the two neighbouring hamlets of Babuguda and Upparpalli, was 2,494, with a total of 508 houses. The following table shows the distribution of the population according to religion:

1. Hindus.	A. Clean castes	1,434
	B. Untouchables or Scheduled castes .	680
2. Muslims		340

The predominant language in Shamirpet is Telugu, the main language of Telangana and Andhra-desa. It is known as 'the Italian of the East' and is praised for its sonorous and lyrical qualities and possesses a vast literature, both classical and modern. However, the dialect of Telugu, which is spoken in Shamirpet, and generally in the countryside, is criticized by the more sophisticated Andhras for its harshness and rustic accent. In the census of 1951, 2,008 persons in this village were recorded as speaking Telugu, while 340 persons were recorded as speaking Urdu, which was until 1948 the official language of Hyderabad administration. These figures are, however, misleading, and make reference only to the mother-tongue. In practice most men in the village are bi-lingual; those whose mother-tongue is Telugu have at least a smattering of Urdu, and of the 340 Urdu speakers at least half possess a working knowledge of Telugu. As a generalization it may be stated that knowledge of the mother-tongue alone is confined only to women, although several women among both the Hindus and the Muslims are also bi-lingual.

Thus the two major divisions in the population of the village may be distinguished on the grounds of religion and language. Culturally also the Hindus and Muslims stand in marked contrast to each other.

The Hindus of Shamirpet can be classed under three broad divisions:

1. Cultivators.
2. Occupational castes, with traditional crafts and professions regarded as clean and respectable.
3. Depressed classes, subsisting by humble and lowly callings.

In the first group we can place the following castes: the Reddi, the Muttarasi, and their subdivisions. These groups are often

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other [212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the ●[191] ability latterly. No one knows English.

There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about 214 seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

624 *Village administration.*—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

691 For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

167 In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

325 Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

171 rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

[191] The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

[213] There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

623 *Village administration.*—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

624 There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

364 *Sanitary administration.*—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

625 There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

624 The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

674 *Crime.*—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

691 No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops.
426 The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

very close to the human inmates. Rubbish and cow-dung are stored up in front of the houses, while in rainy seasons the whole becomes a stagnant pool of water, rubbish and cow-dung. 511 356

The houses of the Pariahs are filled with an awful smell of skins, bones and putrid flesh. The insufficiency of food that they suffer from tempts them to fill their bellies with toddy and other stimulants that ultimately ruin their health.

The Sudras are perfectly temperate and simple in habits and food. The "twice-born" castes are bound to marry their girls before twelve. The lower castes are not bound to do so. But the Sudras and lower castes actually marry their girls at a very early age, both to satisfy the anxiety of elders and for fear they may not have the money afterwards. I know a case in which a girl two months old was married to a boy of two years, the boy dying a year later of cholera. They maintain strict widowhood like the Brahmans. There is no purdah. 582

The villagers bathe and wash clothes and also wash their cattle in the same tank as that used for drinking. 515

Education.—There is one school; its accommodation and equipment being a rented house, an atlas, a globe, text books, some pictures of common objects, civics primers, dumb-bells, a black board, a desk, benches for boys to sit upon. 871

Elementary education is given up to the fourth standard, in the vernacular, in history, arithmetic, geography, civics, etc. This education is most unpractical and incomplete and ill-suited to the villagers, who do not proceed to college classes. It does not enable them to read good books in Telugu or to learn even the elementary principles of sanitation. They are never made to feel that they are citizens of a world, or an empire, or a province, outside the narrow bounds of their village.

Attendance—	Boys.	Girls.
1913	19	4
1914	9	3
1915	45	12
1916	54	8
1917	48	6

About 30 per cent of the adults can read the vernacular; two persons can read and talk English. There is a noted musician in the village but no other pandit. Not less than 25 or 30 per cent of those who have passed through the school have lost their capacity to write or cipher after leaving. One boy has proceeded to the Mechanical Engineering course in the Victoria Technical Institute, Bombay; another to the Arts course in the Madras University. [191]

There are 90 to 100 books, of which 70 are owned by Brahmans, made up of novels, dramas, puranas, the Mahabharata and stories. Among the Sudras, a development of literary taste, though in a very small degree, is perceptible. There are many devotional songs and lives of Telugu saints, while stories of the epics rendered into songs and recited by "Bhagavathars" are very frequent. The latest innovation is the introduction of dramas. Novels are still a rarity, as well as histories. No newspaper comes to the village. 538

The village has no temple except that of the village goddess. Her festival is celebrated with much slaughter of cattle and goats given by their owners whenever there is an outbreak of cholera or small-pox; or, failing these, once in four or five years. The cost is 796

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192 VOCABULARY--paucity or richness of vocabulary; range of vocabulary in ordinary use; receptivity to loan words; elaboration of vocabulary in particular directions; special vocabularies (e.g., sacred words, slang, legal language, technical words, occupational jargon); words and phrases with strong emotional connotations; etc. See also:

Place names 103
Glossaries of native words frequently used in descriptive accounts 104
Personal names 581
Kinship terms 801
Numerals 802
Native terms for plants and animals . . 824, 825

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India AW1
TELUGU AW17
PAKISTAN AT1

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Two more important changes must be briefly mentioned. One is the introduction of the spoken dialect, as opposed to the literary dialect, into the writings of the day. This movement was started as a result of western influence by Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, and it is gaining ground as it gathers adherents from the younger generation. There are many scholars, however, who resist the adoption of this dialect as a literary medium on the ground that it is a defilement of their pure language. The other is the change which the vocabulary has undergone as the result of the infusion of English, a change similar to that which it underwent when it first came into contact with Sanskrit. That process still continues; to-day any Sanskrit word, simple or compounded with another, can be used in a standard work in addition to the words already adopted from Sanskrit which have become domiciled. At present the Telugu language is almost gravitating to a similar position in relation to English, because, in addition to the English words already incorporated in it with the necessary phonetic changes, English verbs and nouns are freely used in the daily speech of the educated and higher classes; as has often been pointed out, the modern graduate cannot speak Telugu for a few minutes without using some English expression or other. Any acceleration of this change will tend to the transformation of the language, which will become anglicized in the same way that it has been Sanskritized, but an effective check is likely to be afforded by the spread of the spirit of nationalism.

VI. URDU

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Urdu is the most commonly used language in India. It is spoken in the greater part of the north and in some parts of the south, including the great Indian State of Hyderabad, Deccan. In other parts of the country it is more or less understood, particularly in large towns. Its literature has thus a wide appeal and its influence is spreading with the growth of literary activity in various branches of knowledge. Though as a literature Urdu is comparatively new, yet as a language it is fairly old. There is an impression abroad that the language was born in the camp of Shah Jahan at Delhi, but this is not correct, though it is not unlikely that the camp was the origin of its name:[1] There are many theories[2] as to the origin of the language. Whatever view may be finally adopted, I think I can safely associate myself with the opinion expressed on this

[1] 'Urdu' is a Turkish word and means a camp.

[2] One theory is that the language developed in the Deccan before it travelled to Delhi. Another theory propounded some years ago by Professor Mahmud Sherani of the Oriental College, Lahore, in his book *Punjab men Urdu* is that it travelled through the Punjab to Delhi.

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197 LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION--dominant language or languages; affiliation with other languages; position within a linguistic stock or family; dialectic differentiation; processes of linguistic change (e.g., drift); etc. See also:

Racial affiliations . . . . . 144 Cultural affiliations 171

M Te Ta K
197,

M Te Ta K
113,

M Te Ta K
162

Marathi AW12
Telugu AW17
Tamil AW16
Kanada AW10

[For distribution of languages, see map, p. 645, category 116, in 6: Spate, AW1 India.]

Telugu AW17

113, 197, 564, 582, 614

[For information pertaining to language regions, kinship terminology and kin relationships, see 5: Karve AW1 India, category 116, pp. 230-1.]

THE SETTING

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In the first group we can place the following castes: the Reddi, the Muttarasi, and their subdivisions. These groups are often

resent this disability, but nevertheless they recognize the value of realizing their own limitations and continue to conform to the traditional norms of behaviour.

The people of Telangana and Andhra-desa belong to the great family of Dravidian-speaking people who developed a great civilization in the south and have materially contributed to the final make-up of Indian civilization as we know it to-day. Racially they represent a mixture of several elements. In physical types also the people of Shamirpet show great variation. Most of the Muslim inhabitants of Shamirpet are the descendants of local converts and do not therefore greatly differ in physical characteristics from the local Hindu inhabitants, but the few immigrants whose arrival dates from recent times present a marked contrast with their more delicate features and fairer skin colour.

In point of dress and ornament the Hindus and Muslims differ widely. Muslim men and boys wear loose trousers of thin white cloth called *pyjama*, and a vest or a shirt. Out of doors they put on the more conventional long coat buttoned up to the neck known as *sherwani*. They invariably wear a red fez cap or a black cap made of sheepskin. Muslim girls wear a tight *pyjama* and a long, loose tunic which often touches the knees. Round the shoulders and thrown round the back they wear a thin white or coloured scarf known as *dupatta* or *odhni*. On festive occasions these clothes are very colourful. Married Muslim women usually wear a blouse or bodice, and a *sari*—a wide piece of cloth, some five or six yards long, which is tied round the waist to form a skirt that nearly touches the ankles. It is tied in such a way that one end of the cloth is taken over the chest to one shoulder and then passed behind the neck to the other shoulder. Married Muslim women are obliged by the rules of their religion to observe *purdah*, i.e. veil themselves in the presence of all but their closest relations. Whenever they leave their houses they wear this veil known as *burkha*, a garment which falls from the crown of the head to the ground. The Hindu mode of dress is quite different, and varies greatly according to the financial status of the different families. Among the poorer classes, infants remain naked, but occasionally a few rags are tied round their waists; and in childhood they go about in these tattered rags. Boys wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Girls wear a skirt (*lahanga*) and a blouse. Among the poorer classes these clothes are almost always dirty, for within a few days of their

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AWI India
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TELUGU AWI7

with English. Father Beschi's epic *Themba Ani* was the earliest successful attempt to import biblical themes and incidents into Tamil poetry. In his *Thiru Kavalur Kalambakam*, *Adaikala Malai*, *Annai Azhungal Andhadhi*, and *Kitheri Amman Ammanai* he poured new wine into old bottles. While scrupulously, and even excessively, conforming to the orthodox technique, he worked freely on western models and effected innovations both in design and execution, in materials and make-up, which, if daring, added a new grandeur in numbers and a new vigour in ideology.

To come to later writers, Mr. Krishna Pillai's epic *Rakshanya Yatrikam* is a poetic adaptation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; Mr. V. G. S. Sastri's monostiches, known as *Thani Pasura Thokai*, which have been translated into English by Dr. Pope, are fine imitations of Shakespeare's Sonnets; Munsif Vedanayagam Pillai's *Penmathi Malai* and *Sarva Samaya Kirthanais* are lyrical symphonies on modern themes of current interest. The extempore melodies of the later nationalist poet Bharati, entitled *Swadesa-Githams* (National Songs), touch high levels of perfervid patriotic poesy. He is a product of the new dynamic nationalism which tales of Mazzini's noble passion and Garibaldi's prowess have inspired in young India. His 'soul-stirring songs', as they have been called by a staid Malayali High Court judge, are expressions of the new-born emotions and passion for freedom inspired by western ideas and advanced modern ideals; and they have helped to translate patriotism from the sphere of passion into that of a religion.

To sum up our review, the effects of western influences on modern Tamil culture have been primarily to enlarge the domain of prose and to add extensive and entirely new communes to the republic of Tamil letters, in fiction, drama, and journalism in particular. Even the anaemic languor of later poetry has been dissipated by infusions of healthy young blood, and Tamil poesy has been revitalized by the live currents from the West, which appear to have cured it of the partial paralysis that supervened in the dark ages between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

V. TELUGU

Telugu, which is the principal member of the Andhra group of Dravidian languages, is the mother tongue of about twenty-six million people in an area of 117,000 square miles, occupying the central portion of the east coast of South India and extending far into the interior of the country, which is comprehensively known as Andhra land. Its existence as a language can be traced back to a period as early as the first century B.C., but its first literary production, which was a translation of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata*,

1: O'Malley G-S (no date) 1941 AW1 India
TELUGU AW 17

dates as late as the eleventh century A.D. By then it had absorbed the vocabulary, spirit, and culture of the Sanskrit language, and up to the nineteenth century, through a continuous period of eight centuries, it looked to Sanskrit as the model of literary expression. It took more than two centuries to complete the translation of the *Mahabharata*, and that great work formed the foundation for the superstructure of later literary construction. Early Telugu scholars were invariably acquainted with Sanskrit, and the vast stores of its literature afforded material for study, imitation, adaptation, and translation. Almost all the *Puranas* were translated one after another, and the habit of translation, though discouraged, persists to this day. But one good feature about the Telugu translations is that the genius of the poet-translator often permeates the whole work, so that it reads as if it were an original composition. These *Puranas* are mostly in verse form, with prose interspersed here and there in less poetic portions. Their themes were mostly mythological and religious, but the treatment of them was highly poetical. Stories of selfless love, of filial devotion, of absorbing romance, of great heroism, and of absolute renunciation can be found in scores in these *Puranas*. Another literary type that was evolved and perfected is called the *Prabandha*. A tale of the love and wedding of lovers of high lineage, written mostly in verse interspersed with prose, with a stock plot, overdrawn and ornate descriptions, and perfunctory characterization, was the sum and substance of the average *Prabandha*. Thus, as a rough estimate, it can be said that the two standard types existing in Telugu literature before it began to be subject to western influence were the *Purana*, or mythological long story, and the *Prabandha*, or romantic tale of moderate range.

The beginning of western influence can be traced to 1800 or even earlier; two books describing the life of Christ and his teachings and explaining the doctrines of Christianity were written in Telugu in 1750 and 1780 respectively. The introduction of printing and the establishment of public schools teaching the language of the land as well as English were the starting-point of a great change in the life, manners, outlook, and culture of the average Telugu man, and the change was reflected in literature. In force, in variety of topics, in its relationship to the daily life of the people, in its ready assimilation of foreign elements, in its freedom of thought, in the abundance of its literary forms, and in its general output, Telugu literature became altogether a new literature. The change has been unique and all-pervading. The modern author need no longer be bound by convention or be hard pressed for a subject; he is not hampered by traditional literary forms but has been emancipated. He makes new ventures in the

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India AW1
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Two more important changes must be briefly mentioned. One is the introduction of the spoken dialect, as opposed to the literary dialect, into the writings of the day. This movement was started as a result of western influence by Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, and it is gaining ground as it gathers adherents from the younger generation. There are many scholars, however, who resist the adoption of this dialect as a literary medium on the ground that it is a defilement of their pure language. The other is the change which the vocabulary has undergone as the result of the infusion of English, a change similar to that which it underwent when it first came into contact with Sanskrit. That process still continues; to-day any Sanskrit word, simple or compounded with another, can be used in a standard work in addition to the words already adopted from Sanskrit which have become domiciled. At present the Telugu language is almost gravitating to a similar position in relation to English, because, in addition to the English words already incorporated in it with the necessary phonetic changes, English verbs and nouns are freely used in the daily speech of the educated and higher classes; as has often been pointed out, the modern graduate cannot speak Telugu for a few minutes without using some English expression or other. Any acceleration of this change will tend to the transformation of the language, which will become anglicized in the same way that it has been Sanskritized, but an effective check is likely to be afforded by the spread of the spirit of nationalism.

VI. URDU

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Urdu is the most commonly used language in India. It is spoken in the greater part of the north and in some parts of the south, including the great Indian State of Hyderabad, Deccan. In other parts of the country it is more or less understood, particularly in large towns. Its literature has thus a wide appeal and its influence is spreading with the growth of literary activity in various branches of knowledge. Though as a literature Urdu is comparatively new, yet as a language it is fairly old. There is an impression abroad that the language was born in the camp of Shah Jahan at Delhi, but this is not correct, though it is not unlikely that the camp was the origin of its name.[1] There are many theories[2] as to the origin of the language. Whatever view may be finally adopted, I think I can safely associate myself with the opinion expressed on this

[1] 'Urdu' is a Turkish word and means a camp.

[2] One theory is that the language developed in the Deccan before it travelled to Delhi. Another theory propounded some years ago by Professor Mahmud Sherani of the Oriental College, Lahore, in his book *Punjab mein Urdu* is that it travelled through the Punjab to Delhi.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda), copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E, and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history—and legend—rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

Population densities are not high—**170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in Hyderabad. Villages are essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.[38]

Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest, and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an important railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial development is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins; old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness—a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

Telangana: Aspect and Prospect

Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own internal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

[38] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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state of weight not inferior to that of many a sovereign member of UNO. 631
But large parts of it were still under practically feudal *jagirs*, and the tension [578]
between a Muslim aristocracy and bureaucracy, and the Maratha/Telugu peasantry, was a fundamental weakness. As the only notable survivor of the Muslim Mogul succession-states, it was an Islamic cultural and political outlier fatally isolated from the Islamic bases in the NW and NE. These things were obvious to the casual traveller: as one passes from the lava mesas of Maharashtra the cultural landscape changes as much as the physical. At Gulbarga, on the lava edge, the tombs of the Muslim Bahmani Sultans dominate the gently rolling country, their domes rising like giant bubbles over the flat skyline; on the station platforms the local petty bourgeoisie and bureaucracy, gathered to meet the train and always easily recognisable, no longer wore the dhoti or completely anglicised office clothes, but were clad in the long tight-fitting Muslim *sherwani* coat. But the Muslim hold was thin, and they were a minority of 12·8%. Geographically the weakness of the state was of course its separation from the sea—doubtless not accidental on the EIC's part; hence its interest in Masulipatam on the Godavari delta, linked by rail and only 60 miles from Hyderabad territory by the easy gap where the Gondwana trough breaks the En Hills.

To-day it seems possible that all the Telugu country may be united into an Andhra state, despite the great gap in economic development, and perhaps in economic interests, between the harsh and arid plateau and the paddy-plain of the Madras littoral. It would probably be difficult enough to weld together peoples of such divergent environment; but the major objection to Andhra Desa is not so much the thing in itself as the difficulty of stopping such particularisms from spreading. The detachment of Telangana from Hyderabad leaves Marathwara to be disposed of; presumably there would be a move to attach it to a Maharashtra state. This would involve in turn the creation of Karnataka for the Kanarese, and there is an important overlapping zone between the two [39], while, as we have seen, the Bombay Karnatak has important ties with Bombay. That city itself is the [192] ●
natural outlet for Maharashtra and is in historically Maratha country; but commercially it is also closely allied with Gujarat, and indeed Gujarati is probably the main business language of Bombay. Clearly to such separatisms there is no end territorially; they probably raise as many problems as they solve; and from an *Indian* point of view the result of creating linguistically homogeneous states might be a grave weakening of national unity. (Cf. below, 682,692).

In any case, the development of the essentially poor land of Telangana 312
will call for great capital expenditure without, perhaps, much prospect of cash returns. The future depends largely on the progress of the great

[39] Deshpande, *op. cit.*, Fig. 20 (p. 86).

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India Telugu / AW17

369 chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the
504 cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days
167 of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

133 The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tiru-
312 patti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

133 Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses
311 and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between
[339] low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

312 The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

135 Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral
471 wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

631 The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which neverthe-
197 less is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

201

201 GESTURES AND SIGNS--patterned expressions of emotion (e.g., affection, aggression, derision, fear, disgust); gestures of affirmation and negation; indications of size and shape; directive signs (e.g., beckoning, warning); sign languages and their use (e.g., by the deaf, in intertribal communication); etc. See also:

Recreation gestures 82
Gestures in dancing, drama, and oratory . . . 83
Nervous gestures 157
Postures 516
Humor 522
Greetings and obeisances 678
Numerical signs 802
Ideas about facial reactions 827
Suggestive gestures 832

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

a number of years, according to law he acquires semi-proprietary rights over them. The landlord does not want this to happen, and so with a view to safeguarding his own interests he leases out his land to different persons in different years. A short-term lease is naturally not conducive to land improvement, for the person cultivating the land does not risk any investment in it. If he does improve it, in one of the following years the landlord may lease it out to someone else who offers to pay more than the person who improved the land. Secondly, those who hold most of the agricultural land in the village are interested in maintaining a supply of cheap agricultural labour, without which it would be impossible for them to cultivate their extensive fields. They benefit more by cultivating their land with the help of this labour, than by leasing out their land. If they leased out all their surplus land the cheap labour supply would appreciably diminish, and for want of competition wages of those who were still available would rise. To avoid this they choose to leave some of their land uncultivated, and thus we have the paradox of having in the same village many land-hungry families and several hundred acres of uncultivated land.

The land belongs to the family, and normally the head of the family exercises control over it. On the death of the father, the land and other agricultural property—such as tools, implements and livestock—are distributed equally among the brothers. Provision is made for the marriage of unmarried daughters as well as for the maintenance of the minor sons of the deceased. In very special cases, with the consent of all the brothers, a widowed sister is also given a small share. But this is a gratuity rather than a rightful share.

The agriculturists have considerable sentiment for their land and cattle. If adversity compels them to sell some of their fields or cattle, the day when this is done becomes a day of semi-mourning for the household. The hour of transfer is indeed a sad one, and the farmer will complete the necessary formalities with a heavy heart. For several days the family atmosphere remains overcast with gloom. The womenfolk may even wail and shed tears of real grief. In the sentiments of an Indian peasant, the Earth occupies a mother's position and parting with a fragment of it is nearly tantamount to separation from the mother. It is surprising how cattle become almost members of the agriculturist's family, and how

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

829 partitioned, and separation granted to the members who want to
565 secede from the family. This is sought to be done in an orderly
593 way, and every possible effort is made to ensure that the differences within the family do not become the subject of local gossip.

When we consider the actual behaviour of the people on the intermediate level, we find that many of these ideals are very considerably diluted. The value of solidarity is understood, but the willingness to make concessions and personal sacrifices for the sake of the family is not sufficiently strong to make it really effective. Age is generally respected, but in angry outbursts abuse
•[201] may be showered on parents and uncles. Unable to control his temper one may even spit at them, or throw dust at them (symbolizing their burial, and thus indirectly wishing their death), or strike them. It would probably be necessary to express some sort of an apology for this unbecoming behaviour later, but the unrepentant individual can repeat it when he is provoked again. This type of behaviour is confined to a few individuals, and is socially criticized but none the less tolerated. Here too the superiority of the male is insisted upon, but the woman also works and is not tied down to many of the shackles of respectability. She does not lose face if she is beaten by her husband semi-publicly; occasionally she hits him back. She expresses her anger or suffering by running back to her parental home. In many cases some effort is made to conceal family secrets, but when passions rise, a father and son, or two brothers, but more often a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, will openly quarrel in the courtyard or the village lanes, and in the course of the hearty exchange of abuse these secrets may be broadcast by them at the top of their voices. Family differences are discussed privately and occasionally in public as well, but even when property is divided and separation is completed, mutual bickerings and exchange of harsh words continue for several months in most cases.

829 On the lower level the 'ideals' get diluted so much that it is
593 difficult to find any traces of them in actual practice. Division of property and separation at this level are so frequent as to reduce
562 the conception of family solidarity to practically a meaningless
829 ideal. On ritual occasions, respect is shown to people on account of their age or kinship status, but in everyday life one can ignore these considerations with impunity. Although theoretically the woman is inferior, at this level she enjoys much more freedom. She

up man; but his child bride was unable to take her place as his wife for some three years more. To keep her son away from eloping with a young woman, E. R. not only tolerated but encouraged—some people say she actually brought it about—Y.'s liaison with a woman of the same caste living in the neighbourhood. For three or four years everything went on well and the relations between the mother and child were most cordial. Trouble started when Y.'s wife came to live with them. E. R. had expected that her son's amours with the other woman would end shortly. In this she was wrong. The young wife failed to win the affection of her husband, who remained deeply attached to his former mistress. E. R. could not tolerate this. She tried different methods to dissuade her son, and with every failure her relations with him were more embittered. Quarrels between them became frequent. Tired of the incessant flow of criticism and bitter remarks from her, one day Y. struck her—with fists first and later with a stick. He also perhaps pulled her hair. All this happened so suddenly, and E. R.'s husband was at the time so overcome that he found himself helpless and could not intervene in the matter. Infuriated by this E. R. ran into the street and started wailing and cursing loudly. Very soon this attracted a large crowd. Her husband tried to pacify her, but E. R. would not let him come near her. She said to him, 'You claim to be a man! Do you? You could see your son beating me in your very presence and did not lift even your little finger. For me you are dead. Go, go away—for me you are dead. Did you hear that?' Saying this she started breaking her glass bangles. This was quite serious for a Hindu woman breaks her bangles only when she is widowed. The crowd tried to pacify her. Sympathizers made efforts to find out what the matter was. For over an hour E. R. continued cursing her son and husband, spitting 'at their name' and throwing dust, signifying their burial. Then she gave a detailed and rather exaggerated account of the happenings of that evening. Three elders who were present at the spot immediately summoned the son and asked him to touch the feet of his mother and apologize to her. This he did readily, although with a sullen face. But E. R. reacted with another spurt of abuse and foul language. After a while people took them home. The gravity of the matter demanded its consideration by the full village council. Once again the son had to apologize to the mother, and in addition had to pay a small fine for his unbecoming behaviour.

203

203 DISSEMINATION OF NEWS AND INFORMATION--informal verbal transmission (e.g., rumor, grapevine); criers and heralds; bulletins and newsletters; etc.
See also:

Advertising . . . . . 447 Conversation 521

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Muslims

RITUAL STRUCTURE

Village Festivals

In the foregoing pages we have briefly described the major family festivals of the Hindus and Muslims. Some of the Hindu festivals, particularly Dasara and Holi, are partly communal also, as at one stage the entire Hindu section of the village community participate in them. In the Dasara procession several Muslims also join in. Hindus do not spare their Muslim friends from the Holi colour-throwing. Similarly, Hindus co-operate in the Moharram procession of the Muslims. On the Id day Muslims meet all their friends—Muslim and Hindu alike. But there are some festivals which must be described as 'village festivals' as they do not occur in the regular religious calendar of the Hindus and Muslims; and are generally celebrated by the village community as a whole. The festivals of Pochamma, Batkamma and Maisamma are important celebrations in this category. Pochamma and Maisamma festivals are observed by the village as a whole. Batkamma festival is observed by the Hindu women of the village. The untouchable Mala and Madiga women who cannot join the groups of clean-caste women observe it separately. To these must be added the fair of Jalal Miyan which is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also.

Pochamma Festival. The annual worship of Pochamma, the goddess of smallpox, is organized by the village community on a Thursday or Saturday in the month of Shravana. The actual day for the ceremony is fixed by the village elders in consultation with the Deshmukh and the Brahmin priest.

A day previous to the celebration the Madiga drum-beaters go round the village announcing the programme for the morrow and asking the people to get ready. The Kummaris clean the shrines of Pochamma, Mutyalamma and Mahakalamma. The Sakalis (washermen) whitewash them. Village youth construct small leaf sheds in front of the shrines. Wives of the Talaris (village menials) sweep and besmear with red earth the ground around these booths.

Early next day people start making preparations for the worship. It is necessary that every family prepares its *bonam* for the day. For this they cook rice in a new earthenware pot obtained from the potter; remove all soot from the exterior of the pot, apply vermilion and turmeric paste to it on all sides, and then close its mouth. This decorated pot containing rice is known as *bonam*.

204

204 PRESS--newspapers and magazines; gathering of news and information (e.g., reporters, press releases, news services); content (e.g., news, stories, features); publication and distribution; ownership, organization, and personnel; financial support (e.g., subscriptions, advertising, subsidies); regulation; etc. See also:

Printing	213	Typesetting and printing machinery	402
Publishing	214	Advertising	447
Printing supplies	218	Literature	538

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

the law courts in the city. Now and then State officials visited the village on tour. In the second half of the Jagir period these administrative contacts increased very considerably. At the same time the urban contacts of a section of the village population also grew gradually. These included visiting relations and friends in the city, receiving relations and friends from the city, occasional excursions for shopping in the large city stores and markets as well as for sight-seeing, temporary stay of a short or long duration for work in the city, and finally being in everyday touch with officials resident in the village, who were regarded as an urban element in the village population. Increased contacts with the towns and cities were greatly facilitated by the construction of the metalled road joining Hyderabad with the district headquarters of Karimnagar in the interior of the State. This road touches Shamirpet. With the introduction of bicycles and buses frequent and regular contacts with the urban areas were made possible. The progress of education has been rather slow. In the early-Jagir days only a few children belonging to the higher castes, and also to the upper level families, received any schooling. Even this was confined to a bare acquaintance with three R's. With the opening of a school in the village education was placed within the reach of a much larger section and even some untouchable children started attending the school. Some ambitious parents sent their children to the higher schools in the city where they could learn English. Books, periodicals and newspapers which occasionally found their way into the village conveyed to the people 'strange truths regarding the wide world through the medium of the printed word'. The State administration initiated some of its welfare and nation-building activities in the countryside. Agriculture, Veterinary and Animal Husbandry, Medical and Public Health, and Co-operation and Rural Development departments of the State started functioning in the rural areas. Their representatives and propagandists brought some new ideas and techniques to the village. The villagers saw their demonstrations, heard their talks, and were at times even coaxed into doing things in the new ways. This was indeed novel to them. In the earlier period government had only collected land revenue, heard some of their disputes, tried cases arising out of breaches of law, and occasionally forced them to provide practically free labour and 'presents' for touring government officials, but had never interfered with their agricultural

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India
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stricted to finding out whether a particular book satisfied the conditions laid down in a conventional scheme of classification. There was little attempt to examine its various aspects as a whole. The beauties of a particular verse or the propriety of a particular idea were discussed, and literary animosity, professional rivalry, or individual jealousy had free play. Now the western canons of literary criticism are applied and the authorities of western criticism are not only referred to but also quoted *in extenso*. Before the advent of English Sanskrit was the only law-giver and the treatises on aesthetics in that language were the only guides. Now the whole critical literature of the English language is at the disposal of the critic, and in his praise or condemnation of a literary production he makes use of them most freely. Recent works on the art of criticism, the standards of beauty and literary taste, the theories of dramatic technique and dramaturgy abound in references to and quotations from western authors. A lead was given by Dr. C. R. Reddi, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, who in 1899 wrote a critical appreciation of the works of a great poet of the middle ages; this work, which was new in the field, is still read as a model estimate of an author's work. Its success was as much due to his originality as it was to his introduction of methods of interpretation. To-day an accomplished scholar is required to be proficient not only in Telugu but also in English and Sanskrit, and it is not uncommon to find a critic taking an idea or a situation from a Telugu poet and quoting parallels from Shakespeare and Kalidasa at the same time.

Other branches of prose are also slowly developing. *A Short History of the World* by H. G. Wells has been translated into Telugu; short treatises on physics, chemistry, mathematics, economics, co-operation, and other subjects of practical or scientific value are making their appearance; and with the adoption of the modern languages of India as the media of instruction in schools there is a sustained effort to increase the number of publications of an educational nature.

Journalism is another western importation, and its ever-growing popularity is introducing substantial changes into the vocabulary and style of prose, which is gaining in lucidity, facility of expression, and suitability to different demands.

Telugu drama has also been influenced to a great extent by contact with the West. In one way it might be said that Telugu dramatic literature began in 1883, when Veeresalingam published a translation of *Sakuntala* from Sanskrit, which he followed up two years later with a translation of Sheridan's *Rivals*. The form of dramatic literature which he started caught the imagination of the people, and for a continuous period of nearly fifty years every

205

205 POSTAL SYSTEM--mail services (e.g., collection, delivery); transportation of mail (e.g., by pony express, rail, air); special equipment; parcel post; postal organisation and personnel; finance (e.g., postal rates, subsidies); etc.
See also:

Express and freight transportation. . . . 48, 49, 50
Postoffice buildings 344
Postal savings 484
Government enterprises 686

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available.

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission.

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village.

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals.

The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; in return for the service, the government grants them the use of certain rent-free lands. 27

207

207 RADIO AND TELEVISION--radio, television, radar, sonar, etc.; technology; use of equipment; facilities and services; organization and specialized personnel; programs and their preparation; audience; finance (e.g., advertising, subsidies); regulation; etc. See also:

Electric power 377
Manufacture of radio and television equipment 380
Description of equipment 408
Advertising 447
Use of radio and radar in aviation 507
Military radio and radar equipment 718

Panchayats surveyed had two slaughter houses each, one for sheep and the other for cattle and in a large number of cases, they were auctioned out rather than managed by Panchayat itself. 231

A significant irregularity in this instance was the twofold practice i. e. departmental management versus leasing out to private bidders. While the authorities of Local Boards desired departmental management of collection of receipts and supervision, some Panchayats had been evading this method for long by handing it over to private auctioneers with impunity and the Local Board Officials did nothing to check this growing practice especially more prevalent in the Ceded Districts than in the Northern Circars. Similarly they did nothing to enforce this obligation in many Panchayats which did nothing beyond the provision for construction of slaughter houses and passing resolutions to that effect in their meetings.

Parks: Parks were intended to cater to the recreation facilities of the public in the area of the Panchayat as it was one of its obligatory duties. 367 207

But the survey revealed no enthusiastic observance of this obligation even in the best and economically capable Panchayats. Most of the major Panchayats were practically negligent about it though a few 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats and occasionally a minor Panchayat here and there had taken up this matter seriously. In East Godavari, Razole Panchayat had beautiful park with radio for listeners, while Panchayats like Nidadavol and Tanuku in West Godavari had only radios with loud speakers for listeners' convenience. In the Ceded Districts, Dharmavaram in Anantpur, Kampli in Bellary, Maddikera in Kurnool, and Yellamanchili in Vizagapatam District had nice parks while the majority of other major Panchayats had only radio sets. Most of the Minor Panchayats had no parks, except in stray cases as Achanta in East Godavari.

Public Markets: Construction of public markets was another of the obligatory duties of the Panchayats and was observed more in the breach than in practice. Though almost every major and minor Panchayat got a regular revenue from the vendors who got their goods for offering for sale, they were left to the mercies of sun and rain without the Panchayats ever bothering about providing them with any sort of regular permanent or semi-permanent sheds 443

367 In the Godavari Districts again, some of the minor Panchayats appeared to be paying heed to this as in Yeditha and Kapileswarapuram but none of the minor Panchayats in other districts showed any interest.

207 **Radio**: This had become more or less a universal feature in most of the Panchayats both major and minor and provided recreation to the listening public.

485 **Provision of Bus Stands and Cart Stands**: This was a practice that was gradually growing but was not yet prevalent on a wide scale. Some of the major Panchayats had this facility within their areas as Razole in East Godavari, Tadepalligudam, Kovvur, Undi, Velpur, Akividu and Peatapadu in West Godavari, Vuyyuru in Kistna, Parvatipuram, Bobbili, Salur and Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Dharmavaram and Gooty in Anantpur, and Nandikotkur, Dhone and Pattikonda in Kurnool.

744 **Help in Case of Epidemics**: This obligation was met with varying degrees of success in the several Panchayats. The Panchayats in the 1st grade were giving every possible attention, while the Panchayats in the 2nd and 3rd grades were not always able to do much though they too appeared to be very enthusiastic. For instance, the 2nd grade Panchayats like Vuyyuru and Jaggayapeta in Kistna and 3rd grade Panchayats like Razole in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Bobbili, Salur and Parvatipuram in Vizagapatam, Markapur, Maddikera, Kadiri and Nandikotkur in Kurnool, Yeditha, Gooty and Penu Konda in Anantpur and Kosgi, Harpanhalli, Kudligi, etc. in Bellary were assisting the villagers in times of infection, by providing additional sanitary help and vaccinators.

743 **Dispensaries and Medical Help**: A few Panchayats began to contemplate of late to undertake this obligation. Panchayats like Amalapuram in East Godavari spent nearly Rs. 2,000 per year on this [232] item. Bhimavaram in West Godavari had constructed a veterinary hospital at a cost of Rs. 4,000 and also gave an annual donation of Rs. 2,500 to it. Tanuku and Ramchandrapuram Panchayats in East Godavari intended opening medical centres. They were found to be making the necessary preparations. Tadepalligudam, another 3rd Grade Panchayat in West Godavari was able to gather about Rs. 2,000 with a view to start a veterinary dispensary of its own. Mukkamala, a minor Panchayat in East Godavari was the first Panchayat in the Presidency to have a medical dispensary of its own since the last twenty years. In Vuyyuru and Bobbili, the

212

212 WRITING--picture writing (e.g., type, technique, use); written symbols (e.g., ideograms, phonograms); systematization (e.g., syllabary, alphabet); reading and spelling; incidence of literacy; writing materials (e.g., parchment, paper, ink); instruments (e.g., pen, brush); methods (e.g., shorthand, chirography); products (e.g., inscriptions, diaries, letters, manuscripts); clerical specialists (e.g., scribes, stenographers); etc. See also:

Communication 20
Draftsmanship 341
Description of typewriters 405
Description of writing instruments 413
Representative art 532
Forms of literature 538
Signs for numerals 902

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

THE CHANGING SCENE

In the organization of the family the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement, and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger people, especially among those who have had some education or urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an increasing scale. In making records of the biographies and general attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two steps of people emerged clearly. While the elderly and the middle-aged, mostly illiterate, complained about the inconveniences of village life, they still regarded it as the only way of life possible for *them*. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal their contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs there; and on the other it has generated disharmony and dissensions within the family causing considerable dislocation in the established principles according to which priorities and concessions went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies is not more than 10% or 15% of the total in their age-group.

The caste system in the community presents only slight variations in some directions. As before, caste still retains its endogamous character. Similarly, caste continues to be a part of, and is sanctioned by, the traditional religion. However, its occupational character has undergone some change. People are now taking to new occupations. A goldsmith has opened a tea shop. Washermen and similar other castes are accepting menial jobs in the city. These are not their traditional occupations. Besides Muslims some non-Komti Hindus have set up general shops in the village; in the traditional system only Komtis could do so. Thus people are either giving up their traditional occupations, or they are taking to occupations which by tradition belong to some other castes.

Literacy: Literacy test to the members of the Panchayats was never seriously taken by the Madras Government. Only the Vice-president and the President were found to be invariably literate except in a few instances, and even there, local importance and weight of authority served as the best springs of administrative efficiency rather than the test of literacy. 212 623

The Election of the Panchayat President: This sometimes led to village disturbances and party factions, but, the remedy did not appear to get him elected by the villagers as a whole, instead of by the Panchayat. 666 578

Village Officials: The idea of associating the village officers: the Karanams and the Munsif, as the ex-officio members of the Panchayat attracted the attention of the framers of the Madras Panchayat Bill of 1941, "in order that their experience and influence may be at the disposal of the Panchayat," but, this was strongly opposed by the reformers of the Local Self Government who felt that these village officers were no longer the natural leaders, but salaried officials of the Government and hence unfit to participate in matters of village administration entrusted to a purely honorary body. Another reason that was often adduced against them was that both of them might generally be leaders of two opposing parties and their entrance into the Panchayat would simply wreck its working. 624

Executive of the Panchayat: Under the amendment of the Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government of Madras appointed executive officers to Panchayats. The executive authority had 1. to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, 2. to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers specifically imposed or conferred on the executive authority by the Act; in fact, whenever it was expressly so provided for the sanction of the Board and subject to all other restrictions, limitations and conditions hereinafter imposed, 3. to exercise the executive power, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act and 4. to be directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the Act. (Sec. 24-B of the amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act 1943). He was to carry out all the resolutions passed by the Panchayat, but this obligation was limited to legal resolutions alone. 642 647

The executive officer was the custodian of all Government Records though the President had free access to them. All the official correspondence addressed to the District Board, or the Provincial Government had to pass through the President. While

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI 7

871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other [212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the [191] ability latterly. No one knows English.

There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about 214 seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

624 *Village administration.*—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

691 For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

167 In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

325 Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

213

213 PRINTING--methods (e.g., block printing, movable type, linotype, photographic reproduction); materials (e.g., paper, ink); typography; binding; products (e.g., sheet music, maps, pamphlets); specialists; etc. See also:

Newspapers and magazines 204
Manufacture of printing and binding machinery. 395
Description of printing and binding machinery. 404
Route maps and charts. 487

rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

Village administration.—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

Sanitary administration.—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

Crime.—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

History and prospects.—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

214

214 PUBLISHING--organized production and distribution of records; products (e.g., books, sheet music, phonograph records); personnel and organization; selection of material to be published; business arrangements with authors; (e.g., advances, royalties); sales promotion; finance (e.g., profits, subsidies); etc. See also:

Music, art, and literature 53
Newspaper and magazine publishing 204
Copyrights 434
Book dealers 649
Humanistic studies 814

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI 7

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217

217 ARCHIVES--repositories of records (e.g., libraries, art galleries, museums); state archives (e.g., court records, administrative records); making collections; accessions; filing and indexing; curatorial activities; services (e.g., exhibits, loans); organization and specialized personnel; sources of support (e.g., public, private); etc. See also:

Library and museum buildings 346
Land records 423
Financial records 461
Collecting hobbies 529
Exhibitions 543
Archivists 814

366 they were off soon after they were lit. Sometimes there was a partial contract by which the kerosene oil lights were provided by Panchayats while the petromax lights were provided by the contractor or vice versa, and the same evils were revealed to be pregnant in this practice too.

217 **Provision of Libraries and Newspapers**: Libraries and reading rooms were provided by Panchayats in a large number of places. Though most of the 1st grade Panchayats had no such provision except in Tuni, 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats showed greater interest in the matter. The inquiry showed that almost all the 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats and a large number of minor Panchayats too were providing this facility to the public. The charges varied from Re. 0–4–0 to Re. 1 depending on the number of books and periodicals in the library.

Very few Panchayats like Amalapuram had big libraries with a separate manager-clerk and office-boys while the libraries in other Panchayats were managed either by a separate clerk or by the executive of the Panchayat itself. In a few places, individual subscriptions were also collected at the rate of as. 4 and as. 8 according to the nature of facilities given to the subscribers.

The library grants by the Government were few and far between and most of the libraries were not receiving them.

543 **Management of Fairs and Festivals**: Management of fairs and festivals and provision of amenities for the pilgrims—erecting of barracks, stalls, urinals and sheds and other public health amenities—belonged to the domain of Panchayats whenever important celebrations were held within their confines. The money that was to be spent on conveniences was either collected by way of subscriptions or obtained as a grant from the Government or spent from the funds of the Panchayat.

Hardly any of the 1st grade Panchayats had this obligation, while a few in the 2nd and 3rd grades and some of the minor Panchayats seemed to be undertaking this work. Ramchandrapuram, and Tanuku in East Godavari and Bhimavaram in the West Godavari discharged this obligation. In Anantapur, Kadiri Panchayat had to manage every year the Car-festival of Narsinhaswamy. An illustration of a typical expenditure as in Kadiri would indicate the nature of expenditure incurred by Panchayats on such occasions :

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 367

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sale. 443

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

Management of fairs and festivals was done by a few minor or major Panchayats, but, without exploiting their privileged position by means of a pilgrim tax or a tax on the vendors. 543

Optional functions like plantation of trees, provision of cart and bus stands, radio sets for listeners, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, etc. were done only by very few Panchayats. 623

The attendance of the members at the meetings of Panchayats was so irregular that there was often no quorum. Sometimes the Panchayats held no meetings at all for a long time or the members absented themslves continuously without any action being taken against them.

Panchayats were superseded and special officers were appointed to administer them for a year or two, when Panchayats could not work properly either due to local factions or opposition to taxation or any other undesirable features. Fresh Panchayat was ushered in only after the prevailing irregularities were removed and when the prospects of its smooth working were tolerably certain. 687 623

221

221 ANNUAL CYCLE--seasonal distribution and succession of food-getting and other economic activities; seasonal migrations in the gathering or production of food (e.g., transhumance, nomadism). See also:

Migrations 166, 167
Economic productivity 433
Annual ceremonial calendar 798
Calendar 805

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

it is used for the growing of vegetables, specially fruit-bearing creepers, and throughout the year it is used by the household fowls. Similarly, in most of these houses the cattle-shed is very close to the main living-room. Hardly half a dozen houses in the village have latrines; the majority of the people go out into the fields or behind the rocks for answering the call of nature. Notwithstanding some variety, the decorative designs found on all the houses follow a generally established pattern. The floors are swept twice every day in almost all the houses. The mud floor is periodically smeared with cow-dung mixed with water and the walls are washed annually with lime or coloured earth. Grain and provisions are stored in large receptacles made either by the potter and well burnt to a vermilion red or by the Erkala in their traditional styles of basket-work.

All the houses in Shamirpet can be classed into one of these three types. The Gudse-type huts of the Erkalas are, however, a class by themselves. These small, circular huts, made from sheets of weed-matting, are about twenty feet in diameter and are often only six feet high. The interior is unpartitioned and serves as bedroom, dining-room, living-room and kitchen. Pigs and poultry are housed in similar but smaller round huts built in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling-hut.

From time to time groups of families belonging to the nomadic castes come to the village. These have their low, portable huts, which are mostly made of folding bamboo screens. Almost every month some group belonging to this category makes its appearance in Shamirpet and after a stay of a week or so moves off with its huts, dogs and pigs.

5. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHAMIRPET

The nearness of Shamirpet to the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad has been mentioned. People holding small government posts or having urban relations make periodic visits to the city. Others, especially young men, cycle down to Secundrabad or Hyderabad to visit the cinema or to look at the shops.

In the broad social sense, however, Shamirpet's more intimate ties are with the villages in the neighbourhood. In the events and developments of these villages the people of Shamirpet are very keenly interested. The hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli are

222

222 COLLECTING--edible materials gathered (e.g., roots, fruits, seeds, seaweed, insects, honey, sap, syrup, eggs); techniques and artifacts employed; economic importance of collecting; organisation of activities; division of products; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Natural resources in fauna and flora 13
Collection of nonedible raw materials and salt . 31
Collection of marine fauna 226
Diet 262

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic organization of the community, the traditional occupations and functions of the different castes have already been described. With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

224

224 HUNTING AND TRAPPING--animals sought; hunting methods and techniques (e.g., stalking, collective drive); description and use of traps and snares; use of domestic animals (e.g., dogs, ferrets); special elaborations (e.g., trapping for the fur trade); hunting trips; economic importance of hunting; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; hunting for sport; regulation (e.g., game laws, open seasons); etc. See also:

Native fauna 136
Transportation of animal carcasses 483
Weapons 411

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agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra wages.

The Erkalas earn their livelihood through a variety of means. The menfolk are hunters. They are also adept in the use of snares and traps. They train hunting dogs and use them effectively for chasing and tracking wounded animals. When they succeed in getting some game, they retain a part of it for their domestic consumption and sell the rest to the villagers. The women beg in the countryside by singing songs and narrating legends. They also do some fortune-telling. Family earnings are supplemented by basket-making, a task at which both men and women work. They also rear pigs.

THE MADIGAS

The Madigas are the lowest caste in Shamirpet. Economically they constitute the poorest section of the community. While the Malas, who are also untouchables but a degree higher than the Madigas, either cultivate their own land or work as farm labourers for daily wages, the Madigas affiliate themselves to the households of the substantial agriculturists in the village. According to the size of the land-holding of the cultivator, one or more Madiga families permanently attach themselves to him. At every stage of agricultural operations during the year the attached Madiga, and his wife and children, work in the fields of their master. They are not paid any daily wages. After the crops are harvested they have to go and 'beg' in the master's fields or threshing grounds. The conventions of the community have prescribed the rates of payment, mostly on the basis of the area of land under cultivation and the yield during the particular harvest. Thus for a certain area a basic minimum must be given; but if on account of good crops the yield has been high it is expected that the affiliated Madiga family would be given a proportionately larger share. In former times there used to be considerable compulsion, and, being in no position to protest, the Madigas had to slave for their masters, who could be quite ruthless. If the master was kind and considerate, they regarded it as their good luck. On the whole it was advisable for them to tolerate even a bad master, for any protests or refusal to do the allotted work on their part would eventually have meant their being forced to leave the village. Now, of course, conditions have changed, and Madigas do not any longer put up with indig-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

231 diseases. Plough-cattle are on the whole better looked after. But the neglect of the cow, traditionally regarded as 'the mother', is indeed pathetic. Absence of good breeding bulls and lack of grazing grounds further account for the poor condition of the cattle. In the absence of a good pedigree bull, scrub bulls of no particular [311] description are allowed to move freely among the cows. According to village land records there are 1,482 acres of pasture-land in the area surrounding the settlement; but this land is almost always auctioned to contractors from outside the village. As these pastures are not available for grazing to the village cattle, they roam about the shrubs and rocks around the village and eat whatever fodder is available there.

241 The shortage of draught-cattle is a serious handicap to the pros-
231 perity of average peasants in the village. The well-to-do agriculturists always have a sufficient number of cattle to meet their own agricultural requirements. But the average and poorer peasants find great difficulty in tilling their fields in time with the limited number of their own or hired cattle. Dependence on the monsoons obliges them to make certain variations in their agricultural schedule to fit in with the uncertainty of the rains. Some of their operations must precede the first rainfall; others must follow it almost immediately. For some days during the busy season this causes great pressure on available resources in men and cattle. The cultivators who depend on hired cattle or who practise co-operative lending and borrowing of cattle cannot take the best advantage of the first rains, and this enforced wait results in untimely sowing and poor crops.

234 The absence of good milch cattle affects the nutrition of the
146 people. In May 1951 the total daily yield of milk in the village
235 was about 14 lb. only. Earlier it has been pointed out that most people in the village keep poultry, but in general its quality is poor, and the production of eggs is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 1,400 a year.

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226

226 FISHING--species sought (e.g., fish, shellfish); gathering of marine fauna; fishing methods and techniques (e.g., hook and line, nets, poison); description and use of traps and weirs; special elaborations (e.g., fishing for sport); economic importance of fishing; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; fishing for sport; regulation (e.g., licenses); etc.

See also:

Native fauna	136	Net manufacture	386
Manufacture of poisons	278	Boats	801

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231

231 **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS**--captive and tamed animals; domesticated insects (e.g., silkworms, bees); pets (e.g., dogs, cats); domestic animals; special treatment and uses of each; taming and training; care and feeding; grooming; slaughtering; associated beliefs and rituals; economic and social importance of animal husbandry; diseases; etc. See also:

Work in furs, hides, and skins 281
Work in bone and horn 321
Animal shelters 343
Use of animals in transportation 498
Names of animals 593
Animals as wealth 656
Ethnozoology 925

364 certain rent-free lands. Moreover, every morning the womenfolk
351 of each house sweep and clean that portion of the lane which lies directly in front of their own house, sprinkle it with water or water mixed with cow-dung and often decorate the entrance with designs drawn with millet or rice flour. Notwithstanding this, the lanes are not always very clean. The reasons for this are many. The Yetti Madigas do not sweep the village very regularly; and the women, when they have finished their housework, often throw the refuse
[514] into the public thoroughfare. Thirdly, very few people have latrines in their houses, and even those who have them are inclined to make their children ease themselves at the side of the
[231] road. However, the pigs kept by the Erkala caste as well as the large number of dogs in the village are good scavengers and help to keep the village clean.

4. THE HOUSES

342 The dwellings in Shamirpet can be classified into three main
351 groups: the Bhawanti, the Penkutillu and the Gudse.

The Bhawanti. This is a large house with stone walls and tiled roofs; it generally stands in its own compound, which is surrounded by a wall, and invariably has five to six rooms. The following account of the house of I.R., a woman with considerable local influence and a good-sized agricultural holding, will illustrate this type of house. As we enter the gate in the compound wall we find ourselves in front of an open space which constitutes
[372] the courtyard of the house. On one side of this courtyard there is a cattle-shed, the end of which is partitioned off as a store-room for fuel-cakes made of cow-dung. Opposite the gate across the courtyard is a verandah running the whole length of the house; at one end of this verandah there is a small room in which agricultural implements are kept. The main door of the house leads into an
[515] inner court which is open to the sky. In the centre is a stone-lined sink, known as *gachhu*, which can be drained and cleaned, and here, sitting on small wooden stools, the women of the house bath. The inner court is surrounded on three sides by rooms; on one side there are two inter-connected rooms, the first being used as a dining-room and the second as a kitchen. Opposite this, running the whole length of the inner court, is a long room, while opposite to the main house door and across the inner court is a door which

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nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. But they have several other additional means of subsistence open to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village. As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner. From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes. Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

1: Dube E-8 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

24/ 461 As these crops become ready for harvesting, the annual cycle of agricultural activities comes very near to completion. When the harvesting is over, the farmers get a brief spell of rest and leisure. Now and then they go round the fields and remove the weeds and other wild plants. Their work during this part of the year does not necessitate hard manual labour. In a leisurely way they take in hand activities of a preparatory nature which are a prelude to their major agricultural work of the rainy season and winter. Manure from cow-dung pits is carried to the fields and is evenly spread there. Grass and other wild plants growing in the fields are removed. The land is kept ready for ploughing in a month's time. In a few days the signs of approaching rains compel them to cast off their lethargy. The preparations for ploughing inaugurate a new circle of annual agricultural activities, and the advent of late summer rains sends them back once again into the fields.

4. CATTLE AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS

[24] 231 Agriculture in the village still largely follows the age-old pattern. Even to-day old style bullock-drawn wooden ploughs are used by the agriculturists. In such a system the value of draught cattle is very great indeed, for efficient farming under these conditions depends to a very great extent upon the availability of good bullocks. Some agriculturists use male buffaloes for ploughing the fields, but bullocks continue to be their favourites. Cows and she-buffaloes are kept for milk. The shepherds keep large herds of goats and sheep. Some Muslims as well as Hindus, with the exception of the Brahmins and the Komtis, may also keep a few goats. Pigs are kept only by the Erkalas. Among domestic pets, dogs are popular with every section of the village population. The number of cats in the village is fairly large, but they are not kept as pets. Some people keep parrots in cages, and teach them to utter a few words. Three Muslims have domesticated partridges. A Hindu shopkeeper has a tiny blackbird in a cage hanging in front of his shop. Poultry is kept by all sections of the village population, except the Brahmins and the Komtis. In addition to the usual fowls, four families have ducks and turkeys also.

In connection with this study a survey of village animals was undertaken in May 1951. The result of the survey is summarized in the following tables:

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TABLE VIII

Cattle in Shamirpet

231

Type of animal	*Bovine*	*Bubaline*
1. Work animals, over three years of age	285	75
2. Animals in milk	7	17
3. Milch animals gone dry	18	71
4. Animals under one year of age; both male and female	152	69
5. Cows not fertile or heifers	186	8
	648	240

TABLE IX

Goats and Sheep

Animal	*Number*		
	Age up to 1 year	*Age between 1 and 3 years*	*Age over 3 years*
1. Goats (*a*) male	9	21	9
(*b*) female	5	149	1
2. Sheep (*a*) male	13	85	5
(*b*) female	11	297	2

TABLE X

Pigs and Poultry

Type	*Number*
1. Pigs	58
2. Fowls (*a*) male	52
(*b*) female	232
(*c*) chickens	105
3. Ducks	14

From Table VIII it will be clear that for the 3,000 acres of agricultural land there are only 360 plough animals in the village. As cattle work in pairs for ploughing there are only 180 units available in the village for this purpose. Each unit has to plough a little more than 16 acres, and this is really too much for the animals which are, according to the report of the Veterinary and Animal Husbandry unit working with our team, 'in a poor condition—weak, emaciated, ill-nourished, ill-housed and uncared for'. In recent years liver fluke and fascioliasis have impaired the health of the cattle and exposed them to attacks of various other

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651 were Re. 0-12-0 and Re. 1 per mensem for a latrine for cleaning
514 once and twice separately. In Undi the scavenging fees were in a gradation to the members of the family as Re. 0-8-0 for four members, Re. 0-10-0 for four to eight members, Re. 0-12-0 to Re. 1 for eight to twelve members per mensem and Rs. 1-8-0 per rice mill. In Akividu, the rates were based on the individual ability of the families and institutions, i. e. Rs. 9 for all factories, Rs. 6 for latrines of all big families; Rs. 3 for latrines of moderate families, and Rs. 2-4-0 for latrines of ordinary families, and Rs. 1-2-0 for other families. Even here, the division was purely arbitrary and there was no clear cut basis on which these differentiations were made.

In Kistna District, the Panchayats like Kantaram had altogether dispensed with the idea of scavenging service as they had provided bore-hole latrines, while in other Panchayats the same variations in scavenging fees continued.

In Vizagapatam, there was always the difficulty of procuring the services of the scavengers by the Panchayat. In Bobbili and Salur, people had to depend upon the services of the private scavengers. Here the rates were observed to be varying according to the bargaining power of the parties from Re. 0-6-0 to Rs. 1-8-0 per latrine per mensem. In other Panchayats, where the scavenging services were provided through them, the rates were based either on capital valuation of the house or number of persons in the family.

In the Ceded Districts, there was no problem of scarcity or non-availability of scavengers for the Panchayat service. In Kurnool, some of the Panchayats like Dhone and Maddikera made it a habit to relate public scavenging fees to the house tax, with variations ranging from Re. 0-4-0 to Rs. 1-8-0 per mensem.

The question of variations of rates did not arise in the case of minor Panchayats, as most of them did not utilize private scavenging services at all, except in a few instances. Most of the minor Panchayats investigated in East and West Godavari Districts, Kistna, Vizagapatam and the Ceded Districts had not got any private scavenging amenities provided by the Panchayat. Even when it was provided, as in Palivela and Kothapeta in East Godavari, the rates were Re. 0-12-0 per latrine per month in the former while in the latter they started from Re. 0-12-0 Rs. 2-4-0 and Rs. 9 per quarter per latrine.

231 **Slaughter House Fees :** Slaughter house fees constituted
651 another important source of income to all major Panchayats, and

in some cases for minor Panchayats too as the provision of slaughter houses was an obligatory duty of the Panchayat. 231 651

Government desired slaughter houses to be departmentally managed and their collection of fees to be done by the Panchayat staff. In practice, however, the right of collection was auctioned to the highest bidder who paid the amount in one lump sum or by instalments to the Panchayats. He would collect the fees at the rates fixed by the Panchayat through his own agents. In some places there were two or three slaughter houses in the same Panchayat area, separately for pigs, sheep and goats, cows, bullocks and buffaloes, but the supervision of the Panchayats over the slaughter houses was very often most unsatisfactory. Neither [744] the sanitary inspector of the Panchayat nor the veterinary surgeon visited the mutton houses to inspect the type of mutton that was offered for sale, to examine whether it was fit for consumption and to regulate the sanitary conditions in those places. The supervisory staff of Panchayats and the Department of Public Health were too complacent to better the existing state of affairs.

Of the 13 villages for which information was available almost all had uniform rates fixed for goats and sheep which varied between two and four annas each. Slaughter of cows, bullocks and buffaloes and pigs was less common, more than half the number of villages having no rates for these. Rates for cows and bullocks varied between Re. 1 and Rs. 2½ whereas that for the pigs about 5 annas in most cases. Only Guntakal had a uniform rate of one rupee for all the three.

Again the fixation of the slaughter house fees was a matter left to the individual discretion of each Panchayat. The first grade Panchayats like Tuni, Guntakal and Narsapur in East Godavari, Anantpur and West Godavari Districts respectively had fixed up the rates, but, left them to be collected by the auction bidders, instead of collecting through their employees. The practice of letting the right of collecting slaughter house fees to the highest bidder in an auction, was prevalent even among the 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats, except in places where Departmental collection and uniform rates existed as in Ramchandrapuram and Mandapeta in East Godavari and Tanuku in West Godavari. In Kistna and Vizagapatam Districts, auctioning of the right of collection of slaughter house fees was more in practice than their Departmental management, but the rates were more or less uniform. Even amongst

231 651 the Ceded Districts, most of the Panchayats followed the practice of auctioning and that too on a very long term basis like 10 years or 5-10 years as in the case of Panchayats like Dharmavaram and Kadiri in Anantpuram District.

Several Panchayats besides these did not trouble themselves to create the facility of a slaughter house at all. Only a few minor Panchayats provided slaughter houses. (column 14.)

[443] 651 **Market Fees:** Public markets held in the Panchayat areas were usually of three types : daily, bi-weekly and weekly. The rates and the goods on which they should be imposed and collected were to be decided by the Panchayats while the process and actual collection was left to auction bidders who did the work of collecting these fees by issuing licence chits at the rates prescribed by the Panchayat Boards. Instances where Panchayats themselves did the job of collection of these were hardly observable anywhere. Market collections were usually auctioned once a year to the highest bidder and he paid the amount in lump sum to the Panchayat.

The market fees and the variety of goods on which they were imposed varied from Panchayat to Panchayat, irrespective of differences and similarities in grade or place.

In Anantapur, the Guntakal and Kadiri Panchayats charged at a rate of 2 annas to dealers of necessities like salt, tamarind, chillies, tobacco, oil, fuel and potatoes, whereas rates varied between 2 and 4 annas in respect of other commodities like fruits, sweetmeat, vegetable, fish and even retail and grain shops. Truck loads were charged at 6 to 8 annas.

These differences were common not only to all major Panchayats, either in the Circars or the Ceded Districts, but, the same was the case even in the markets of minor Panchayats which had public markets as in Valluru, Yeditha, Kapileswarapuram, etc. in East Godavari District, Aravalli and Vasadi in West Godavari District, Gudur in Kistna District and Kothavalasa in Vizagapatam District. (colomn 10)

Again, the collection of the market fees from cattle, vegetable, grain and fruit markets were not always left for the use of the Panchayats, but the District Boards shared these proceeds and very often took the lion's share without any corresponding return to the Panchayat area in which these collections were earned. The share

864 Most of the major Panchayats with a few exceptions had their own sanitary staff, for the cleaning of private latrines and for the checking of the Food Adulteration. The roads were daily swept once and sometimes even twice. The Panchayats owned all the necessary contingencies and conservancy needs of the village. The Panchayats themselves appointed the Thotties, the sewage water and rubbish cart-men and paid them from the Panchayat funds. Cleaning of public latrines was also the Panchayat responsibility wherever they were provided either for the males or females. They extended the scavenging service to the private latrines by charging them at fixed rates. There were also instances where the scavengers were quite independent of Panchayats as in some villages like Bobbili, Parvatipuram, etc. in Vizagapatam where the private citizens engaged them exclusively, as scavengers refused to work under the Panchayats for one reason or other.

The sanitary inspectors, mistries and vaccinators helped the Panchayat in its local sanitary functions. They looked to the prevention of infectious diseases, inoculation, provision of dust-bins, chlorination of wells and tanks, drain and gutter clearance, etc. Registration of births and deaths was another obligation that was often looked after by these authorities.

But as the sanitary and conservancy staff was very poorly paid, a very satisfactory state of affairs could not naturally exist.

The Panchayats were not able to pay them more as even their existing salary bills tended to be burdensome to them.

As shown in the above table, most of the major Panchayats provided themselves with sanitary inspectors or mistries or vaccinators or the lady welfare attendants, but these did not go far enough to lift the village from its present morass. The observance of the D.N.O. licenses and checking up of food adulteration itself did not lead to much significant results.

231 **Slaughter Houses**: Construction of slaughter houses in the Panchayat areas for the sale of meat and flesh was also one of the obligatory duties of the Panchayats. Though the majority of the major Panchayats had provided this facility, still there were many Panchayats which had not done anything towards this obligation, while among the minor Panchayats, those that were undertaking this function were the exception rather than the rule, as in Kothapeta. Some of the major

Panchayats surveyed had two slaughter houses each, one for sheep and the other for cattle and in a large number of cases, they were auctioned out rather than managed by Panchayat itself. 231

A significant irregularity in this instance was the twofold practice i. e. departmental management versus leasing out to private bidders. While the authorities of Local Boards desired departmental management of collection of receipts and supervision, some Panchayats had been evading this method for long by handing it over to private auctioneers with impunity and the Local Board Officials did nothing to check this growing practice especially more prevalent in the Ceded Districts than in the Northern Circars. Similarly they did nothing to enforce this obligation in many Panchayats which did nothing beyond the provision for construction of slaughter houses and passing resolutions to that effect in their meetings.

Parks: Parks were intended to cater to the recreation facilities of the public in the area of the Panchayat as it was one of its obligatory duties. 367 207

But the survey revealed no enthusiastic observance of this obligation even in the best and economically capable Panchayats. Most of the major Panchayats were practically negligent about it though a few 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats and occasionally a minor Panchayat here and there had taken up this matter seriously. In East Godavari, Razole Panchayat had beautiful park with radio for listeners, while Panchayats like Nidadavol and Tanuku in West Godavari had only radios with loud speakers for listeners' convenience. In the Ceded Districts, Dharmavaram in Anantpur, Kampli in Bellary, Maddikera in Kurnool, and Yellamanchili in Vizagapatam District had nice parks while the majority of other major Panchayats had only radio sets. Most of the Minor Panchayats had no parks, except in stray cases as Achanta in East Godavari.

Public Markets: Construction of public markets was another of the obligatory duties of the Panchayats and was observed more in the breach than in practice. Though almost every major and minor Panchayat got a regular revenue from the vendors who got their goods for offering for sale, they were left to the mercies of sun and rain without the Panchayats ever bothering about providing them with any sort of regular permanent or semi-permanent sheds 443

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[For a general discussion of animal husbandry in India, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 228-231.]

661 Even the major Panchayats with overseers and mistries, either
683 left the budgeted plans unfinished, neglecting the roads on the plea that plans were not approved by the District Board or executed them in a haphazard piecemeal way by reducing all the estimates to an amount below Rs. 250/- which they could undertake. Some Panchayat budgets showed expenditure on roads, which were never laid but, when caught, sought to plead that they were spoiled by the time the inspecting authority could visit them. There were frauds in preparing the estimates, in the execution of contracts and in the accounts of the amounts shown as paid in the Panchayat budgets. These shady deals go unpunished for want of positive proof. Minor Panchayats portrayed better enthusiasm in the execution of their public works by the use of communal labour. However, to avoid much wastage of public money by the Panchayats more competent, honest and sincere supervising staff to look to their estimates and execution is essential. Corruption, delay and dilatory tactics should seriously be dealt with. Starting of Government Central Depots for storing and selling raw materials like lime, stone, tar, keel and other materials required for public works under Local Boards would mitigate to some extent the present evil of embezzlements of public funds. A close laison between the District Board and the Public Works Department to tighten up the supervision may also improve the position.

312 Though there is no acute water scarcity in the Circars as in the Ceded Districts there is need for providing protected water supply in Panchayats where there are no fresh water wells or to dig more wells where they are inadequate. While the Panchayats have not got resources to undertake this task, the District Boards and the State Government should take more interest.

744 Only some major Panchayats appointed sanitary inspectors,
364 vaccinators, mid-wives and compounders to look after public health, scavengers and thotties to clean the roads, drains, gutters and latrines private and public. The sanitary inspectors looked to the enforcement of the Food Adulteration Act, supervision of the slaughter houses, prevention of infectious diseases, maintenance of the public health, sweeping of the roads, etc. with the assistance of the sanitary staff. But many Panchayats were not in a position to undertake most of these functions due to the lack of funds or difficulties in recruiting scavengers and thotties as in the case of Vizagapatam due to the low salaries paid.

231 Slaughter houses were found mostly in the minor and major Panchayats where even the right of collecting the receipts was

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 367

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sale. 448

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

Management of fairs and festivals was done by a few minor or major Panchayats, but, without exploiting their privileged position by means of a pilgrim tax or a tax on the vendors. 543

Optional functions like plantation of trees, provision of cart and bus stands, radio sets for listeners, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, etc. were done only by very few Panchayats. 623

The attendance of the members at the meetings of Panchayats was so irregular that there was often no quorum. Sometimes the Panchayats held no meetings at all for a long time or the members absented themslves continuously without any action being taken against them.

Panchayats were superseded and special officers were appointed to administer them for a year or two, when Panchayats could not work properly either due to local factions or opposition to taxation or any other undesirable features. Fresh Panchayat was ushered in only after the prevailing irregularities were removed and when the prospects of its smooth working were tolerably certain. 687 625

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249 is again let in once in three or four days. After a comparatively short space of time when the plants have grown, the heaps of earth separating the two rows of plants are made higher and broader. From that time onwards water is let in once in three or four days till the crop is full. After three months when the cane has grown, two or three stalks are bound together by means of its dried leaves. When the stalks are still higher once more they are tied together at the top. Then long rods with forked ends are planted in the ground and long bamboos are laid in a line with the trenches, resting in the forks and the canes are tied to them. In this way the binding goes on for about eight or nine months as the stalks grow longer and longer. When they are full they are cut and removed. The crop is carried about one year or a little more after the cultivator starts getting the land ready. The country wooden plough is used for all purposes, the other implements being yoke, picottah bucket made of leather and sometimes of iron, *yetham-bana*,* *palikimanu*, *guntaka*, *gorru*, *palikiguntaka*, *mamoti*, reaping hook, shorthandled hoes.

231 *Stock*—

Working oxen	45	including paracheri.
Oxen not in a fit condition to work ...	65	
Male buffaloes	6	
Cow buffaloes	15	
Young stock of above species up to a year old	59	
Horses	...	
Donkeys and mules	4	
Sheep	47	
Goats	8	
Pigs	18	
Cows	85	

The cattle are of the well-known Punganur breed, rather light, but quick and active. The villagers breed cattle, and buy and sell in the cattle fair held annually in Punganur.

241 *Manuring.*—Most of the dung, about 90 per cent, is used as manure, the rest being utilized for household purposes.

237 Cattle urine is allowed to run to waste. The dung of goats, sheep, pigs, donkeys is used as manure.

Except the leaf of the kanaga tree, no green manure is used. This is obtained from topes planted many years ago. Sometimes it is taken on contract from the zamindar from the jungle all round.

There are practically no gardens, all the lands being used to grow grain. It is only now that beginnings are being made. Small plots of land are being planted with mango-grafts. The karnam of the village started this.

242 *Insect-pests.*—*Thellachida* affects generally paddy crop, eats away the leaves and stalks.

782 *Pethachida* affects all crops; consists of innumerable kinds of insects, eating away all the leaves.

Aggijadyam.—Paddy turns a vivid scarlet.

Kondapurirogam.—The worst pest affecting rice. The whole crop is consumed as by fire. The long stalks get shrivelled up to a ridiculously small length. To get a crop is impossible when once this sets in.

Locusts.—These destroy the crops.

* Vide p. 105.

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Agriculture.—Area under each of the principal crops :—

	ACRES.		ACRES.
Paddy	123·17	Ragi	171·9
Sugarcane	4·21	Cholam (for cattle) ...	4·27
Coconut topes ...	2·11	Sazzulu	0·27
Other fruit trees and scattered shade trees	11·21	Chamulu	6·36
		Gram	8·30
		Dholl	6·31
Betel gardens ...	1·4	Groundnut	12·15
Plantain	4·22	Castor seeds	2·4
Mango	1·0	Other crops	18·10

Out of the dry land, nearly 250 acres yield only one crop per annum, about 60 acres two crops. Almost all of the wet land yields two crops. There is no land yielding three crops per annum.

The methods of cultivation are the same as in Thettupalli in the Chittoor district of the Madras Presidency.

407

Implements.—In one house only an iron plough * is used. The rest use the country plough made of wood.

412

Other agricultural implements used are yoke, picottah, *yethambana*, hoe, *guntaka*, *donthi*, *pandluminu*, *gorru*, *palikiguntaka*, *mamoti*, scythe and other minor implements.

The *gorru* is a seed-drill, with a bowl to put the seed in, and bamboo tubes to distribute it. The *guntaka* is a six-bladed harrow, the *palikiguntaka* a twelve-bladed harrow. The *donthi* is a log of wood with twenty wooden teeth, each 5 inches long and half an inch thick, with a curved contrivance at the end of the handle which the driver holds against his stomach. It is used for powdering the soil. The *pandluminu* is a variety of the same.

231

Stock—

Oxen	144
Cows	111
Male-buffaloes	...
Cow-buffaloes	5 (These do not thrive well here).
Young stock of above species.	103
Horses	4
Donkeys	15
Mules	...
Sheep	27
Goats	14
Pigs	4

In the mornings cows are fed with grass, gram well pounded with the addition of water and rice bran. Then they are let out to graze in the fields. In the evening they receive the same as in the morning and oil-cake. They are also fed with rice straw and ragi straw. Sometimes cholam also is used and its stalks.

Bulls receive almost the same as cows, but are given less of green grass. Gram is fried and made into flour and then used; also Bengal gram and oil cake.

[* The Mysore State Department of Agriculture manufactures and sells cheap and handy iron ploughs. The general use of these would be of immense advantage on dry land.—Ed.]

654

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231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

237 *Manuring.*—Nearly 90 per cent of the cow-dung is used as manure, the rest being used for household purposes.

Almost all the cattle urine is allowed to run to waste except trifling quantities used for household purposes.

241 The green manure chiefly used is the leaf of the Kanaga tree. Generally all kinds of green leaf are held to be good manure. This is obtained chiefly from the surrounding jungle, licences being obtained on payment of a fee to the Maharaja's Government. Sometimes topes are planted for the purpose.

No other kinds of vegetable manure are largely used. In some cases, for instance in the cultivation of sugarcane, the refuse left after the oil has been squeezed out from the fruit of the Kanaga tree is used.

232 Insect-pests and cattle diseases and the method of combating them are the same as in Thettupalli.

361 *The village.*—The village occupies an area of 9·36 acres. The tendency is for the members of one caste to congregate together. For example all the Muhammadans live in one part of the village together. The Komatis live exclusively in one street.

342 The depressed classes live in dirty and squalid huts of but one room.

There are in the caste village 85 thatched houses, none tiled, 63 terraced; in the Paracheri, only thatched houses 31 in number. There are no gardens adjoining any of the dwellings. The fields lie adjoining and surrounding the village. The most distant field lies about three-quarters of a mile off.

There is a great demand for additional building sites.

435 If land is obtained direct from the Government a fee of ½ anna per square yard is charged, payable on sale. If dry land is acquired for the purpose from pattadars, the value ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre. It is only near this village that the value is so low. Further up the value goes up to nearly Rs. 300 or Rs. 350.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are only two pariahs who weave at all. They use two handlooms.

[281] No hand spinning is practised. Yarn is bought ready made. The other crafts are—

Crafts.	Average time.	Earnings per year.	Remarks.
Blacksmith.	The major part of the day.	About Rs. 300 a year.	He receives customary mamūls. At harvest time gets about 10 puttis of paddy. There are also inams in his name.
Potter ...	The major part of the day and almost throughout the year.	About Rs. 100 a year.	Do.
Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamūls.

438 *Village trade—Purchase of commodities by the village.*—Wood for implements is got from the forests already mentioned. Iron

1 [See category III, pp. 99–100. — Analyst]

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Sandy tracts with palmyras fetch a rent of Rs. 10 per acre, without trees, Rs. 2 or 3 only; black clay Rs. 15 to 16 per acre. 427

The black clay land sells at about Rs. 350 per acre, the red sand at about Rs. 150. But the price has fallen now owing to two bad harvests. 435

Stock.

	By official information.	Non-official.
Working oxen	539	800 about.
Cows	412	600 „
Male buffaloes	6	14 „
Cow buffaloes	184	200 „
Young stock—buffaloes	208	250 „
Do. cows	637	650 to 700
Horses	...	...
Donkeys and mules	...	...
Sheep	58	61
Goats	225	200
Pigs	100	...

231

According to the census of 1900 and 1910 they were—

	1900.	1910.
Bullocks and he-buffaloes	650	545
Cows	580	412
She-buffaloes	171	184
Young stock	802	845
Sheep and goats	778	283

The straw of cholam and paddy is reserved for the summer feed of cattle; in the rainy season the green grass of the common pasture is available. Each ryot reserves one or two fields for pasture for his cattle. In days of heavy work, the bullocks are given cooked horsegram mixed with the husk of paddy, and the fine dust from the grain which is mixed with it in husking. Cotton seeds are also cooked and given for food; and oil cake, especially for milch cows. Ryots who have insufficient pasture send some of their cattle to the Agency tracts for the three months, July to September; they are charged Rs. 3 or 5 per pair.

Only about 50 per cent of the cattle-dung is used as manure, the rest is used for fuel. The average ryot applies six to eight cart-loads of dung per acre; besides the manure of the cattle kept in fields at nights. He accumulates a stock at home throughout the year and applies it at the end of the year to the fields. 241 [237]

No green manure or chemical manure is used.

Garden cultivation has been tried as an experiment with water-supply from a well, lifted by a water pump got from Bombay. Lemons and plantains are planted. The pump required some slight repairs, which were delayed for want of a mechanic near by. The garden too has not yet proved to be decidedly profitable; and all the villagers laugh at it as an innovation. [176]

Cost of cultivation.—The following is an account of the expenditure for ten acres of an average ryot, obtained from four ryots. 241 435

367 In the Godavari Districts again, some of the minor Panchayats appeared to be paying heed to this as in Yeditha and Kapileswarapuram but none of the minor Panchayats in other districts showed any interest.

207 **Radio**: This had become more or less a universal feature in most of the Panchayats both major and minor and provided recreation to the listening public.

485 **Provision of Bus Stands and Cart Stands**: This was a practice that was gradually growing but was not yet prevalent on a wide scale. Some of the major Panchayats had this facility within their areas as Razole in East Godavari, Tadepalligudam, Kovvur, Undi, Velpur, Akividu and Peatapadu in West Godavari, Vuyyuru in Kistna, Parvatipuram, Bobbili, Salur and Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Dharmavaram and Gooty in Anantpur, and Nandikotkur, Dhone and Pattikonda in Kurnool.

744 **Help in Case of Epidemics**: This obligation was met with varying degrees of success in the several Panchayats. The Panchayats in the 1st grade were giving every possible attention, while the Panchayats in the 2nd and 3rd grades were not always able to do much though they too appeared to be very enthusiastic. For instance, the 2nd grade Panchayats like Vuyyuru and Jaggayapeta in Kistna and 3rd grade Panchayats like Razole in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Bobbili, Salur and Parvatipuram in Vizagapatam, Markapur, Maddikera, Kadiri and Nandikotkur in Kurnool, Yeditha, Gooty and Penu Konda in Anantpur and Kosgi, Harpanhalli, Kudligi, etc. in Bellary were assisting the villagers in times of infection, by providing additional sanitary help and vaccinators.

743 **Dispensaries and Medical Help**: A few Panchayats began to contemplate of late to undertake this obligation. Panchayats like Amalapuram in East Godavari spent nearly Rs. 2,000 per year on this [232] item. Bhimavaram in West Godavari had constructed a veterinary hospital at a cost of Rs. 4,000 and also gave an annual donation of Rs. 2,500 to it. Tanuku and Ramchandrapuram Panchayats in East Godavari intended opening medical centres. They were found to be making the necessary preparations. Tadepalligudam, another 3rd Grade Panchayat in West Godavari was able to gather about Rs. 2,000 with a view to start a veterinary dispensary of its own. Mukkamala, a minor Panchayat in East Godavari was the first Panchayat in the Presidency to have a medical dispensary of its own since the last twenty years. In Vuyyuru and Bobbili, the

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242 The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and [782] accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

232 *Cattle diseases—Kurama.*—The ox or cow when it suffers from this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

342 *The village.*—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. [276] Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no 465 longer raised.

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets manuls called *thirupanu* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four putties; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same manuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 There is a local road which passes by this village running from 489 Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

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231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

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Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamûls.

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1 [See category 116, pp. 99-100.—Analyst]

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

323 564 closely at Shamirpet only in six were the relations finally broken off on account of dissatisfaction to either or both parties. Non-agriculturists and such occupational castes as do not have arrangements with the potter buy their requirements from him for a cash price. The Kummari families of Shamirpet have more clients and customers in some of the neighbouring villages which have no potters' families living in them.

THE GOLLA

[361] 233 564 476 The shepherds occupy a block of their own in the village. Some of them cultivate small land-holdings, but the major source of livelihood for all of them is their traditional occupation of keeping herds of goats and sheep. They may keep one or two cows and buffaloes besides these herds which are their livelihood. They have an elaborate lore regarding these animals, and they are experts in caring for quite large herds. They train country dogs to help them in this, and with their aid prevent the goats from going [782] astray when they are taken out for grazing in the forest. By turns the Golla families in the village contribute goats or sheep for sacrifice in the village ceremonies. For this they are not paid. With this exception, they carry on all other transactions with the village people in cash. When people buy goats and sheep, the owner of the animal is always paid in cash. For goat's milk they expect spot payment, but arrangements for weekly or monthly payments may be made in the case of regular buyers. However, in one respect they may also enter into an agreement with the agriculturists which may entitle them to a small share of each harvest. After the harvest, when all the crops have been reaped, the agriculturists ask the Gollas to graze their herds on their fields and keep them penned in during the night. As there is very little fodder in the fields, the shepherds take the goats and sheep out for grazing in the nearby forest, and during the night keep them in the field. [241] The urine and dung of the herd is believed to be good manure, and as such this service is much in demand by the agriculturists. The shepherds often fix days with the agriculturists, and each one has his turn only on a limited number of days. According to the nature of agreement between the cultivators and the shepherds, the payment is either in cash or the latter collect their dues from the fields at the time of harvesting.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

diseases. Plough-cattle are on the whole better looked after. But the neglect of the cow, traditionally regarded as 'the mother', is indeed pathetic. Absence of good breeding bulls and lack of grazing grounds further account for the poor condition of the cattle. In the absence of a good pedigree bull, scrub bulls of no particular description are allowed to move freely among the cows. According to village land records there are 1,482 acres of pasture-land in the area surrounding the settlement; but this land is almost always auctioned to contractors from outside the village. As these pastures are not available for grazing to the village cattle, they roam about the shrubs and rocks around the village and eat whatever fodder is available there.

The shortage of draught-cattle is a serious handicap to the prosperity of average peasants in the village. The well-to-do agriculturists always have a sufficient number of cattle to meet their own agricultural requirements. But the average and poorer peasants find great difficulty in tilling their fields in time with the limited number of their own or hired cattle. Dependence on the monsoons obliges them to make certain variations in their agricultural schedule to fit in with the uncertainty of the rains. Some of their operations must precede the first rainfall; others must follow it almost immediately. For some days during the busy season this causes great pressure on available resources in men and cattle. The cultivators who depend on hired cattle or who practise co-operative lending and borrowing of cattle cannot take the best advantage of the first rains, and this enforced wait results in untimely sowing and poor crops.

The absence of good milch cattle affects the nutrition of the people. In May 1951 the total daily yield of milk in the village was about 14 lb. only. Earlier it has been pointed out that most people in the village keep poultry, but in general its quality is poor, and the production of eggs is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 1,400 a year.

5. OTHER ECONOMIC PURSUITS

Before we pass on to the other occupations brief reference should be made to some common exploitative activities of the people.

Hunting is done regularly by a very limited number of people. Only the Erkalas have adopted it as a part of their profession.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

231 diseases. Plough-cattle are on the whole better looked after. But the neglect of the cow, traditionally regarded as 'the mother', is indeed pathetic. Absence of good breeding bulls and lack of grazing grounds further account for the poor condition of the cattle. In the absence of a good pedigree bull, scrub bulls of no particular [311] description are allowed to move freely among the cows. According to village land records there are 1,482 acres of pasture-land in the area surrounding the settlement; but this land is almost always auctioned to contractors from outside the village. As these pastures are not available for grazing to the village cattle, they roam about the shrubs and rocks around the village and eat whatever fodder is available there.

241 The shortage of draught-cattle is a serious handicap to the pros-
231 perity of average peasants in the village. The well-to-do agriculturists always have a sufficient number of cattle to meet their own agricultural requirements. But the average and poorer peasants find great difficulty in tilling their fields in time with the limited number of their own or hired cattle. Dependence on the monsoons obliges them to make certain variations in their agricultural schedule to fit in with the uncertainty of the rains. Some of their operations must precede the first rainfall; others must follow it almost immediately. For some days during the busy season this causes great pressure on available resources in men and cattle. The cultivators who depend on hired cattle or who practise co-operative lending and borrowing of cattle cannot take the best advantage of the first rains, and this enforced wait results in untimely sowing and poor crops.

234 The absence of good milch cattle affects the nutrition of the
146 people. In May 1951 the total daily yield of milk in the village
235 was about 14 lb. only. Earlier it has been pointed out that most people in the village keep poultry, but in general its quality is poor, and the production of eggs is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 1,400 a year.

5. OTHER ECONOMIC PURSUITS

224 Before we pass on to the other occupations brief reference should be made to some common exploitative activities of the people.

Hunting is done regularly by a very limited number of people. Only the Erkalas have adopted it as a part of their profession.

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249 is again let in once in three or four days. After a comparatively short space of time when the plants have grown, the heaps of earth separating the two rows of plants are made higher and broader. From that time onwards water is let in once in three or four days till the crop is full. After three months when the cane has grown, two or three stalks are bound together by means of its dried leaves. When the stalks are still higher once more they are tied together at the top. Then long rods with forked ends are planted in the ground and long bamboos are laid in a line with the trenches, resting in the forks and the canes are tied to them. In this way the binding goes on for about eight or nine months as the stalks grow longer and longer. When they are full they are cut and removed. The crop is carried about one year or a little more after the cultivator starts getting the land ready. The country wooden plough is used for all purposes, the other implements being yoke, picottah bucket made of leather and sometimes of iron, *yetham-bana,** *palikimanu*, *guntaka*, *gorru*, *palikiguntaka*, *mamoti*, reaping hook, shorthandled hoes.

231 *Stock*—

Working oxen	45	including paracheri.
Oxen not in a fit condition to work	65	
Male buffaloes	6	
Cow buffaloes	15	
Young stock of above species up to a year old	59	
Horses	...	
Donkeys and mules	4	
Sheep	47	
Goats	8	
Pigs	18	
Cows	85	

The cattle are of the well-known Punganur breed, rather light, but quick and active. The villagers breed cattle, and buy and sell in the cattle fair held annually in Punganur.

241 *Manuring.*—Most of the dung, about 90 per cent, is used as manure, the rest being utilized for household purposes.

237] Cattle urine is allowed to run to waste. The dung of goats, sheep, pigs, donkeys is used as manure.

Except the leaf of the kanaga tree, no green manure is used. This is obtained from topes planted many years ago. Sometimes it is taken on contract from the zamindar from the jungle all round.

There are practically no gardens, all the lands being used to grow grain. It is only now that beginnings are being made. Small plots of land are being planted with mango-grafts. The karnam of the village started this.

242 *Insect-pests.*—*Thellachida* affects generally paddy crop, eats away the leaves and stalks.

782 *Pethachida* affects all crops; consists of innumerable kinds of insects, eating away all the leaves.

Aggijadyam.—Paddy turns a vivid scarlet.

Kondapurirogam.—The worst pest affecting rice. The whole crop is consumed as by fire. The long stalks get shrivelled up to a ridiculously small length. To get a crop is impossible when once this sets in.

Locusts.—These destroy the crops.

* Vide p. 105.

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231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

237 *Manuring.*—Nearly 90 per cent of the cow-dung is used as manure, the rest being used for household purposes.

Almost all the cattle urine is allowed to run to waste except trifling quantities used for household purposes.

241 The green manure chiefly used is the leaf of the Kanaga tree. Generally all kinds of green leaf are held to be good manure. This is obtained chiefly from the surrounding jungle, licences being obtained on payment of a fee to the Maharaja's Government. Sometimes topes are planted for the purpose.

No other kinds of vegetable manure are largely used. In some cases, for instance in the cultivation of sugarcane, the refuse left after the oil has been squeezed out from the fruit of the Kanaga tree is used.

232 Insect-pests and cattle diseases and the method of combating them are the same as in Thettupalli.

361 *The village.*—The village occupies an area of 9·36 acres. The tendency is for the members of one caste to congregate together. For example all the Muhammadans live in one part of the village together. The Komatis live exclusively in one street.

342 The depressed classes live in dirty and squalid huts of but one room.

There are in the caste village 85 thatched houses, none tiled, 63 terraced; in the Paracheri, only thatched houses 31 in number. There are no gardens adjoining any of the dwellings. The fields lie adjoining and surrounding the village. The most distant field lies about three-quarters of a mile off.

There is a great demand for additional building sites.

435 If land is obtained direct from the Government a fee of ½ anna per square yard is charged, payable on sale. If dry land is acquired for the purpose from pattadars, the value ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre. It is only near this village that the value is so low. Further up the value goes up to nearly Rs. 300 or Rs. 350.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are only two pariahs who weave at all. They use two handlooms.

[288] No hand spinning is practised. Yarn is bought ready made. The other crafts are—

Crafts.	Average time.	Earnings per year.	Remarks.
Blacksmith	The major part of the day.	About Rs. 300 a year.	He receives customary mamūls. At harvest time gets about 10 puttis of paddy. There are also inams in his name.
Potter ...	The major part of the day and almost throughout the year.	About Rs. 100 a year.	Do.
Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamūls.

438 *Village trade—Purchase of commodities by the village.*—Wood for implements is got from the forests already mentioned. Iron

1 [See category IIk, pp. 99-100. — Analyst]

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Sandy tracts with palmyras fetch a rent of Rs. 10 per acre, without trees, Rs. 2 or 3 only; black clay Rs. 15 to 16 per acre. 427

The black clay land sells at about Rs. 350 per acre, the red sand at about Rs. 150. But the price has fallen now owing to two bad harvests. 435

Stock.

231

	By official information.	Non-official.
Working oxen	539	800 about.
Cows	412	600 „
Male buffaloes	6	14 „
Cow buffaloes	184	200 „
Young stock—buffaloes	208	250 „
Do. cows	637	650 to 700
Horses	...	...
Donkeys and mules	...	...
Sheep	58	61
Goats	225	200
Pigs	100	...

According to the census of 1900 and 1910 they were—

	1900.	1910.
Bullocks and he-buffaloes	650	545
Cows	580	412
She-buffaloes	171	184
Young stock	802	845
Sheep and goats	778	283

The straw of cholam and paddy is reserved for the summer feed of cattle; in the rainy season the green grass of the common pasture is available. Each ryot reserves one or two fields for pasture for his cattle. In days of heavy work, the bullocks are given cooked horsegram mixed with the husk of paddy, and the fine dust from the grain which is mixed with it in husking. Cotton seeds are also cooked and given for food; and oil cake, especially for milch cows. Ryots who have insufficient pasture send some of their cattle to the Agency tracts for the three months, July to September; they are charged Rs. 3 or 5 per pair.

Only about 50 per cent of the cattle-dung is used as manure, the rest is used for fuel. The average ryot applies six to eight cart-loads of dung per acre; besides the manure of the cattle kept in fields at nights. He accumulates a stock at home throughout the year and applies it at the end of the year to the fields. 241 [237]

No green manure or chemical manure is used.

Garden cultivation has been tried as an experiment with water-supply from a well, lifted by a water pump got from Bombay. Lemons and plantains are planted. The pump required some slight repairs, which were delayed for want of a mechanic near by. The garden too has not yet proved to be decidedly profitable; and all the villagers laugh at it as an innovation. [176]

Cost of cultivation.—The following is an account of the expenditure for ten acres of an average ryot, obtained from four ryots. 241 435

323 564 closely at Shamirpet only in six were the relations finally broken off on account of dissatisfaction to either or both parties. Non-agriculturists and such occupational castes as do not have arrangements with the potter buy their requirements from him for a cash price. The Kummari families of Shamirpet have more clients and customers in some of the neighbouring villages which have no potters' families living in them.

THE GOLLA

[361] 233 564 476 The shepherds occupy a block of their own in the village. Some of them cultivate small land-holdings, but the major source of livelihood for all of them is their traditional occupation of keeping herds of goats and sheep. They may keep one or two cows and buffaloes besides these herds which are their livelihood. They have an elaborate lore regarding these animals, and they are experts in caring for quite large herds. They train country dogs to help them in this, and with their aid prevent the goats from going [782] astray when they are taken out for grazing in the forest. By turns the Golla families in the village contribute goats or sheep for sacrifice in the village ceremonies. For this they are not paid. With this exception, they carry on all other transactions with the village people in cash. When people buy goats and sheep, the owner of the animal is always paid in cash. For goat's milk they expect spot payment, but arrangements for weekly or monthly payments may be made in the case of regular buyers. However, in one respect they may also enter into an agreement with the agriculturists which may entitle them to a small share of each harvest. After the harvest, when all the crops have been reaped, the agriculturists ask the Gollas to graze their herds on their fields and keep them penned in during the night. As there is very little fodder in the fields, the shepherds take the goats and sheep out for grazing in the nearby forest, and during the night keep them in the field. [241] The urine and dung of the herd is believed to be good manure, and as such this service is much in demand by the agriculturists. The shepherds often fix days with the agriculturists, and each one has his turn only on a limited number of days. According to the nature of agreement between the cultivators and the shepherds, the payment is either in cash or the latter collect their dues from the fields at the time of harvesting.

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agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra wages.

The Erkalas earn their livelihood through a variety of means. The menfolk are hunters. They are also adept in the use of snares and traps. They train hunting dogs and use them effectively for chasing and tracking wounded animals. When they succeed in getting some game, they retain a part of it for their domestic consumption and sell the rest to the villagers. The women beg in the countryside by singing songs and narrating legends. They also do some fortune-telling. Family earnings are supplemented by basket-making, a task at which both men and women work. They also rear pigs.

THE MADIGAS

The Madigas are the lowest caste in Shamirpet. Economically they constitute the poorest section of the community. While the Malas, who are also untouchables but a degree higher than the Madigas, either cultivate their own land or work as farm labourers for daily wages, the Madigas affiliate themselves to the households of the substantial agriculturists in the village. According to the size of the land-holding of the cultivator, one or more Madiga families permanently attach themselves to him. At every stage of agricultural operations during the year the attached Madiga, and his wife and children, work in the fields of their master. They are not paid any daily wages. After the crops are harvested they have to go and 'beg' in the master's fields or threshing grounds. The conventions of the community have prescribed the rates of payment, mostly on the basis of the area of land under cultivation and the yield during the particular harvest. Thus for a certain area a basic minimum must be given; but if on account of good crops the yield has been high it is expected that the affiliated Madiga family would be given a proportionately larger share. In former times there used to be considerable compulsion, and, being in no position to protest, the Madigas had to slave for their masters, who could be quite ruthless. If the master was kind and considerate, they regarded it as their good luck. On the whole it was advisable for them to tolerate even a bad master, for any protests or refusal to do the allotted work on their part would eventually have meant their being forced to leave the village. Now, of course, conditions have changed, and Madigas do not any longer put up with indig-

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nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. But they have several other additional means of subsistence open to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village. As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner. From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes. Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

311 ment, classified in government land records as belonging to this village, approximately 20·4 acres are covered by streams and small rivers, 25 acres by unmetalled roads and footpaths and 61 acres by irrigation channels. Thus apart from the 58 acres which provide the site for the village and the two hamlets attached to it, 106·4 acres are covered by these footpaths, channels and streams. The total land area of the village according to government records is 5,777 acres. Out of this 2,012 acres are uncul- ●241 tivable; 162·8 acres being covered with rocks and shrubs. In all 3,765 acres are under cultivation in the village: 3,339·5 acres are classed as 'dry land', for this area is irrigated entirely by the rains; and 425·6 acres are classed as 'wet land' as extra irrigation is available. Although the dry land occupies a proportionately wider area, it is much less productive than the wet land. In 1951–52, out of the total village land revenue of Rs. 9,137 (Hyderabad currency) only Rs. 3,982/4/- were derived as revenue on dry land, the rest came from wet land. The wet land is further classified into *ābi*, *tābi* and *do fasla* land. In the *ābi* land seeds are sown in the rainy season (June to July) and harvested in mid- or late winter (November to January). This type of land occupies 131 acres and yields a revenue of Rs. 1,332 per year. In the *tābi* land sowing is done in winter (October to November) and the crops are harvested in summer (April to May). *Tābi* land covers 162·4 acres in the village and yields a revenue of Rs. 1,868/12/0 per year. Finally 63·5 acres are classed as the much prized *do fasla* or two crop land. As the very name suggests, crops are sown and harvested on this land twice every year. Notwithstanding its small area this land yields a revenue of Rs. 1,208/12/0. All this wet land is irrigated by channels from the Shamirpet tank. Mention may also be made of another 68 acres, which are irrigated by small privately owned tanks and wells and bring to the government a revenue of Rs. 745/12/0 per year. Wet land is very much desired by the cultivators because of its high productivity and requirement of com- [436] paratively low investment. According to current valuation average wet land sells at Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 per acre.

241 433 It would only be natural to expect that in a primarily agricultural community the number of professional cultivators and others directly dependent upon agriculture should be the highest. Table I shows the number of people who are wholly agriculturists, partly agriculturists and partly field-labourers, and partly agri-

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culturists and partly dependent for subsistence on other crafts and professions. 241 433

TABLE I

Number of Families and People Depending on Agriculture as the Main Source of Livelihood.

Nature of agricultural work	*Total number of families*	*Total number of persons*	*Men*	*Women*	*Children*	*Number of people actually working*
1. Agriculturists (depending only on the cultivation of their land)	129	713	226	231	256	336
2. Partly agriculturists and partly field-labourers	154	803	249	271	283	493
3. Partly agriculturists and partly dependent on other crafts and professions	59	305	89	105	111	170

From the above it will be clear that 336 people actually employed whole-time in agriculture maintain 129 families consisting of 713 people. The other class is more numerous. In it 493 people working together maintain 154 families comprising in all 803 people. These partly cultivate their own fields and partly work as labourers with other agriculturists. The third category includes those who are partly agriculturists, and derive a part of their subsistence from some other craft or profession: 59 families having in all 305 people constitute this group.

The remaining fraction of the village population consists of people who contribute indirectly to agriculture or who have a function in some other field of community life. Table II gives the number of families and people in other occupations.

The figures in Tables I and II are for the main village of Shamirpet and do not include the agriculturists and occupational castes from the hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli, which are regarded, in land records, as parts of Shamirpet. 241

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

241 Out of a total of 3,765 acres of land under cultivation, the residents of Shamirpet are cultivating approximately 3,000 acres.

463 TABLE II

Craft or profession	*Total number of families*	*Total number of persons*	*Men*	*Women*	*Children*	*Number of people actually working*
1. Potters	5	21	6	7	8	14
2. Carpenters	4	15	5	5	5	5
3. Blacksmiths	4	28	8	11	9	8
4. Washermen	7	31	7	8	16	18
5. Toddy-tappers	16	99	29	34	36	53
6. Shepherds	21	108	31	42	35	69
7. Barbers	2	11	2	4	5	8
8. Goldsmiths	2	13	4	6	3	4
9. Stone-breakers	3	16	5	5	6	10
10. Erkala hunters	5	16	6	6	4	11
11. Traders and Shop-keepers	13	81	22	22	37	27
12. Government servants	46	211	70	60	81	90
13. Others	7	33	10	12	11	14

423 An analysis of the pattern of land-ownership in the village reveals the following:

i. A fourth of the land is owned by 1 family having 800 acres.
ii. A fourth of the land is owned by 8 families having 100 acres each.
iii. A fourth of the land is owned by 20 families having 40 acres each.
iv. A fourth of the land is owned by 160 families having 5 acres each.

The headman of the village is the biggest single land-owner. He belongs to the Reddi caste which is the dominant section of the group of agricultural castes in this area. The second category includes, besides the Reddis, two Muslims—one of whom is the Patwari of the village. Even in the third category approximately 40% of the land is held by the Reddis; the rest being shared by

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

511 426 Analysis of the family budgets of the agriculturists in the village revealed that 10% of them were surplus, 24% were balanced and the rest were deficit budgets. Exact figures regarding the extent of indebtedness could not be obtained as the people invariably sought to conceal information on this subject. According to our rough estimate, 55% to 60% of the families are indebted. As relatively few persons can get agricultural or land improvement loans from the government at a reasonable rate of interest, and as there is no co-operative society in the village, most people have to take recourse to the money-lenders either in the village or, preferably, in a neighbouring one. Petty loans may be obtained from well-to-do shopkeepers and peasants. The rate of interest varies greatly. For large loans a mortgage is generally insisted upon, and anything between 6% and 12% compound interest is charged. For petty loans interest is charged at the rate of 2 annas per rupee per month. If ornaments or other valuables are pawned, the rate of interest is reduced even for the smaller loans. Borrowing in kind also takes place. Seeds are often obtained on loan, and are returned after the harvest with 25% interest. In several cases the indebtedness of the family could be attributed to over-spending in socio-religious ceremonies and litigation rather than to agricultural needs.

241 432 The organization of agricultural pursuits rests mainly on the head of the family, although grown-up sons—if they are living with the parents—are also consulted. When buying or selling land the advice of the elders of the extended family is always obtained. This has to be done before mortgaging family property against loans. The scope for individual initiative and innovations is very limited, for the system of agriculture still largely follows the traditional patterns and is governed to a great extent by the agricultural lore passed from generation to generation through oral tradition.

241 465 Most agriculturists can manage the cultivation of their fields with the help of family labour. The traditional system on inter-caste relations secures for them the specialized services of the occupational castes. The more well-to-do landowners have Madiga families attached to them. However, the migration of some Madiga families and concentration of considerable areas of land in the possession of a few families make it almost essential for many agriculturists to employ additional labour. In the busy season even

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ordinary cultivators have to employ casual labour. The rates of daily wages have now increased considerably. In 1939 a male labourer was paid 3 to 6 annas a day, while a woman was paid 2 to 4 annas. In 1951, men were paid between 1 rupee and 1 rupee 8 annas per day, while the women got 8 to 12 annas per day. Rich landowners employ labourers on the basis of an annual contract also. Rates of payment vary with the age, ability and experience of the person employed; and also partly with the financial position of the employer. According to our statistics wages differ from Rs. 280 to Rs. 120 per year, and may be paid in cash or kind. Depending on the agreement the employee may be paid a cash monthly salary, or he may be paid a part in cash and a part in grain. Very often the agreement includes the following in the wages for the year: an agreed sum at the end of the year, one or two meals a day or a specified quantity of grain every week, and a set or two of new clothes and footwear or a blanket. As a rule advances are drawn from time to time, and when they exceed the stipulated sum the labourer has to agree to work the following year also to repay the debt.

3. THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR

The agriculturists in Shamirpet follow the local almanac. Most of their moves in farm activity depend upon the position of the stars in the sky. According to this almanac a month is divided into two *katis*, each with a duration of approximately fifteen days. Each of these divisions bears a name which indicates a particular position of the stars. According to the traditional agricultural lore of the people the different *katis* are suitable for different kinds of agricultural activities and provide the agriculturist with a schedule for the different stages of his work in the field. Of course, he also takes into consideration other natural factors, such as the possibility of rainfall in the immediate future; but in general his moves follow the time-tested schedule of the Hindu calendar. Muslim agriculturists too follow this calendar and share with their Hindu neighbours their agricultural folklore.

In late summer (i.e. the end of May) the agriculturists keep their fields clear for ploughing in anticipation of a light shower of rain. Invariably there is some rainfall during this period which softens the ground and makes it possible for them to start ploughing. With the advent of this eagerly awaited drizzle the farmers

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241 can be seen carrying their wooden ploughs and driving their pairs of bullocks to the fields. No time must be lost, for the hardening of land may render ploughing difficult and this may eventually result in late sowing.

241 787 About this time they go to the Brahmin to fix an auspicious day for planting vegetables and creepers in their backyards. The Brahmin consults his almanac to find out a day on which the stars of the person and the constellation in the sky match, for such a day is believed to be most suitable for sowing vegetables. Fortified with these astrological predictions, the Hindu agriculturists make initial preparations for planting these backyard crops. Muslims and poorer Hindus do not avail themselves of the services of the Brahmin priest. Beds and pits are kept ready well in advance, and on the appropriate day suggested by the Brahmin (or fixed by the family if the priest has not been consulted) seeds are sown. In the rainy season almost everyone grows some vegetables and creepers, and these are in most cases the only vegetables regularly eaten in any part of the year. The favourites among these vegetables are: runner beans, snake-gourds and pumpkins. Bottle-gourd and sponge-gourd are planted a few days later. Okra, bringals and some other green vegetables are also grown.

241 Later, when more showers have fallen, the agriculturists hasten to sow maize and millet in the fields. A late variety of rice, locally known as *samber*, is sown in carefully made beds to be transplanted into regular fields later.

In the first two weeks of June operations started in late May are continued. Light showers at this time are further utilized to complete the ploughing. Sowing of maize is also continued. Late varieties of paddy are now directly sown into the fields. Fifteen to twenty days after sowing they visit the fields to remove the weeds.

[132] In the second half of June the rainfall is generally regular and satisfactory. During this time people must complete their sowing of *kharif* crops such as maize and millet. Ground-nut, linseed and other oil seeds are also sown during this period. All these crops are grown on dry land as they do not require any extra irrigation.

241 For a month and a half after this the sowing of paddy is continued. At this time mostly coarse and medium varieties are sown. These include two mixed strains developed by the Department of Agriculture, Hyderabad State, and are locally known as paddy

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nos. 12 and 19. A month after the sowing, weeds are removed from the fields. Labour is usually hired for weeding the wet fields, but in the fields on dry land this is done with a forked plough designed and used specially for this purpose. Immediately after the weeding they proceed to manure the fields. Many people now use an artificial fertilizer known as 'paddy mixture', which they buy from the Agriculture Department of the Hyderabad State government. On wet land some people sow fine and sweet-smelling late varieties of rice also. 241

The harvesting of the *kharif* crops, as well as the other first crops, has to be completed by October or early November. This is indeed the busiest season for most cultivators. Between the harvesting of these crops and the sowing of *rabi* crops (such as gram, castor, etc.) and the second crop of paddy the interval must be as short as possible. They have to expedite the former, in order that sowing for the new season may not be delayed. As a general rule the sowing of *rabi* crops precedes the second sowing of paddy in the wet-land fields.

With the slow advent of winter the village witnesses considerable agricultural activity. The *rabi* crops, i.e. gram, castor, chillies, mustard, tobacco, *til* (sesame), onions, garlic, coriander, *methi* (fenugreek) and several varieties of oil seeds are now sown. All these are dry land crops. With the exception of chillies, onions, garlic, tobacco, coriander and *methi*, which are sown near wells and are irrigated roughly once a week by the Persian-wheel, or by large leather buckets raised by bullocks, the other crops do not require any irrigation. Most of these crops are ready for harvesting in three to five months. Mustard, gram and coriander are ready in three months. Castor, chillies and tobacco take four months. The oil seeds take longer and may be harvested in the fifth or in the beginning of the sixth month. With the completion of the sowing of these crops, agriculturists take in hand the sowing of the second crop of paddy. Fields are flooded with water from the irrigation tank, ploughed and kept ready for sowing well in advance of the actual sowing time. If the flooding of the fields is not possible on account of the low water-level in the tank, showers of winter rains are awaited. For the second crop an early variety of paddy is generally chosen. This crop ripens in three to four months and does not make heavy demands on the limited irrigation facilities available in the village.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

241/461 As these crops become ready for harvesting, the annual cycle of agricultural activities comes very near to completion. When the harvesting is over, the farmers get a brief spell of rest and leisure. Now and then they go round the fields and remove the weeds and other wild plants. Their work during this part of the year does not necessitate hard manual labour. In a leisurely way they take in hand activities of a preparatory nature which are a prelude to their major agricultural work of the rainy season and winter. Manure from cow-dung pits is carried to the fields and is evenly spread there. Grass and other wild plants growing in the fields are removed. The land is kept ready for ploughing in a month's time. In a few days the signs of approaching rains compel them to cast off their lethargy. The preparations for ploughing inaugurate a new circle of annual agricultural activities, and the advent of late summer rains sends them back once again into the fields.

4. CATTLE AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS

[241] 231 Agriculture in the village still largely follows the age-old pattern. Even to-day old style bullock-drawn wooden ploughs are used by the agriculturists. In such a system the value of draught cattle is very great indeed, for efficient farming under these conditions depends to a very great extent upon the availability of good bullocks. Some agriculturists use male buffaloes for ploughing the fields, but bullocks continue to be their favourites. Cows and she-buffaloes are kept for milk. The shepherds keep large herds of goats and sheep. Some Muslims as well as Hindus, with the exception of the Brahmins and the Komtis, may also keep a few goats. Pigs are kept only by the Erkalas. Among domestic pets, dogs are popular with every section of the village population. The number of cats in the village is fairly large, but they are not kept as pets. Some people keep parrots in cages, and teach them to utter a few words. Three Muslims have domesticated partridges. A Hindu shopkeeper has a tiny blackbird in a cage hanging in front of his shop. Poultry is kept by all sections of the village population, except the Brahmins and the Komtis. In addition to the usual fowls, four families have ducks and turkeys also.

In connection with this study a survey of village animals was undertaken in May 1951. The result of the survey is summarized in the following tables:

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

231 diseases. Plough-cattle are on the whole better looked after. But the neglect of the cow, traditionally regarded as 'the mother', is indeed pathetic. Absence of good breeding bulls and lack of grazing grounds further account for the poor condition of the cattle. In the absence of a good pedigree bull, scrub bulls of no particular [311] description are allowed to move freely among the cows. According to village land records there are 1,482 acres of pasture-land in the area surrounding the settlement; but this land is almost always auctioned to contractors from outside the village. As these pastures are not available for grazing to the village cattle, they roam about the shrubs and rocks around the village and eat whatever fodder is available there.

241 The shortage of draught-cattle is a serious handicap to the pros-
231 perity of average peasants in the village. The well-to-do agriculturists always have a sufficient number of cattle to meet their own agricultural requirements. But the average and poorer peasants find great difficulty in tilling their fields in time with the limited number of their own or hired cattle. Dependence on the monsoons obliges them to make certain variations in their agricultural schedule to fit in with the uncertainty of the rains. Some of their operations must precede the first rainfall; others must follow it almost immediately. For some days during the busy season this causes great pressure on available resources in men and cattle. The cultivators who depend on hired cattle or who practise co-operative lending and borrowing of cattle cannot take the best advantage of the first rains, and this enforced wait results in untimely sowing and poor crops.

234 The absence of good milch cattle affects the nutrition of the
146 people. In May 1951 the total daily yield of milk in the village
235 was about 14 lb. only. Earlier it has been pointed out that most people in the village keep poultry, but in general its quality is poor, and the production of eggs is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 1,400 a year.

5. OTHER ECONOMIC PURSUITS

224 Before we pass on to the other occupations brief reference should be made to some common exploitative activities of the people.

Hunting is done regularly by a very limited number of people. Only the Erkalas have adopted it as a part of their profession.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

and social status. Important among these are: *Ugadi* (Telugu New Year's Day), *Rama Navami* (birthday of Rama; also regarded as his wedding anniversary), *Toli Ekadashi* (fast in honour of Vishnu), *Nagula Panchami* (worship of the cobra), *Rakhi Purnima* (day for the renewal of the sacred thread), *Krishna Ashtmi* (birthday of Krishna), *Chauti* (birthday of Ganesha, son of Shiva), *Petramasa* (day for offering water to the spirits of the ancestors), *Dasara* (celebration commemorating Arjuna's victory, with the help of Krishna, over the Kauravas), *Deepavali* (celebration commemorating the defeat of the demon king Narkasura at the hands of Krishna), *Til Sankranti* (day of the winter solstice marking the change of season, when days start gradually getting longer), *Shivaratri* (fast in honour of Shiva), and *Holi* (bonfires to commemorate the burning of Kamadeva, the god of love). In addition to these there are some festivals which are observed only by the higher castes, more particularly by the Brahmins, Komtis and Reddis. Important among these are: *Neela Gauri* (worship of Gauri, wife of Shiva, observed by Brahmins only), *Narsimha Jayanti* (day of Vishnu's incarnation as Narsimha—part human and part lion god, observed by Brahmins only), *Shravana Somwar* (Mondays in the Hindu month of Shravana, when Brahmins and Komtis observe a fast), *Ananta Chaturdashi* (the day when Vishnu incarnated himself as Ananta; observed only by Brahmins), *Kartika Purnima* (day for the worship of Gauri, observed only by Brahmin, Komti and Reddi women), *Vasant Panchami* (worship of household gods by Brahmins only), and *Rath Saptami* (worship of the Sun by Brahmins only). Two important agricultural rites observed by the families of cultivators are the First Sowing and the New Eating (Kottalu); each observed twice every year to inaugurate sowing operations and commencing the eating of grain from the freshly harvested crops. Ceremonies organized by the village as a whole are: the *Pochamma* festival (in honour of the goddess of smallpox), the *Batkamma* festival (in honour of Gauri; observed by village women) and the *Maisamma* festival (in honour of the goddess protecting the village boundaries). The different caste groups residing within the village have several caste festivals and ceremonies. For example, on the Dasara day the occupational castes worship their implements; the Gollas—caste of shepherds—have the festivals of Saudamma, Mallamma and Maude-Pochamma, all connected with their traditional occupation, and the untouchable Madigas have cults and related

796

[241]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

165 The figures for deaths are in general accurate, according to information collected in the village, with the exception of the deaths in the cholera epidemic of 1911 and the small-pox epidemic of 1915. In the latter, according to non-official information between 80 and 85 children died, and 160 persons in all. The record of births appears to be very defective.

162 By the 1911 census there were 396 homesteads; there are now 430 to 440, there being many recent extensions of the inhabited village into the fields on the north and south.

An approximate statement of the population according to caste is as follows:—

	Adults.	Children.
Brahmans	25	13
Vaisyas	55	40
Sudras, Kammas	225	220
„ Kapus	275	240
Carpenters and silversmiths	33	24
Weavers	26	22
Barbers	10	4
Washermen	100	150
Toddy-tappers	283	305
Shepherds	52	33
Potters	4	2
Muhammadans	5	1
Oil-mongers	11	5

Land.

311

	Acres.
Wet land	Nil.
Dry land, cultivated	1,545·27
Land watered by wells	7·40
Common waste	145·36
Pasture other than common waste	415·82

Most of the land is cultivated by the pattadar, but 226 acres are sublet to tenants. There are about 350 agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land.

241 The following are the principal crops:—

	Acres.
Paddy	166·39
Cholam	468·88
Kambu	73·68
Gingelly	194·74
Horsegram	151·34
Ragi	...
Chodi	1·90
Korra	6·10
Chillis	0·67
Jute	1·80
Tobacco	1·34

151 Land is assessed for revenue at the following rates:—

	Per acre. RS.	A.	P.
Best black clay	1	12	0
Best black loam	1	10	0
Best red loam	1	10	0
Best red sand	0	10	0

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

THE CHANGING SCENE

Changes in tools and technical processes are also important. 178
Barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths are now using 413
factory-made tools and instruments. The village tailor has a sewing machine. It is significant that there has been no mentionable change in agricultural tools. In farming methods, however, some changes have taken place. Improved seeds are being used by 178
many cultivators. The value of green manure is realized by an 241
increasing number of agriculturists. Oil cakes, castor, ammonium sulphate, and a special concoction of chemical fertilizers known as 'paddy mixture' are now being used. More attention is given to growing vegetables. A greater percentage of cultivators is now growing 'cash crops'.

Communications too have now improved. Many persons take 178
advantage of the bus service. There are six private bicycles in the 489
village. A shop-keeper has four more which can be hired. The headman of the village has recently bought a 1928 model Ford. The traditional bullock carts are still largely used for transportation of goods, and also for travel.

The opening of a small dispensary in the village, and the 178
availability of excellent facilities of modern medical treatment in 755
the city have considerably changed the attitude of the people 757
towards diseases and their treatment. Although people still believe that smallpox and cholera are the result of the wrath of two goddesses and annually organize ceremonies in their honour on behalf of the village, the old fear of vaccination and inoculation has now practically disappeared. People no longer run away from the village on the appearance of the vaccinator, nor do they offer him bribes or threats for being spared the cruelty of vaccination. Divination, protective magic, chants and spells are all still employed to ward off disease and difficulty, but at the same time increasing use is being made of modern medicine. Age-old prescriptions of indigenous herbs are generally used for fevers and other common ailments. But when the disease takes a serious turn the patient may even be removed to a hospital in the city. Injections which were greatly feared a few decades ago are now eagerly sought as they are believed to give quick and sure relief from all ailments. Some people keep a limited stock of some of the popular and cheap patent medicines. Medicines for virility and strength prominently advertised in newspapers are obtained by post.

The social structure of the community is basically the same, 178

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

311 [312] covers over 14,000 sq mls, largely on the indeterminate En marches of the region. Irrigation, though more important than in Maharashtra, accounts for only 8–9% of NSA and is over 60% from tanks. Fig. 136 brings out some points of the Maharashtra/Telangana contrasts, the Districts selected being comparable in area, while Ahmadnagar is not too specialised to cotton. The most striking features are the much smaller proportion of cultivation in Anantapur, and the far higher proportion of 'other food-grains', i.e. the poorer millets and pulses such as gram.

241 There is, however, considerable internal variation. Rice everywhere plays a much more prominent role than in most of Maharashtra, but still accounts for only 7% of NSA: dependent on the tanks, it is the food of the better-off agricultural classes. Jowar has the largest acreage (*c.* 5·4 m.), followed by bajra (*c.* 1·5 m., largely on lighter soils); significantly enough, gram is third with 600,000 ac. Maize is important in some Hyderabad Districts, nearly 10% of TSA in Karimnagar. Oilseeds are the dominant cash crop, approaching 4 m. ac. Groundnuts account for some 60% of this,[27] and in the Ceded Districts play something of the role of cotton in Maharashtra:

	NSA, 1948–49	*% of total area*	*Groundnuts*		
			"Normal"	*1948–49*	*1948–49, % of NSA*
Kurnool . .	2,074	41·5	476	267	12·5
Bellary . .	2,225	61·4	320	324	12·9
Cuddapah . .	1,000	26·3	187	182	16·9
Anantapur .	2,026	47·0	341	372	17·7
	7,325	43·7	1,324	1,145	15·6

Figures in thousand acres; the 1948–49 groundnuts total was 31% of that for Madras. Figures supplied by Mr C. D. Deshpande.

Jowar takes the heavier soils: "In a tract with just the minimum rainfall, 20–30 ins., groundnut is the most valuable kharif crop on light soils, where the soil is not heavy enough for jowar and rainfall not high enough for rice." Cotton has only half the acreage of oilseeds, and except on the black soils of the greater rivers, extrusions from Maharashtra, it is largely limited to the Raichur (Kistna/Tungabhadra) Doab: Raichur and Bellary Dts account for well over half the total acreage. In this area a high proportion of the rain comes late in the wet season; at Anantapur, a little to the E, 8·6 ins. fall in September alone, and July–September inclusive account for 15·6 of a total 27·4 ins. The rabi crop therefore tends to be more important than the

[27] S. Velayudham, "Groundnut in Madras", *IGJ* XXI (1946), 100–12 and 153–73; refce at p. 157.

kharif, especially on heavier soils which, with the intense May heat and late start of considerable rains, may not be workable till August. While groundnut is the kharif cash crop, cotton is entirely rabi. Jowar is grown for fodder as well as grain; ragi and other millets as well as rice are often wet crops; and millets are sown mixed with pulses, which take longer to mature and are a safeguard against the failure of the cereals. Most of these features point to the general precariousness of the agriculture in the region, which as a whole is a food-deficit area.

Differences of expert opinion in the two states long impeded work on the great dam, 1¼ miles long and 160 ft high, being built across the Tunga-

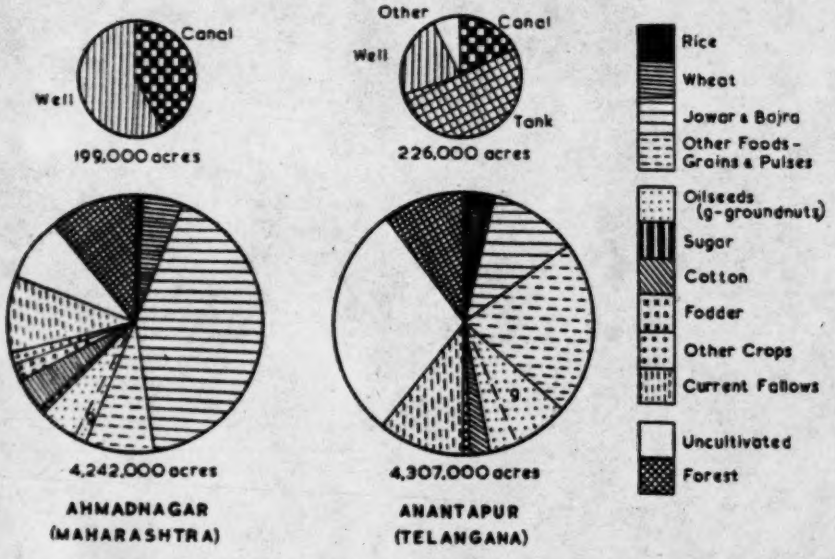

Fig. 136.—The Lava/Archaean Contrast. Upper circles represent areas irrigated.

bhadra: this will irrigate 600,000 ac. in Hyderabad and 300,000 in Madras, as well as generating about 150,000 kW. But the execution of the 7 major and some of the 32 minor projects in Hyderabad, which together might command 3·5 m. ac. and produce 500,000 kW, probably lies in an indefinite future. Terrain and climate impose severe limitations on Telangana, and the unlucky history of the Kurnool project (below, 680) suggests that a cautious policy may be essential for real progress.

Other Resources; Settlement and Towns

The mineral resources of Telangana are scattered and little exploited. The most important production is probably that of Gondwana coal, mined chiefly at Singareni; in NE Hyderabad are some outliers of the great iron

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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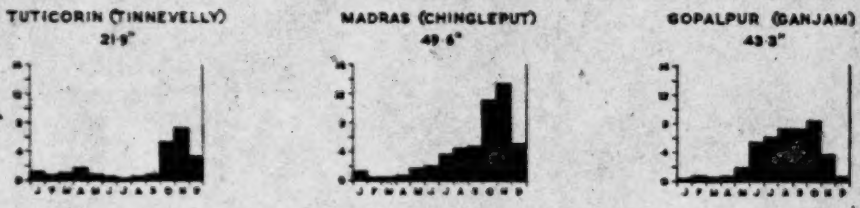
anomalous season of rain; but this is cut across by the deltas and, in the S especially, there is considerable regional diversity. Culturally also there is the great distinction between the Aryan-speaking (Oriya) lands N of Vizagapatam and the Dravidian S, itself divided into Andhra Desa (Telugu)

OT 312 241 132

THE EASTERN LITTORAL

RAINFALL REGIMES



IRRIGATION, RICE AND MILLETS

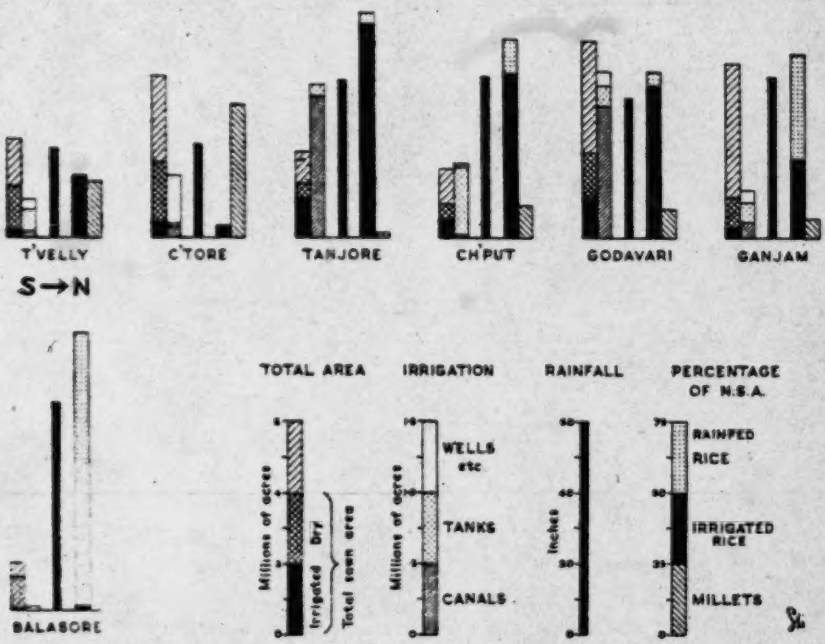


Fig. 139.—The Eastern Littoral: Rain, Rice, and Millets.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
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AWI7

12 m.; densities increase from Ganjam (420) to E Godavari (714) and then decrease to Guntur (393); beyond the regional limits Nellore, with more Archaean terrain than the central parts of the Circars, and less (and less reliable and well distributed) rain than the Nn, had only 204. On the whole it seems best to treat Ganjam/Vizagapatam and the deltas separately.

(a) *The North*: *Ganjam and Vizagapatam* (*Vizakhapatnam*)

Essentially this is the area with over 40 ins.: the three Sn taluks of Vizagapatam fall a little short of this. The lowland narrows to 12 miles under Mahendragiri, but on either side of this gate are the embayments of the Rushikulya (Ganjam) and the Languliya and Vansadhara (Vizag) valleys. The plains are floored by red lateritic soils near the hills, shading off into black loams and clays; but they are cut up by numerous irregular outliers of the En Hills: thus Vizagapatam itself lies between the 1600-ft Kailana Ridge to the N and the 1100-ft Yaroda to the S; the latter runs out to sea in the bold cliffs (300 ft) of Dolphin's Nose which shelters the port, while in the Nn suburbs of the town are the peculiar Waltair Highlands, *c.* 150 ft high and formed largely by the accumulation, since the Pleistocene, of red loams partly fluviatile and partly perhaps aeolian.[3]

Of a TSA of some 4 m. ac., rice accounts for about 1·65 m. ac., ragi 390,000, oilseeds (chiefly groundnut) 500,000, the balance being widely distributed amongst millets and pulses mainly. Irrigation is on the whole unimportant, much of it being dependent on temporary mud-and-brushwood dams across the short rivers.

Mineral resources are few—graphite, manganese, kaolin, mica—and hardly developed; a potential resource of some interest in this atomic age, though limited in amount in comparison with other *Indian* occurrences, is the ilmenite and monazite in the dunes and beaches around Vizagapatam.[4]

Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

Again there is only one real town, 'Vizag' itself (108,042), which has developed considerably since the opening of the railway up the Languliya valley to Raipur and the subsequent dredging of a deep-water harbour in the tidal marshes. The accommodation at quayside is limited, but it is more up-to-date than at most E coast ports. The selection of Vizag as the main shipbuilding centre of *India* is presumably because of its situation as the nearest *ocean* port to Jamshedpur, but it is still a long way round. Ships up to 8000 tons have been launched. The hinterland extends to Nagpur and the chief trade is in Madhya Pradesh (CP) manganese, and oilseeds and their products. The small ports of Bimlipatam and Gopalpur are quite

[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Sathapathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *IGJ* XXIV (1949), 26–51.

[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

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133 311 The worn-down margin of the Archaean hinterland is poor country: undulating plains broken by little hills, with much waste and stony ground; soils are mainly lateritic with some loams. The coast for several miles inland is largely fringed with mangrove swamp (valuable as a fuel reserve) or sand-dunes rising to 30 or 50 ft. Between the relatively negative upland and the completely negative coast lie the rather limited areas of true delta. At Bezwada (Vijayarada), 45 miles inland, the Kistna crosses a low gneissic ridge in a 1300-yd-wide gap; this is utilised for the headworks of canals irrigating about 900,000 ac. The Godavari Delta begins 40 miles inland at Dowleshwaram, where a dam 2¼ miles long feeds canals for another 1 m. ac. (TSA; NSA 800,000). The deltas are of course liable to flood, at times disastrous; and cyclones are also a danger, that of 1864 causing 30,000 deaths and ruining the prosperity of Masulipatam port for ever. In the Kistna delta the land slopes away from the main distributaries at about 18 ins. to the mile, and in that of the Godavari below Dowleshwaram "the country is a vast expanse of ricefields dotted with gardens and villages. During the rains the greater part of this tract becomes one sheet of water, only village sites, canal banks, roads, and field boundaries appearing above it. Later in the year, as the rice grows higher, the dividing boundaries are hidden; and the whole country looks like a single ricefield, the groves around the villages, the road avenues, and the white sails of the boats gliding along the main canals breaking the uniform sea of waving green crop." [4] There is still a certain amount of local traffic, chiefly paddy, on the canals.

[312] [731]

Between the deltas Colair Lake occupies a depression not yet silted up, though constantly diminishing by natural and artificial encroachment; covering about 100 sq mls in the rains, it has at times dried out. Its numerous islands are intensively cultivated, and there is a good deal of fishing.

132 241 312 Rainfall exceeds 35 ins. only in the seaward half of the Godavari Delta, and the tendency to October maxima is unfavourable to the groundnut and early paddy harvests, while cotton sowings must be late. Irrigation, if not essential, is at least highly useful; its importance is reflected in the high densities (up to 1100 plus) of some delta taluks. The following figures (in thousand acres approximately) give a summary view of the agriculture:

241 311

	Total area	*NSA*	*TSA*	*Rice*	*Total foodgrains*	*Ground-nuts*	*Total oilseeds*
E Godavari.	3981	1072	1380	692	1070	4	142
W Godavari	1511	800	1111	697	823	42	115
Kistna	2270	1119	1225	572	877	185	195
Guntur	3684	2092	2384	400	1405	365	395

[4] *Ibid.*, 268–69.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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For the purely delta taluks, of course, the rice proportion would be higher. Tobacco covers some 200,000 ac. in all, the best being grown on temporary sand-islands in the larger streams. Some sugar is grown, but this tall and long-standing crop must be protected from cyclones by expensive fencing with bamboos.

Again mineral potentialities are slight and development slighter. There are two tiny unworked coalfields, of dubious value, in the Gondwanas along the Godavari; graphite and kaolin are worked in a small way, mainly for Rajahmundry paper mills (which use paddy straw as well as bamboo from the hills) and for the small crucible industry at the same town. Salt evaporation at Cocanada might lead to a chemical industry. Industry itself, though very small-scale, is interesting; as well as the Rajahmundry works just mentioned, and the rice and tobacco trades to be expected, there are cement, silk, fruit canning, and vegetable ghee works. Most of these are congregated along the Kistna below Bezwada and between Rajahmundry and Cocanada. Varied as it is, the total is not impressive: the crucible industry has 150 skilled workers, the paper mill a capacity of 3000 tons p.a.; the 77 rice mills in E Godavari employ only 1800 workers, the three silk factories 122; and the total industrial population of this District is only 7200—0·39% of total population, and at that not much below the figure for Madras State (0·42%). Such as it is, this industrial development has yet led to an ominous, if incipient, competition for land in a few tracts between tobacco and paddy; fortunately the region, except for Guntur, has a sizeable rice surplus (about 400,000 tons less 110,000 tons deficit in Guntur); and counting all foodgrains Guntur also has a surplus.[1]

The industrial, and to some extent the agricultural, future of the region will depend on whether or not the great Ramapadasagar multi-purpose scheme is executed; at present financial difficulties stand in the way. The proposed dam, 428 ft high with foundations 190 ft below the river bed, and 1½ miles long, would impound 15·6 m. ac.-ft of water, irrigate for paddy some 2·35 m. ac. of un- or under-developed land, improve the supply to 2 m. ac. already irrigated, and develop at least 100,000 kW; it might also, and less beneficially, trap the silt.

There are a fair number of minor towns. The site-significances of Bezwada (161,198) and Rajahmundry (105,276) are plain; Guntur (125,255) and Ellore (64,911) are trading centres with a little industry. The ports of Cocanada (75,140) and Masulipatam (59,146) are of little use. At Masulipatam large ships must lie 5 miles offshore (weather permitting!) and the half-dozen wharves are three miles up a winding creek; yet in early European days it was a place of great importance, famous for carpets and

[1] This discussion is based on (i) Dr. V. L. S. P. Rao's interesting summary of his doctoral dissertation, "Industrial Problems, Development, and Planning [in] . . . the Lower Godavari Region" (*IGJ* XXIII (1948), 1–15); (ii) V. V. Ramanadham and V. L. S. P. Rao, *Economic Atlas of Andhra Desa* (Calcutta, 1949).

25: Whitehead M-3. (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

of sacrifice. As soon as the victim is killed, the offerer dips his finger in the blood and puts it on his own forehead.

The annual festival of this goddess[1] lasts for a whole month, ending on the New Year's day of the Telugu calendar. During this festival the procession of pots is observed with special ceremony. Six brass pots, each about two feet high, with the figure of a cobra springing from below the neck and rising over the mouth of the pot, are draped with women's cloths and carried round the town on men's head. Nothing is put inside them, but, as they go round, the women of each house come out, pour water on the feet of the bearers, and make offerings of rice and fruit. These are solemnly presented to the pots by the bearers, and some powder is applied to the two small feet that project at the base of each pot, and form a sort of frame fitting on the bearer's head. The bearer then takes a little of the turmeric powder, that is already on the foot of the pot, and puts it into the dish in which the offering was brought, with a few margosa leaves from a bundle that he carries with him. The dish is returned to the woman who offered the gifts, which become the property of the pūjārī. The women and children of the family mark their foreheads with the turmeric, and put the margosa leaves in their hair. This is called *Ammavari-Prasādam.*[1] As they go round, the pūjārīs dance to the sound of tom-toms.

On the last day of the festival, when a buffalo is sacrificed, a curious ceremony takes place which is said to be very common in the villages of this district. After the head is cut off by the vetty,[2] who is a Mādigā, the blood is collected in a basin and nine kinds of grain and *gram*[3] are put into it. The basin is then put before the idol inside the shrine, and the

[1] The turmeric and the margosa leaves are a gift of grace (Sanskrit *prasāda*, grace) from the goddess. Food and water from the table of a Hindu god given to the worshippers in the temple are called *prasāda*.

[2] See above p. 56. [3] *Gram* is coarse lentils.

[1 [i.e. Nukalamma, at Cocanada -- Analyst]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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doors of the shrine are kept shut for three days. On the fourth day the doors are opened, the coagulated mass of blood, grain, and gram is carefully washed, and the grain and gram are separated on the ground behind the shrine, in order to see which of the various kinds of grain has sprouted. All the ryots eagerly assemble to watch the result, and whichever is found to have sprouted, is regarded as marked out by the goddess as the right kind of grain to sow that year. This method of determining which crop to sow is common in both the Godavari and Masulipatam districts. In these sacrifices to Nukalamma, too, the application of the blood is specially noticeable. As soon as the victim is killed, a small quantity of the blood is smeared on the sides of the door-posts of the shrine; the deputy-pūjārī dips his finger in the blood and applies it to his forehead; then all the other people present do the same; and afterwards some boiled rice and some turmeric powder are mixed with the blood, and a little of the mixture is sprinkled on the head of the Mādigā who holds the basin to catch the blood.

When an epidemic of cholera breaks out, another goddess, called Maridiamma, is installed in the place of the Nukalamma. A log of margosa wood, about three feet high and six inches in diameter, is cut and roughly carved at the top into the shape of a head, and then fixed in the ground with a pandal of leaves and cloths over it. Then the procession of the earthen pot half filled with buttermilk and rice is conducted, very much in the same way as at Masulipatam,[1] every day till the epidemic subsides. After that, some ten or twelve small carts are made, about six feet square, with three pointed stakes standing up on each side, on which live animals are impaled, as in other parts of the Telugu country.[2] The carts are partly filled with boiled rice and curry stuff prepared at the shrine, the blood of the victims sacrificed being poured over the rice. I was told that live animals were only impaled if a cart did

[1] See p. 62 above. [2] See p. 58 above.

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All this time[1] toes, some nautch—
girls come and dance in a booth erected in front of the image and work themselves up into a state of frenzy, during which they are supposed to be inspired by the deities, and utter oracles to the worshippers. When the epidemic begins to abate, the Brāhman pūjārī closes his part of the proceedings and departs.

Then, on that afternoon and evening, animal sacrifices are offered under the booth. On the first animal killed, which is generally a goat, water is poured from a brass vessel, to see if it shivers.[1] If it does, it is taken as a good omen that the goddess is propitiated and the disease will disappear. Then other animals are brought and, in accordance with a very common division of functions in the Telugu country, a washerman kills the sheep, goats, and fowls, and a Mādigā the buffaloes. The heads of the sheep and goats, as well as of the buffaloes, have the right forelegs put crosswise in the mouths, the faces smeared with fat from the entrails, and a lighted lamp placed above them. The blood is caught in a basket full of boiled rice, and the rice and blood are sprinkled round the village, while a Mādigā carries on his own head the head of a buffalo exactly as is done elsewhere. Here, too, great care is taken to prevent any person from another village taking away any of the rice and blood, lest the other village should get all the benefit of the sacrifice, and evils of all kinds descend on the unhappy villagers who have offered it. The ceremony of impaling live animals on stakes fixed round a wooden car,[2] and dragging them off to the boundary of the village is also practised here.

Bhīmadole, near Ellore. At another village, called Bhīmadole, about twenty miles from Ellore, I came across one of the few instances I have met with of any direct connexion between the harvest and the worship of a village goddess. There is an annual festival held there about harvest time, in November or December, lasting one day, which is always a Tuesday. About half a ton of rice is boiled in the middle of the village, taken

[1] See page 55. [2] See p. 58.

[See cat 116, p 68 -- ANALYST]

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to the shrine and presented in a heap before the image, with a lighted lamp on the top of it, made of rice flour kneaded into a paste, and holding about one pint of oil.[1] Some toddy is poured on the ground to the east of the rice by the washerman; incense and camphor are burnt; while the people make namaskāram (salutation with folded hands raised to the forehead) to the image. As many as two hundred sheep and goats are then killed, and fowls are brought by the poorer people. In this festival, the rice soaked in the blood of the victims is not sprinkled on the streets of the village nor over the houses, but each ryot gives a handful of it to one of his field servants (an Outcaste), who takes and sprinkles it over his master's fields. Three handfuls of the crop are cut on the same day to inaugurate the harvest. No buffaloes are sacrificed during this festival.

On the other hand, when an epidemic breaks out, there is a special festival, in which five or six buffaloes are sacrificed as well as about three hundred sheep and goats. The buffaloes are killed last of all. One special buffalo, called *Pedda-Veta*, great sacrifice, is reserved to the end, and killed at about ten p.m. Nothing special is done with the blood of the other buffaloes nor with that of the sheep and goats, but the blood of the Pedda-Veta is allowed to flow on to some of the rice, as soon as the head is severed, and both head and carcass are placed upon the rice heap. The head, as usual, has the right foreleg put in the mouth, with fat smeared over the face and a lighted lamp above it.

At about eleven p.m. the head is carried by aMālā, not by a Mādigā in this village, on his own head three times round the boundaries of the village site, and the rice soaked in blood is sprinkled by the Mālās on the ground, as they go, and on any cattle they happen to meet, accompanied by the same weird and excited procession as elsewhere.

The illustration facing this page represents a shrine of Poshamma, a goddess worshipped by the Mālās. On the top of the shrine stands an earthenware lamp.

[1] See p. 39.

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There are no other sources of water-supply. There are no streams or rivers belonging to the village. There is one at some distance, but its water is used to irrigate lands belonging to adjoining villages.

According to assessment—

Wet lands.						Dry lands.					
Rate per acre paid to zamindar.			Extent.	Revenue.		Rate per acre.			Extent.	Revenue.	
RS.	A.	P.	ACRES.	RS.	A. P.	RS.	A.	P.	ACRES.	RS.	A. P.
8	14	3	4·89	44	3 9	2	1	9	11·11	23	7 2
7	12	6	1·57	12	8 2	1	10	9	4·65	7	11 1
7	6	6	0·86	6	6 6	1	7	3	2·91	4	3 11
6	10	9	1·11	7	7 2	1	3	7	13·95	17	6 7
5	8	11	8·35	48	12 4	1	0	0	3·41	3	7 7
4	7	2	58·60	266	6 1	...			...	...	
									Total ...	442	0 4

Inams.

Dry lands.						Wet lands.					
Rate per acre.			Extent.	Revenue.		Rate per acre.			Extent.	Revenue.	
RS.	A.	P.	ACRES.	RS.	A. P.	RS.	A.	P.	ACRES.	RS.	A. P.
2	3	1	1·06	2	3 3	10	15	0	3·46	39	5 10
1	10	3	15·52	20	9 4	8	12	0	5·69	61	5 8
1	6	9	7·90	11	3 8	7	10	6	4·54	34	15 2
1	3	2	3·58	4	4 11	5	7	6	0·85	6	5 0
									Total ...	180	4 10
									Other lands ...	442	0 4
						Grand total of revenue received by zamindar ...				622	5 2

Occupation of land.—A very small area, 62½ cents of dry land, and 31 cents of wet, belongs to the zamindar himself and is cultivated by a tenant. Such lands are called "kanagi." The rent is Rs. 1-5-2 for the dry land and Rs. 2-11-0 for the wet land.

There are eight ryots who hold land under the zamindar, of these six cultivate their holdings, and two, of whom one is the karnam of the village, let their land to sub-tenants who pay in shares of the produce.

There are thirteen sub-tenants who own no land.

In cultivating paddy, ragi, cholam, sazzulu, and other such grains, half of the produce generally goes to the cultivator, and the other half to the zamindari tenant who lets out his land, all the straw going to the cultivator only, who supplies himself with all the necessaries for cultivation.

But in some cases the zamindari tenant (the pattadar or inamdar) himself supplies one pair of bulls, and ploughs the land, while the cultivator simply helps him in his work. In that case only one-sixth of the produce is given to the cultivator. If the

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427 zamindari tenant supplies two pairs of bulls, one-eighth goes to the cultivator.

● 241 In the case of sugarcane, the cultivator gets 1½ shares and the zamindari tenant only one. If the sub-tenant cultivates on contract, the cultivator must give two maunds of jaggery for every 2½ cents of land planted with sugarcane.*

Of the agricultural families, all the males cultivate some land and also work for hire. There are two females, however, who do not cultivate, of whom one lives on charity and the other by working as a coolie.

[423] Of the lands which are called "Sirkar" there is only one kind of ownership and holders of such land are called pattadars.

As regards lands designated "inam" lands there are slight differences. The inamdars pay, instead of the full rent, what are called quit-rents and road-cess.

463 There are five villagers who combine agriculture with other occupations. One is a blacksmith, the other a potter, the third prepares combs, and two others are dhobis. The sub-tenants mentioned above also do the work of coolies between harvest and sowing time.

243 *Agriculture.*—All dry lands yield only one crop per annum. Wet lands yield two crops. No land yields three crops.

For millets and pulses, the land is ploughed after a shower of rain when it is soft. Generally June or July is seed time. After a time when the plants sprout up the fields are weeded. After that four or five good showers of rain are needed. Then when the corn is ripe, it is cut and piled in bundles. The bundles are trod upon by bulls and the corn drops out.

For paddy the harvest time is November for the first crop, for which seed is sown in June or July; April and May for the second crop, for which seed is sown in December or January. When there is sufficient water the paddy fields are flooded with water and then ploughed till they become miry. Afterwards, green leaf manure (generally kanaga leaves) and animal manure are spread and well trodden in. Before planting paddy is steeped in cow-dung water in pots, which water is renewed every day. After four or five days the plants sprout up and then they are removed from the pots and placed in the prepared fields. After they are thus planted the fields are again flooded with water. But the water is allowed to remain for a day only. The next day it is let out and the fields are allowed to dry for three days when the plants are of some size. From that time onwards till the corn is ripe water is allowed to flow freely on the fields. When it is ripe it is harvested. Then it is cut, heaped in bundles, struck against a bed of rock when the grain falls out which is all collected and taken home.

249 *Sugarcane.*—The land is well ploughed, but unlike paddy is not made miry at first. Long trenches of comparatively little depth are made by means of the ploughshare. Then the field is well manured, and water is let in till it becomes miry. The sugarcane already cut in small pieces is planted in these trenches. No water is let in on that day. After an interval of three days water

[804] *[This must be taken to mean, not the Railway or Bengal maund of 82½ lb., but a local maund of 26 lb. very nearly. The rent in jaggery is therefore nearly one ton per acre, worth about Rs. 150.—Ed.]

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249 is again let in once in three or four days. After a comparatively short space of time when the plants have grown, the heaps of earth separating the two rows of plants are made higher and broader. From that time onwards water is let in once in three or four days till the crop is full. After three months when the cane has grown, two or three stalks are bound together by means of its dried leaves. When the stalks are still higher once more they are tied together at the top. Then long rods with forked ends are planted in the ground and long bamboos are laid in a line with the trenches, resting in the forks and the canes are tied to them. In this way the binding goes on for about eight or nine months as the stalks grow longer and longer. When they are full they are cut and removed. The crop is carried about one year or a little more after the cultivator starts getting the land ready. The country wooden plough is used for all purposes, the other implements being yoke, picottah bucket made of leather and sometimes of iron, *yetham-bana*,* *palikimanu*, *guntaka*, *gorru*, *palikiguntaka*, *mamoti*, reaping hook, shorthandled hoes.

231 *Stock*—

Working oxen	45	including paracheri.
Oxen not in a fit condition to work ...	65	
Male buffaloes	6	
Cow buffaloes	15	
Young stock of above species up to a year old	59	
Horses	...	
Donkeys and mules	4	
Sheep	47	
Goats	8	
Pigs	18	
Cows	85	

The cattle are of the well-known Punganur breed, rather light, but quick and active. The villagers breed cattle, and buy and sell in the cattle fair held annually in Punganur.

241 *Manuring.*—Most of the dung, about 90 per cent, is used as manure, the rest being utilized for household purposes.

237] Cattle urine is allowed to run to waste. The dung of goats, sheep, pigs, donkeys is used as manure.

Except the leaf of the kanaga tree, no green manure is used. This is obtained from topes planted many years ago. Sometimes it is taken on contract from the zamindar from the jungle all round.

There are practically no gardens, all the lands being used to grow grain. It is only now that beginnings are being made. Small plots of land are being planted with mango-grafts. The karnam of the village started this.

242 *Insect-pests.*—*Thellachida* affects generally paddy crop, eats away the leaves and stalks.

782 *Pethachida* affects all crops; consists of innumerable kinds of insects, eating away all the leaves.

Aggijadyam.—Paddy turns a vivid scarlet.

Kondapurirogam.—The worst pest affecting rice. The whole crop is consumed as by fire. The long stalks get shrivelled up to a ridiculously small length. To get a crop is impossible when once this sets in.

Locusts.—These destroy the crops.

* Vide p. 105.

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Agriculture.—Area under each of the principal crops :—

	ACRES.		ACRES.
Paddy	123·17	Ragi	171·9
Sugarcane	4·21	Cholam (for cattle) ...	4·27
Coconut topes ...	2·11	Sazzulu	0·27
Other fruit trees and scattered shade trees	11·21	Chamulu	6·36
		Gram	8·30
		Dholl	6·31
Betel gardens ...	1·4	Groundnut	12·15
Plantain	4·22	Castor seeds	2·4
Mango	1·0	Other crops	18·10

Out of the dry land, nearly 250 acres yield only one crop per annum, about 60 acres two crops. Almost all of the wet land yields two crops. There is no land yielding three crops per annum.

The methods of cultivation are the same as in Thettupalli in the Chittoor district of the Madras Presidency.

Implements.—In one house only an iron plough * is used. The rest use the country plough made of wood. 407

Other agricultural implements used are yoke, picottah, *yethambana*, hoe, *guntaka*, *donthi*, *pandluminu*, *gorru*, *palikiguntaka*, *mamoti*, scythe and other minor implements. 412

The *gorru* is a seed-drill, with a bowl to put the seed in, and bamboo tubes to distribute it. The *guntaka* is a six-bladed harrow, the *palikiguntaka* a twelve-bladed harrow. The *donthi* is a log of wood with twenty wooden teeth, each 5 inches long and half an inch thick, with a curved contrivance at the end of the handle which the driver holds against his stomach. It is used for powdering the soil. The *pandluminu* is a variety of the same.

231

Stock—

Oxen	144	
Cows	111	
Male-buffaloes	...	
Cow-buffaloes	5	(These do not thrive well here).
Young stock of above species.	103	
Horses	4	
Donkeys	15	
Mules	...	
Sheep	27	
Goats	14	
Pigs	4	

In the mornings cows are fed with grass, gram well pounded with the addition of water and rice bran. Then they are let out to graze in the fields. In the evening they receive the same as in the morning and oil-cake. They are also fed with rice straw and ragi straw. Sometimes cholam also is used and its stalks.

Bulls receive almost the same as cows, but are given less of green grass. Gram is fried and made into flour and then used; also Bengal gram and oil cake.

[* The Mysore State Department of Agriculture manufactures and sells cheap and handy iron ploughs. The general use of these would be of immense advantage on dry land.—Ed.] 654

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231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

237 *Manuring.*—Nearly 90 per cent of the cow-dung is used as manure, the rest being used for household purposes.

Almost all the cattle urine is allowed to run to waste except trifling quantities used for household purposes.

241 The green manure chiefly used is the leaf of the Kanaga tree. Generally all kinds of green leaf are held to be good manure. This is obtained chiefly from the surrounding jungle, licences being obtained on payment of a fee to the Maharaja's Government. Sometimes topes are planted for the purpose.

No other kinds of vegetable manure are largely used. In some cases, for instance in the cultivation of sugarcane, the refuse left after the oil has been squeezed out from the fruit of the Kanaga tree is used.

232 Insect-pests and cattle diseases and the method of combating them are the same as in Thettupalli.

361 *The village.*—The village occupies an area of 9·36 acres. The tendency is for the members of one caste to congregate together. For example all the Muhammadans live in one part of the village together. The Komatis live exclusively in one street.

342 The depressed classes live in dirty and squalid huts of but one room.

There are in the caste village 85 thatched houses, none tiled, 63 terraced; in the Paracheri, only thatched houses 31 in number. There are no gardens adjoining any of the dwellings. The fields lie adjoining and surrounding the village. The most distant field lies about three-quarters of a mile off.

There is a great demand for additional building sites.

435 If land is obtained direct from the Government a fee of ½ anna per square yard is charged, payable on sale. If dry land is acquired for the purpose from pattadars, the value ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre. It is only near this village that the value is so low. Further up the value goes up to nearly Rs. 300 or Rs. 350.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are only two pariahs who weave at all. They use two handlooms.

[281] No hand spinning is practised. Yarn is bought ready made. The other crafts are—

Crafts.	Average time.	Earnings per year.	Remarks.
Blacksmith.	The major part of the day.	About Rs. 300 a year.	He receives customary mamūls. At harvest time gets about 10 puttis of paddy. There are also inams in his name.
Potter ...	The major part of the day and almost throughout the year.	About Rs. 100 a year.	Do.
Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamūls.

438 *Village trade—Purchase of commodities by the village.*—Wood for implements is got from the forests already mentioned. Iron

1 [See category 116, pp. 99-100.—Analyst]

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Sandy tracts with palmyras fetch a rent of Rs. 10 per acre, without trees, Rs. 2 or 3 only; black clay Rs. 15 to 16 per acre. 427

The black clay land sells at about Rs. 350 per acre, the red sand at about Rs. 150. But the price has fallen now owing to two bad harvests. 435

Stock.

231

	By official information.	Non-official.
Working oxen	539	800 about.
Cows	412	600 „
Male buffaloes	6	14 „
Cow buffaloes	184	200 „
Young stock—buffaloes	208	250 „
Do. cows	637	650 to 700
Horses	...	...
Donkeys and mules	...	...
Sheep	58	61
Goats	225	200
Pigs	100	...

According to the census of 1900 and 1910 they were—

	1900.	1910.
Bullocks and he-buffaloes	650	545
Cows	580	412
She-buffaloes	171	184
Young stock	802	845
Sheep and goats	778	283

The straw of cholam and paddy is reserved for the summer feed of cattle; in the rainy season the green grass of the common pasture is available. Each ryot reserves one or two fields for pasture for his cattle. In days of heavy work, the bullocks are given cooked horsegram mixed with the husk of paddy, and the fine dust from the grain which is mixed with it in husking. Cotton seeds are also cooked and given for food; and oil cake, especially for milch cows. Ryots who have insufficient pasture send some of their cattle to the Agency tracts for the three months, July to September; they are charged Rs. 3 or 5 per pair.

Only about 50 per cent of the cattle-dung is used as manure, the rest is used for fuel. The average ryot applies six to eight cart-loads of dung per acre; besides the manure of the cattle kept in fields at nights. He accumulates a stock at home throughout the year and applies it at the end of the year to the fields. 241 [231]

No green manure or chemical manure is used.

Garden cultivation has been tried as an experiment with water-supply from a well, lifted by a water pump got from Bombay. Lemons and plantains are planted. The pump required some slight repairs, which were delayed for want of a mechanic near by. The garden too has not yet proved to be decidedly profitable; and all the villagers laugh at it as an innovation. [176]

Cost of cultivation.—The following is an account of the expenditure for ten acres of an average ryot, obtained from four ryots. 241 435

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241 No exact accounts are possible, for the ryots do not keep any
435 record of them.

Items.	Rs.	A.	P.
2 Bullocks, for keep... ... ... (The figures given by the four ryots were Rs. 75, 80, 90, 80; two cows also are maintained out of this.)	80	0	0
2 annual servants (Rs. 50 and Rs. 25 respectively)	75	0	0
1 plough, its necessary implements	2	0	0
„ charges for making it	2	0	0
Seed for two crops	28	0	0
Coolies to weed two crops	40	0	0
Coolies to harvest it (some say even Rs. 20) ...	15	0	0
Government tax at Rs. 1-12-0 per acre	17	8	0
Rent, if the land is leased, at least	100	0	0
Perquisites at harvest time—			
to the head servant one bag	7	0	0
to the second servant half a bag	3	8	0
to the village barber three or four seers (at 8 seers per rupee)	0	8	0
to the washerman...	0	8	0
to the shoemaker, 16 or 20 seers	2	8	0
to three village servants, 2 seers each	0	12	0
To manure the fields in summer with rented flocks of sheep and goats, as is the custom, for eight or ten days at an acre a day; the tenant takes three-fourths of the milk on such days ...	35	0	0
Other agricultural implements (even higher) ...	5	0	0
Other repairs of the field, such as digging up the soil, etc.	5	0	0
Total expenses for ten acres ...	424	4	0

[132] During the last two years there were excessive rains; crops failed badly; there was double the expenditure for useless plants; the cultivators had to sow three times, so that the average expenditure for seed was trebled. Such extraordinary expenditures are frequent. But assuming the season is favourable the utmost that the cultivator can get is—

	Rs.	A.	P.
40 bags of paddy at Rs. 4½ per bag	170	0	0
20 bags of gingelly at Rs. 7½ per bag	150	0	0
30 bags of cholam at Rs. 6¼ per bag	187	8	0
20 bags of Bengal gram at Rs. 8-5-4 per bag ...	175	0	0
20 bags of red gram at Rs. 7½ per bag	150	0	0
Black gram	8	0	0
Total ...	840	8	0

The average crop is Rs. 560 or Rs. 600 per annum. The cultivator can moreover earn in summer 90 or 100 rupees by letting out his cart to convey jaggery.

361 The area of the village-site is 33 acres 32 cents. The dwellings of the depressed castes, about 125 in number, are crowded

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Locusts.—These destroy the crops.

* Vide p. 105.

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242 The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and [782] accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

232 *Cattle diseases—Kurama.*—The ox or cow when it suffers from this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

342 *The village.*—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. [376] Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no longer raised.

465

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets mamuls called *thirijamu* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four putties; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same mamuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 There is a local road which passes by this village running from
489 Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

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425 their separation by death or selling causes so much sorrow among the peasants.

423 435 Land is indeed the most precious and coveted possession of the village people. With the exception of women's ornaments, land and cattle are almost the only property they have. With the overall increase in general price levels in recent years, the price of land has also risen. The following table will give an idea of the average prices of different grades of land in 1939 and in 1950.

TABLE III

Prices of Land in 1939 and 1950

Type of land	*Price per acre in rupees*					
	1939 *Grades of land*			1950 *Grades of land*		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
1. Dry land	60	40	18	220	170	75
2. Wet land	250	150	90	1,200	800	480
3. Garden land	300	240	110	1,500	1,200	550

243 434 I propose to examine the standards of living, and relative earnings and expenditure of the different levels of the population in a subsequent chapter. But a consideration of the economics of agriculture will not be out of place here.

The two major crops grown by the people of Shamirpet are rice and millet. Table IV gives the averages per acre of gross income, total cost and net income, in the cultivation of millet, particularly *jawar*. Tables V and VI give similar figures for paddy, for single crop and double crop lands respectively. The figures have been worked out from a survey of a 50% sample of village families cultivating the three different categories of land. Figures are given to the nearest whole number.

TABLE IV

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Millet

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 140	Rs. 64	Rs. 76
B	„ 82	„ 40	„ 42
C	„ 62	„ 30	„ 32

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ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

TABLE V

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Paddy (One-crop Fields)

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 420	Rs. 180	Rs. 240
B	„ 310	„ 160	„ 150
C	„ 200	„ 120	„ 80

TABLE VI

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Paddy (Two-crop Fields)

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 530	Rs. 220	Rs. 310
B	„ 420	„ 200	„ 220
C	„ 380	„ 190	„ 190

If we work out the averages for the different items of expenditure incurred in agricultural activities, we find that the expenditure on seeds is the most important single factor, accounting for nearly 60% of the total amount spent. Land revenue, wages for hired labour, maintenance or hire of plough and cattle, and interest on loans and capital investments are the other important items of expenditure. Manure and land improvement between them account for only about 7% of the sum spent. Table VII gives the averages of expenditure on the items mentioned above, according to our field survey.

TABLE VII

Item of expenditure	*Percentage of total expenditure*
1. Seed	58
2. Land revenue	9
3. Hired labour	6·5
4. Maintenance and/or hire of plough cattle	5·5
5. Interest on loan and capital investments	4
6. Manure	3·5
7. Agricultural tools, repairs and field improvement	3·5
8. Miscellaneous	1

In the pages that have preceded, the position of land as a factor in village agriculture has been briefly examined. Some general observations have already been made about labour, and I shall return to it presently. Here a passing reference should be made to the factors of capital and organization.

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427 zamindari tenant supplies two pairs of bulls, one-eighth goes to the cultivator.
241 In the case of sugarcane, the cultivator gets 1½ shares and the zamindari tenant only one. If the sub-tenant cultivates on contract, the cultivator must give two maunds of jaggery for every 2½ cents of land planted with sugarcane.*

Of the agricultural families, all the males cultivate some land and also work for hire. There are two females, however, who do not cultivate, of whom one lives on charity and the other by working as a coolie.

[423] Of the lands which are called "Sirkar" there is only one kind of ownership and holders of such land are called pattadars.

As regards lands designated "inam" lands there are slight differences. The inamdars pay, instead of the full rent, what are called quit-rents and road-cess.

463 There are five villagers who combine agriculture with other occupations. One is a blacksmith, the other a potter, the third prepares combs, and two others are dhobis. The sub-tenants mentioned above also do the work of coolies between harvest and sowing time.

● 243 *Agriculture.*—All dry lands yield only one crop per annum. Wet lands yield two crops. No land yields three crops.

For millets and pulses, the land is ploughed after a shower of rain when it is soft. Generally June or July is seed time. After a time when the plants sprout up the fields are weeded. After that four or five good showers of rain are needed. Then when the corn is ripe, it is cut and piled in bundles. The bundles are trod upon by bulls and the corn drops out.

For paddy the harvest time is November for the first crop, for which seed is sown in June or July; April and May for the second crop, for which seed is sown in December or January. When there is sufficient water the paddy fields are flooded with water and then ploughed till they become miry. Afterwards, green leaf manure (generally kanaga leaves) and animal manure are spread and well trodden in. Before planting paddy is steeped in cow-dung water in pots, which water is renewed every day. After four or five days the plants sprout up and then they are removed from the pots and placed in the prepared fields. After they are thus planted the fields are again flooded with water. But the water is allowed to remain for a day only. The next day it is let out and the fields are allowed to dry for three days when the plants are of some size. From that time onwards till the corn is ripe water is allowed to flow freely on the fields. When it is ripe it is harvested. Then it is cut, heaped in bundles, struck against a bed of rock when the grain falls out which is all collected and taken home.

249 *Sugarcane.*—The land is well ploughed, but unlike paddy is not made miry at first. Long trenches of comparatively little depth are made by means of the ploughshare. Then the field is well manured, and water is let in till it becomes miry. The sugarcane already cut in small pieces is planted in these trenches. No water is let in on that day. After an interval of three days water

[804] *[This must be taken to mean, not the Railway or Bengal maund of 82½ lb., but a local maund of 26 lb. very nearly. The rent in jaggery is therefore nearly one ton per acre, worth about Rs. 150.—Ed.]

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ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

THE SALE

The Sale consider themselves superior to the other artisan castes. Nowadays they no longer work on the basis of affiliation to the village agriculturists. According to an old informant, 'In the good old days when the Sale used to spin their thread in addition to weaving cloth, they also entered into a definite arrangement with the agriculturists, as most castes do to-day. They supplied us with a certain length of cloth every year, and in return we gave them some grain at each harvest. But now times have changed. They buy yarn manufactured in the mills, weave fancy cloth and sell it for cash.' The weavers have now practically abandoned the traditional system. Only with certain occupational castes do they arrive at a working arrangement under which, in return for their services, they give them an agreed length of cloth. In the course of our investigations we found that such arrangements existed between weavers on the one hand, and potters, barbers and washermen on the other.

THE GAONDLA

The villagers in this area are very fond of *sendi*, or fermented palm juice. The Gaondla shops are the centre of attraction in the evenings for men—young and old—as well as for many middle-aged and old women. This caste has the monopoly of tapping the different kinds of palm trees, and also of selling the fermented juice, and has admirably succeeded in maintaining it, notwithstanding the introduction of the system by which government leases trees to the highest bidders irrespective of their caste. In Shamirpet, so far, there has been no challenge to their monopoly; although occasionally the Madigas and other poor people steal juice from the pots tied to the trees by the Gaondlas. The Gaondlas first mark out the trees to be tapped, then actually tap them in the afternoons and evenings, and tie pots at the points where each tree has been tapped to collect the dripping juice. Early next morning they go round to these trees again, climb up, and bring back to the village all the juice collected during the night. This is kept by them in large earthen pots and retailed to customers on demand, expecially in the afternoon and in the evening. One of the Gaondla families in the village has a government contract for other liquors and intoxicants. In addition to the fermented palm juice, that shop also sells several other varieties of liquor obtained from distilleries

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249 is again let in once in three or four days. After a comparatively short space of time when the plants have grown, the heaps of earth separating the two rows of plants are made higher and broader. From that time onwards water is let in once in three or four days till the crop is full. After three months when the cane has grown, two or three stalks are bound together by means of its dried leaves. When the stalks are still higher once more they are tied together at the top. Then long rods with forked ends are planted in the ground and long bamboos are laid in a line with the trenches, resting in the forks and the canes are tied to them. In this way the binding goes on for about eight or nine months as the stalks grow longer and longer. When they are full they are cut and removed. The crop is carried about one year or a little more after the cultivator starts getting the land ready. The country wooden plough is used for all purposes, the other implements being yoke, picottah bucket made of leather and sometimes of iron, *yetham-bana*,* *palikimanu*, *guntaka*, *gorru*, *palikiguntaka*, *mamoti*, reaping hook, shorthandled hoes.

231 *Stock*—

Working oxen	45	including paracheri.
Oxen not in a fit condition to work	65	
Male buffaloes	6	
Cow buffaloes	15	
Young stock of above species up to a year old	59	
Horses	...	
Donkeys and mules	4	
Sheep	47	
Goats	8	
Pigs	18	
Cows	85	

The cattle are of the well-known Punganur breed, rather light, but quick and active. The villagers breed cattle, and buy and sell in the cattle fair held annually in Punganur.

241 *Manuring.*—Most of the dung, about 90 per cent, is used as manure, the rest being utilized for household purposes.

237] Cattle urine is allowed to run to waste. The dung of goats, sheep, pigs, donkeys is used as manure.

Except the leaf of the kanaga tree, no green manure is used. This is obtained from topes planted many years ago. Sometimes it is taken on contract from the zamindar from the jungle all round.

There are practically no gardens, all the lands being used to grow grain. It is only now that beginnings are being made. Small plots of land are being planted with mango-grafts. The karnam of the village started this.

242 *Insect-pests.*—*Thellachida* affects generally paddy crop, eats away the leaves and stalks.

782 *Pethachida* affects all crops; consists of innumerable kinds of insects, eating away all the leaves.

Aggijadyam.—Paddy turns a vivid scarlet.

Kondapurirogam.—The worst pest affecting rice. The whole crop is consumed as by fire. The long stalks get shrivelled up to a ridiculously small length. To get a crop is impossible when once this sets in.

Locusts.—These destroy the crops.

* Vide p. 105.

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Photo by Agricultural College.

SUGAR-CANE CRUSHING.

[facing p. 108]

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426 The result is that many families that were once rich are now reduced to absolute poverty. The rich few are becoming richer. But 65 to 75 per cent of the population are in debt. Of these 25 to 30 per cent have hopes of clearing it off in three or four years by mortgaging their lands. The rest, 35 to 40 per cent, are not able to escape easily out of debt. The pity is that these classes do not hesitate to contract debts at first, and then they are not in a hurry to return them soon, and small sums accumulate into large amounts.

438 *Trade.*—The villagers purchase commodities for industrial and
[543] agricultural purposes from weekly fairs held at Nidadavolu and
from Rajahmundry; for consumption, partly from weekly fairs
433 at Nidadavolu and partly from the local traders. The amount of village produce sold was approximately as follows:—

	1916-17.	1915-16.
Soap nuts	250 bags.	500 bags.
Horsegram	200 (or 250) bags.	400 "
Gingelly	220 bags.	850 "
Red gram (this is mostly retained for local use).	50-60 "	100 "
Bengal gram	25-30 "	100 "
Ghee	50 60 tins.	50-60 tins.
Cholam (this is retained for local use; no crop this year).	...	50 bags.
Black gram	20 bags.	12 "

249 *Jaggery trade.*—The most noteworthy feature of the village is
438 the jaggery trade, carried on during the summer season. Nearly half the field area of the village consists of dry sand, filled with palmyra trees. These trees are rented out to the toddy tappers, who have to pay from Rs. 15 to 20 each in rent. One man can draw toddy from about 60 trees. Some 1,000 to 1,200 of these tappers come from the different taluks of the Kistna and Godāvari districts to this village in summer; while 200 to 225 go from the village itself. These people settle in the fields in the three summer months during which the fields lie waste, and draw toddy from 5 to 10 a.m. and 3 to 7 p.m. They have to climb the tree and suspend pots, lined with lime, beneath the cut ends of the stalks of the fronds of the palm from which the juice (toddy) flows. But for the lime the toddy would immediately begin to ferment. The women at home boil the toddy till it is condensed into jaggery.

Part of the jaggery is sold to the direct agents of Messrs. Parry & Co., who have opened an extensive business in these parts and invested a large capital. These agents of the company purchase jaggery with the company's money and get a commission at the rate of As. 2-6 per bag. They send it to Samalkot, where the company converts it into sugar.

The remainder is sold by the tappers to private capitalists and retail traders, who purchase the jaggery in the fields and sell it again to the company's agent in the village. They receive no commission, but make a profit in three ways: (1) There is a difference in the cost per candy between the prices in the fields (i.e., near the tappers' huts) and in the village. (2) The traders lend money to the tappers in times of need and get "Jattis" executed, promises by which the tappers agree to repay the money in the shape of jaggery

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438 at a reduced price, generally 13 to 15 rupees per candy, while the market price in summer will be Rs. 23 to 29 per candy. Last year, 249 owing to the appearance of a competing company, Messrs. Simpson & Co., the price was Rs. 35 to 42 per candy. No interest is charged for such debts. (3) They invariably use false stones in weighing the jaggery in the fields, while in the village the company's stones are used. This results in an enormous profit.

With these three sources of profit, the private capitalist is able to realize a profit of Rs. 5 at least per cart (of 8 bags) while daily he sends 3 carts at least to the company's agent. The total export of the village during the summer will be from 17,000 to 20,000 bags; this year (1917) it is 18,000 bags, i.e., 6,000 candies.

556 The rich capitalist makes the largest profit out of this[1] trade. Many of the villagers are now a class of capitalists, great or small. Many that were poor three or four years ago are now able to invest a few hundreds and start independent businesses in this line. There are three people who invested about Rs. 30,000 each this year.

465 The toddy tappers are not materially better off. As a class they are only a little above the level of absolute poverty, while individually, there are only four or five who own a property of Rs. 500. Though their gross earnings are from Rs. 20 to 25 for the three months, the net income will be Rs. 6 to 8 only.

The village barber and washerman earn at least Rs. 30 to 35 during the three months. The lime dealer earns 50 to 60 rupees. The Pariahs who carry firewood get wages at the rate of 4 annas to 6 annas per day. Owners of carts get rent at the rate of Rs. 2 per turn to carry jaggery from the field-huts to Nidadavolu, the headquarters of the company. Makers of tin-pots, used in boiling the toddy, get 100 to 150 rupees. Pariah women prepare baskets of palmyra leaves to hold the jaggery, for which they are paid Re. 1 per 100. Brahmans are employed to prepare the accounts and are paid Rs. 10 per mensem.

Besides these payments for services rendered (which are in the shape of jaggery in most cases) there are certain extra perquisites or "mamuls" which the toddy tapper is compelled to pay. These illegitimate exactions mount up to thousands of rupees. The village servants also get presents, while the coolies are profited by carrying [545] rice or other articles to the fields. There are many small shops opened by retail traders in the fields themselves for the benefit of the tappers; while the performance of two or three dramas, based on some popular mythological story by country actors is not of rare occurrence.

464 The effects on the village are innumerable and many sided. One of the greatest difficulties for the Indian labourer is want of proper employment; it is no exaggeration to say that many families are reduced to poverty, simply for want of sufficient local demand for their labour. This village is to a certain extent relieved of this anxiety during a season when, the fields being fallow, they have no agricultural occupation to attend to. Many a poor family would have long ago left the village but for this attraction. Industrially, it has raised the efficiency of every craft, by providing it with more work to turn out. While in all the other seasons the whole village is entirely agricultural in character, in summer it can be said to be industrial and commercial in tone.

[1] [i.e., jaggery. -- Analyst]

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it is used for the growing of vegetables, specially fruit-bearing creepers, and throughout the year it is used by the household fowls. Similarly, in most of these houses the cattle-shed is very close to the main living-room. Hardly half a dozen houses in the village have latrines; the majority of the people go out into the fields or behind the rocks for answering the call of nature. Notwithstanding some variety, the decorative designs found on all the houses follow a generally established pattern. The floors are swept twice every day in almost all the houses. The mud floor is periodically smeared with cow-dung mixed with water and the walls are washed annually with lime or coloured earth. Grain and provisions are stored in large receptacles made either by the potter and well burnt to a vermilion red or by the Erkala in their traditional styles of basket-work.

All the houses in Shamirpet can be classed into one of these three types. The Gudse-type huts of the Erkalas are, however, a class by themselves. These small, circular huts, made from sheets of weed-matting, are about twenty feet in diameter and are often only six feet high. The interior is unpartitioned and serves as bedroom, dining-room, living-room and kitchen. Pigs and poultry are housed in similar but smaller round huts built in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling-hut.

From time to time groups of families belonging to the nomadic castes come to the village. These have their low, portable huts, which are mostly made of folding bamboo screens. Almost every month some group belonging to this category makes its appearance in Shamirpet and after a stay of a week or so moves off with its huts, dogs and pigs.

5. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHAMIRPET

The nearness of Shamirpet to the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad has been mentioned. People holding small government posts or having urban relations make periodic visits to the city. Others, especially young men, cycle down to Secundrabad or Hyderabad to visit the cinema or to look at the shops.

In the broad social sense, however, Shamirpet's more intimate ties are with the villages in the neighbourhood. In the events and developments of these villages the people of Shamirpet are very keenly interested. The hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli are

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or in kind. In the course of a long ceremony, two or three times they may get money, twice or thrice some grain or a few brass or bell-metal utensils, and ultimately a set of new clothes. Like the other castes, the barber and the washerman also work independently outside the system of these traditional arrangements.

564 296 305

OTHER CASTES

Before describing the system of family affiliation between the Madiga untouchables and the agriculturists, brief mention should be made of the other castes in the village.

564 253

There is only one family of Katike (Hindu butchers) in the village. In point of social status this family ranks equal to the Kapu group. The head of the family slaughters goats and sheep and sells meat to the villagers. The Muslims slaughter their goats and sheep separately or buy their requirement of beef from the market in the city. Shamirpet is largely a Hindu village, and partly out of regard for the sentiments of the majority community, and partly to avoid trouble, the Muslims do not slaughter cows in the village.

[262]

The solitary family of the Darzi (tailor) with an old sewing machine is obviously a new addition to the population of the village. Even by modest city standards the abilities of this tailor in his craft must be regarded as rather crude. Yet he has a fairly good business in the village. Except for the well-to-do people, and a few others who maintain regular contact with the city, all others either buy cheap ready-made clothes, or they get their tailoring done by this man in the village, who also attracts considerable custom from nearby villages.

294 564

The families of Vaddars (stone-workers) always have sufficient work, either in Shamirpet itself or in some of the neighbouring villages. Those who can afford a house of a superior type have it built of stone. Use of bricks is very rare in this part of the country and thus practically all substantial houses in the village are of stone. The rocky surroundings of the village provide an ample supply, and the Vaddars, adept in the traditional technique of breaking and shaping stone, turn it into a useful building material. Because of their crude technique the work of the Vaddars is very hard indeed and entails considerable physical exertion. Payment for this work is generally on the basis of piece wages. In the busy agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also [illegible] wages.

324 564 [342] [135] [465]

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● 262

[The section on religious ceremonial contains considerable references to diet. See cat. 116, pp. 98-115.]

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The families of Vaddars (stone-workers) always have sufficient work, either in Shamirpet itself or in some of the neighbouring villages. Those who can afford a house of a superior type have it built of stone. Use of bricks is very rare in this part of the country and thus practically all substantial houses in the village are of stone. The rocky surroundings of the village provide an ample supply, and the Vaddars, adept in the traditional technique of breaking and shaping stone, turn it into a useful building material. Because of their crude technique the work of the Vaddars is very hard indeed and entails considerable physical exertion. Payment for this work is generally on the basis of piece wages. In the busy agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also on extra wages.

nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. But they have several other additional means of subsistence open to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village. As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner. From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes. Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

196 on the eighth and ninth days, which are the last days of the festival.

Maisamma Festival. Maisamma protects the village boundaries and ensures the fertility of the fields. An elaborate ceremony is performed in her honour whenever the crops are very good and demand an expression of special gratitude. This festival is not an annual feature in the life of the community and is celebrated only every three or five years.

The days for the celebration are fixed by the village elders after mutual consultation and agreement. The details are often finalized by the village council, which also decides the basis on which subscriptions will be raised from the different families in the village. When there are only a few days left for the festival, preparations for it are taken in hand under the supervision of some enthusiastic youths. For this festival several castes living in the village have to make their special contributions. For example, the Kummaris contribute the earthen pots and officiate as the priest; the Sakalis (washermen) whitewash the Maisamma shrine; the Mangalis (barbers), along with the Sakalis, sacrifice the goats, sheep and fowls; the Wadlas (carpenters) contribute the flag-posts; the Kammaris (blacksmiths) provide the iron fitting to these posts; the Sale (weavers) give cloth for the flags; the Darzi tailors the flag; the Gaondlas (toddy-tappers) provide the fermented palm-juice required for the worship; the Gollas (shepherds) have to contribute the goats and sheep for sacrifice on behalf of the entire village; and finally the Madigas play their musical instruments. The agriculturists provide the funds. Brahmins and Komtis, being vegetarians and averse to animal sacrifice, pay their share of the subscription, but otherwise keep away from the festival. The Muslims contribute towards its expenses and are present at the time of worship.

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The festival lasts three days. On the first day an earthen pot is filled with fermented palm juice, marked with vermilion and turmeric, and carried in a procession to the Maisamma shrine to the accompaniment of Madiga drums and pipes. The Kummari officiating as the priest offers it to the goddess and distributes it later among the people present there. On the second day families of agriculturists, as well as some others, cook rice near the shrine and offer it to Maisamma. The third day is reserved for the final worship and for the making of sacrifices. People go in a procession

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Muslims

relating to work are different. Among them also, labourers are hired for heavy manual labour, such as carrying loads; but menfolk do not object to ploughing their own fields, nor avoid out-of-door work. Of course, the women mainly look after the management of their household affairs and are never expected to earn for the family's support. 461 565

The conditions on the two lower levels are more or less similar to one another. Unlike the two upper levels, the menfolk from these groups can be compelled to do government work on a nominal payment. They do most of their work with the assistance provided by the members of the family itself. Even when labourers are engaged by the 'average' people, members of the family continue to work side by side with hired men and women. On both these levels women have comparatively greater freedom. They work out of doors, assist the menfolk in their agricultural activities and crafts, and go out for marketing. Women from 'average' families work mostly in their own homes and in family fields, but during the busy agricultural season they can work for wages as well. This is not regarded as derogatory in any sense. In the poor families, on the other hand, women have to work very hard for, besides doing their quota of work in the running of the home and assisting the husband in agriculture and caste occupation, they have to accept occasional work for wages. Among some of the lower castes, women are expected to work and earn for the upkeep of the family. [466]

4. DIET

The standard of living of a family is judged very often from the quality and quantity of its food. In describing the status and standard of a family, people generally say 'they eat well', 'they live somehow, eating the little that they can grow' or 'they live like animals, eating even wild leaves, flowers and roots'. However, the basic diet of the people consists of rice, millets, lentils, meat and fish. The difference in standards of living is judged by the quantity and kind of rice eaten, the frequency of meat intake in the diet and by the use of spices, fats and oils, jaggery and sugar in the food. Green and powdered red chillies are used by all classes of people in considerable quantities. Vegetables are grown in the backyards during the rainy season, and eaten when ready. When 2620

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262 this supply is exhausted, very few vegetables are bought for everyday home consumption. Tender leaves of the tamarind tree are curried and pickled, and are popular with all sections of the community. The poorer people collect wild leafy vegetables; those who are better off buy brinjals, okra and unripe bananas. Tea and coffee are regarded as fashionable, and are regularly used by the rich people as well as those who are educated and who have [273] had some urban contacts. With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti all castes permit the drinking of fermented palm-juice by men; in most of the lower castes women are also not denied its use. Some Muslims claim never to touch it as its use is not permitted by their religion; others drink it openly. A limited quantity of other liquor imported from the city is also consumed in the village.

Among the Hindus, the Brahmin and the Komti are vegetarians; and the eating of all kinds of meat, fish and eggs is forbidden to them. All the Hindu castes abstain from beef; although the Madiga untouchables are allowed to eat the carrion of cattle which they are expected to dispose of. The Muslims eat beef, but refuse pork. With the exception of the Erkalas and the Madigas, no other Hindu caste eats the domestic pig; wild pigs, of course, are regarded as a delicacy by all meat-eaters except the Muslims.

Milk and *ghee* (clarified butter) are greatly valued, but are difficult to get, and indeed very few people can claim to have them as a part of their everyday diet.

Very little fruit is eaten in the village. When in season, mangoes, guavas and *jamun* (*Eugenia jambolana*) are eaten by the people, more commonly by the children. The only fruit-bearing trees grown by them in their backyards are lime and drum-stick trees. Few people buy any fruit in the markets and shops of the city. Coconuts and bananas are bought for ceremonial occasions, and occasionally large varieties of mangoes too are bought from the shops.

[264] Those who can afford eat three times, others eat only twice daily. According to the seasons there are variations in the type of food and also in the time when the principal meals are eaten. The following menus will illustrate the kind of food eaten by families at different economic levels:

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RICH AND WELL-TO-DO

First Meal

Paratha (thin cakes of unleavened bread made of wheat flour, fried in edible fat).
Meat or vegetable or lentil curry.
Hot pickles.
Tea.

or

Khichri (rice and lentils cooked together with spices).
Meat or vegetable or lentil curry.
Hot pickles.
Tea.

Second Meal

Rice.
Meat or vegetable or lentil or fish curry.
Pickles.

Third Meal

Same as second, with a possible variation in the curry.

AVERAGE FAMILIES

First Meal

Millet gruel.
Chilly powder and salt.
Pickles.

Millet bread.
Curried bringals, leafy vegetables or drum-sticks.
Pickles.

or

Rice gruel.
Chilly powder and salt.

Second Meal

Rice.
Meat or vegetable or lentil or fish curry.
Pickles.

Third Meal

Same as second.

In those families which do not eat three meals regularly, rice left over from the previous evening may be eaten early in the

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262 morning; and a combination of any two menus given above may be adopted for the two principal meals.

POOR FAMILIES

First Meal

Millet gruel.
Chilly powder and salt.

or

Rice left-over from previous evening.
Chilly powder and salt or pickles.

Second Meal

Rice.
Boiled vegetables or lentils (with salt and chillies) or meat curry.

or

Millet bread.
Boiled vegetables or lentils (with salt and chillies) or meat curry.

or

Rice.
Chilly powder and salt.
Pickles.

Third Meal

Rice.
Meat or vegetable or lentil or fish curry.

262 In the making of curries the rich people use considerable
263 quantities of oil or other fats, and their choice of spices too is more varied. In the average households the curries are not so rich. Finally in the poorer sections they are more or less boiled vegetables and lentils with the addition of salt and chilly powder. It may be added that sweets do not form a regular part of the diet of the people in the community. They are prepared on ceremonial occasions, and may be prepared now and then in the comparatively richer homes. As fish and meat are very expensive, the average and poor families have to depend for most of the time on watery lentil curries or cheap vegetables.

125 The ethnographic record of the diet appeared to be so appalling
146 that we organized a comprehensive nutritional survey of the community in conjunction with our research project. This work was planned and carried out under the supervision of a nutritional expert from the Medical Faculty of the Osmania University. A

THE CHANGING SCENE

husband is alive must wear, were formerly made by one of the local castes from indigenous materials. Now factory-made glass bangles have captured the market almost completely. Children's dresses are now generally of Western style. Frocks, rompers, shirts and shorts are bought for them from the local market or from the shops in the city. Among other items of everyday wear Western-style shoes with laces are now being used alongside country shoes and sandals.

To the list of articles of daily requirement there have been several significant additions. Aluminium and 'German silver' utensils became very popular with the poorer sections of the population on account of their low prices. Glasses, as well as china cups and saucers, could be seen in several homes. Besides the public buildings five private homes now possess wall or alarm clocks. Kerosene lanterns can be seen in several homes, and there are five kerosene pressure lamps in the village. Some old people use reading glasses, and more then half a dozen young men from the village have bought sun glasses. Several people in the village use safety razors and torches. Cheap fountain-pens are also very fashionable.

In the food habits of the people there has not been much change. Sweets and other dainty eatables are bought from the shops in the city or from the bazaar. Five small stores in the village sell, among other things, lozenges, fruit-drops and biscuits made in Hyderabad. Tea and coffee are also very popular. Even those who do not drink these beverages regularly at home, occasionally have them in the village shop ostentatiously known as the 'hotel'. Aerated waters enjoy an amazing popularity as they are believed to provide relief from many stomach disorders. The cigarette factories at Hyderabad have been producing and popularizing cheap brands of cigarettes, which have been progressively replacing the country cigarettes in which tobacco is rolled in dried leaves. Along with fermented palm-juice, some people now drink other liquors supplied by distilleries in Hyderabad.

Side by side with the traditional recreations of gossip, loafing and playing indigenous games, several new varieties of entertainments are now available to the village people. The village has three gramophones. In the tea shop there is a crystal radio. Some young men in the village play volley-ball. Many people patronize the circus and cinema in the city.

262 morning; and a combination of any two menus given above may be adopted for the two principal meals.

POOR FAMILIES

First Meal

Millet gruel.
Chilly powder and salt.

or

Rice left-over from previous evening.
Chilly powder and salt or pickles.

Second Meal

Rice.
Boiled vegetables or lentils (with salt and chillies) or meat curry.

or

Millet bread.
Boiled vegetables or lentils (with salt and chillies) or meat curry.

or

Rice.
Chilly powder and salt.
Pickles.

Third Meal

Rice.
Meat or vegetable or lentil or fish curry.

262 263 In the making of curries the rich people use considerable quantities of oil or other fats, and their choice of spices too is more varied. In the average households the curries are not so rich. Finally in the poorer sections they are more or less boiled vegetables and lentils with the addition of salt and chilly powder. It may be added that sweets do not form a regular part of the diet of the people in the community. They are prepared on ceremonial occasions, and may be prepared now and then in the comparatively richer homes. As fish and meat are very expensive, the average and poor families have to depend for most of the time on watery lentil curries or cheap vegetables.

125 146 The ethnographic record of the diet appeared to be so appalling that we organized a comprehensive nutritional survey of the community in conjunction with our research project. This work was planned and carried out under the supervision of a nutritional expert from the Medical Faculty of the Osmania University. A

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

564

UNTOUCHABLE CASTES

Mala
(An untouchable caste)

Madiga
(An untouchable caste)

The above table does not include the Panch Bramha group. In point of religion they are Hindus, but their position in the caste hierarchy is rather uncertain. This group comprises five divisions: The Wadla (carpenter), the Kammari (blacksmith), the Ausula (goldsmith), the Kase (carver of figures in wood and stone) and the Kanchari (worker in bell-metal). Of these only the first three sections are found in Shamirpet. Inter-dining and inter-marrying, these sections constitute a distinct group of their own. In the local caste hierarchy they should be placed below the Kapu-Kummari-Golla group, but it cannot be said that they rank equal to or below the Sale-Gaondla group.

Among Hindus the Brahmin holds the highest place. He officiates at the ceremonies of all castes, except those of the Vaddar, the Erkala, the Pichha-Kuntla, the Mala and the Madiga. However, he is consulted by these castes also regarding the auspicious timing of agricultural operations or to perform marriage ceremonies; and his astrological calculations are eagerly sought by all people. All castes, except the Panch Bramha group, will accept food at his hands, but being 'pure and high-born' he cannot accept food from the hands of any but his caste fellows.

564 793 [787] [264]

The Komtis rank next to the Brahmins. They are mostly traders and money-lenders, keeping small shops where they sell grain and general provisions. All castes except the Brahmin and the Panch Bramha group accept food at their hands, but they do not take food from those castes whose social position is lower than their own, and thus can only accept food at the hands of the Brahmins.

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The Reddi sections of the Kapu (agricultural) group, the Kummari and the Golla castes are of equal caste status. Although each is an endogamous caste, they will freely inter-dine with each other, and social contact between them is on a basis of equality. The position of the other Kapu section, viz. Muttarasi, is a little lower. The first Kapu section as well as the Golla will eat at their hands, but the Kummari will refuse food which they have touched.

On the next level are the Sale and the Gaondla, who enjoy a

564 more or less similar position but are both endogamous and do not
264 inter-dine. They accept food at the hands of the castes higher than
582 themselves but not from those which are lower. Similarly, the Sakali and the Mangali have a similar caste status, but they do not inter-marry or inter-dine. But again, both the Sakali and the Mangali will dine with the Sale and the Gaondla and all the other castes higher than themselves. The Vaddar and the Pichha-Kuntla will eat with neither the Sakali and the Mangali nor with the untouchable Malas and Madigas, but they can take food at the hands of all castes higher than themselves. The Erkalas will eat from the hands of all castes except those of the Mala and the Madiga. The Sakali and the Mangali do not accept food from the Erkala. The Erkala and the Pichha-Kuntla will accept food from the Vaddar, but the Vaddar will not accept food from the Erkala and the Pichha-Kuntla. Finally, the Mala and the Madiga will eat at the hands of all the higher castes, but the Mala, considering himself superior of the two untouchable castes, will refuse food touched by a Madiga.

The position of the Panch Bramha group is peculiar. They constitute a consolidated and self-sufficient group. They do not accept food at the hands of any other castes, nor do any other castes accept food touched by them. Here the position differs vitally from that found in north India, where the carpenter, the blacksmith, the worker in bell-metal, the goldsmith and the carver of images constitute different endogamous castes which do not, as they do in this area, inter-marry and inter-dine. Their social status is neither very high nor very low. Everywhere they rank lower than the 'twice-born' *varnas* of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, but they are not regarded as impure and their status is infinitely superior to that of the untouchables. In the area under study while the Panch Bramha group is regarded as 'clean', even the untouchable Mala would refuse food touched by them, and it is only in recent years that the Madigas have started to eat from their hands. 'Their very touch poisons the food. How can we accept it?' the people are often heard to remark when they are asked to explain their refusal of food touched by any of the Panch
[881] Bramha castes. The Panch Bramha castes wear the sacred thread
564 of the twice born and refuse food even from the Brahmin. It is probable that their social exclusiveness reflects an attitude which was developed in ancient times when a great fusion of Aryan and

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non-Aryan groups was taking place in Indian society and Hinduism was consolidating itself. The highly organized craftsmen's guilds of those days may perhaps have succeeded in maintaining their integrity and exclusiveness for a long time, but had ultimately to yield; yet the tension created by their resistance remained, and even when they were absorbed into the fold of Hindu society they were not admitted as equals to the groups of comparable social status and in consequence probably continued to maintain their age-long exclusiveness.

All the castes whose relative positions in the caste-hierarchy have been shown in the accompanying table are endogamous. There is a permanent social distance between them; the individual is born into a caste, and a subsequent change in status is, except to the very lowest strata of society, equally impossible upwards or downwards.[1] In general it may be said that people accept food at the hands of all castes occupying a higher level in this hierarchy, the only exception being that of the Vaddar, who do not accept food from the highly placed Sakali and Mar.gali. Without exception people on a higher level refuse food from those on a lower level. Each caste has a traditional occupation sanctioned by religion, and these monopolies should not be infringed upon, except in the case of agriculture, which all may pursue.

Mention should here be made of the Jangam and the Katike castes, of each of which there is one family in Shamirpet. The Jangam are a semi-priestly caste ritually attached to the Baljas, for whom they tie the 'lingam'—a phallic symbol representing Shiva—and function as priests on the occasion of weddings. On the days of *Pitra Moksha Amavasya*[2] and *Shivaratri*,[3] they visit Hindu houses, particularly of those peasants who follow the Shaivite[4]

[1] When a person is excommunicated or out-casted he is not down-graded and pushed into a lower caste; he is merely denied the privileges of equal participation in the socio-religious life of the community.

[2] The night of the New Moon in the Hindu month of Bhadrapada (August–September).

[3] The day on which Shiva is believed to have drunk the world's poison, retaining it in his throat, and thereby saving mankind from possible harm from this poison.

[4] Of the great gods of the Hindu 'trinity' Brahma is not worshipped because of his sinful infatuation for his own daughter, whilst Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped. Those who principally worship the former, usually in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, are known as Vaishnava; those worshipping the latter as Shaiva or Shaivite. Cf. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London, 1950), pp. 56–59, 296–300, 360–362.

Muslims
Hindus

LEVELS OF LIVING

262 this supply is exhausted, very few vegetables are bought for everyday home consumption. Tender leaves of the tamarind tree are curried and pickled, and are popular with all sections of the community. The poorer people collect wild leafy vegetables; those who are better off buy brinjals, okra and unripe bananas. Tea and coffee are regarded as fashionable, and are regularly used by the rich people as well as those who are educated and who have [273] had some urban contacts. With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti all castes permit the drinking of fermented palm-juice by men; in most of the lower castes women are also not denied its use. Some Muslims claim never to touch it as its use is not permitted by their religion; others drink it openly. A limited quantity of other liquor imported from the city is also consumed in the village.

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Milk and *ghee* (clarified butter) are greatly valued, but are difficult to get, and indeed very few people can claim to have them as a part of their everyday diet.

Very little fruit is eaten in the village. When in season, mangoes, guavas and *jamun* (*Eugenia jambolana*) are eaten by the people, more commonly by the children. The only fruit-bearing trees grown by them in their backyards are lime and drum-stick trees. Few people buy any fruit in the markets and shops of the city. Coconuts and bananas are bought for ceremonial occasions, and occasionally large varieties of mangoes too are bought from the shops.

[264] Those who can afford eat three times, others eat only twice daily. According to the seasons there are variations in the type of food and also in the time when the principal meals are eaten. The following menus will illustrate the kind of food eaten by families at different economic levels:

random sample of families covering all levels of living in the community was selected, and, following the universal weighing-method, every item of the diet was weighed correctly to an ounce in these families. The International Scale of Family Coefficients was used to calculate the number of consumption units in each family, and data was carefully analysed for working out the mean intake of diet per consumption unit and the intake of calories, proximate principles, minerals and vitamins. Simultaneously, a medical examination of all members of the families selected for the survey was also undertaken; in the course of which along with height and weight measurements a general clinical examination with special reference to abnormalities of hair, eyes, skin, lips, gums, tongue, and the peripheral nervous system was done. While a detailed summary of the above survey would be inappropriate in a sociological study, some of its main conclusions will not be out of place here:

(i) The picture of nutrition emerging from the survey gives room to believe that there is mild sub-nutrition in the 'rich' and 'well-to-do' families and mild malnutrition in the 'average' and 'poor' families.

(ii) There is a sub-clinical deficiency of thiamine, riboflavin and Vitamin A. Phrynoderma of the skin, cheilosis, multiple fissuring of the tongue, gingivitis, and xerosis of the conjunctivae are fairly common in the community; their incidence being greater on the lower strata. The use of un-milled, slightly home-pounded rice explains the lack of any gross Vitamin B^1 deficiency. It may partly be explained also by the consumption of fermented palm-juice in nearly all sections of the community.

(iii) The protein intake is slightly inadequate. This is more apparent in the families classed as average and poor. In the lower income brackets the intake of fats is also insufficient.

(iv) With the exception of venereal diseases and malaria which are evenly distributed in all levels of the society, the incidence of other diseases—particularly deficiency diseases—is much higher in the lower income groups.

As a rule menfolk eat first, women follow. Children are served as soon as the meals are cooked. Among men, it is expected that the elders as well as others occupying a higher position in the scale of kinship should be served first and younger members of the family should wait for their turn. But during the busy season, or

264 on all other occasions when exigencies of work demand it, the younger people can sit down to eat with the elders, and can even precede them. However, it is regarded as bad form for women to take their meals before the menfolk have eaten. In all the higher castes this would indeed be viewed very seriously, and a woman found to be indulging in anything like this would be ridiculed by the other family members. On the lowest strata of the society, occasional exceptions to this rule can be observed. There too it is regarded as impolite, but is nevertheless tolerated.

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folk-plays concerning Jamavanta, their legendary hero and founder of the caste.

I do not propose to give minute ethnographic details regarding the festivals enumerated above. The brief accounts that follow are intended to illustrate the nature of the festivals and their place in the annual round of activities in the community. The mythological background of these festivals has been recorded from oral tradition and not from Hindu scriptures. Hindu months, according to the Western calendar, would be:

Hindu Month	*Corresponding English Months*	*Hindu Month*	*Corresponding English Months*
Chaitra	March–April	Ashvina	September–October
Vaishakha	April–May	Kartika	October–November
Jyeshta	May–June	Margashirsha	November–December
Ashadha	June–July	Pushya (Pousha)	December–January
Shravana	July–August	Magha	January–February
Bhadrapada	August–September	Phalguna	February–March

The festivals are described in their chronological order:

Ugadi. Ugadi, the Telugu New Year's Day, is an important festival. It is observed on the first day of the Hindu month of Chaitra. Although it is observed by all the Hindu castes generally, its significance for the Brahmins, Komtis, Reddis and the Panch Bramha group is greater.

The day previous to Ugadi the Panch Bramha groups worship their implements and renew their sacred threads, which they alone wear, apart from Brahmins and Komtis.

On the Ugadi day itself people get up early in the morning. Women sweep the courtyard, sprinkle cow-dung mixed in water, and then draw decorative designs with flour or coloured powders. Men go out to collect mango leaves and *neem* (margosa tree, *Azadirachta indica*) twigs; make festoons (*toran*) by stitching these together in a long string, and decorate the front portions of their houses with them. The potters supply each household with two earthen pots: one large, another small enough to act as a lid for the larger. Each family expects these pots from the potter attached to it. All members of the family, except the sick, take their bath on this day, and gather together inside the house. In the room where the gods of the household are lodged the earthen pots are placed in a central position. The large pot is filled with a sweet drink made by mixing jaggery, tamarind pulp, slices of raw mangoes, grated coconut and other spices. It is topped by the smaller pot.

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ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

THE SALE

The Sale consider themselves superior to the other artisan castes. Nowadays they no longer work on the basis of affiliation to the village agriculturists. According to an old informant, 'In the good old days when the Sale used to spin their thread in addition to weaving cloth, they also entered into a definite arrangement with the agriculturists, as most castes do to-day. They supplied us with a certain length of cloth every year, and in return we gave them some grain at each harvest. But now times have changed. They buy yarn manufactured in the mills, weave fancy cloth and sell it for cash.' The weavers have now practically abandoned the traditional system. Only with certain occupational castes do they arrive at a working arrangement under which, in return for their services, they give them an agreed length of cloth. In the course of our investigations we found that such arrangements existed between weavers on the one hand, and potters, barbers and washermen on the other.

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THE GAONDLA

The villagers in this area are very fond of *sendi*, or fermented palm juice. The Gaondla shops are the centre of attraction in the evenings for men—young and old—as well as for many middle-aged and old women. This caste has the monopoly of tapping the different kinds of palm trees, and also of selling the fermented juice, and has admirably succeeded in maintaining it, notwithstanding the introduction of the system by which government leases trees to the highest bidders irrespective of their caste. In Shamirpet, so far, there has been no challenge to their monopoly; although occasionally the Madigas and other poor people steal juice from the pots tied to the trees by the Gaondlas. The Gaondlas first mark out the trees to be tapped, then actually tap them in the afternoons and evenings, and tie pots at the points where each tree has been tapped to collect the dripping juice. Early next morning they go round to these trees again, climb up, and bring back to the village all the juice collected during the night. This is kept by them in large earthen pots and retailed to customers on demand, expecially in the afternoon and in the evening. One of the Gaondla families in the village has a government contract for other liquors and intoxicants. In addition to the fermented palm juice, that shop also sells several other varieties of liquor obtained from distilleries

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1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Muslims
Hindus

262 this supply is exhausted, very few vegetables are bought for everyday home consumption. Tender leaves of the tamarind tree are curried and pickled, and are popular with all sections of the community. The poorer people collect wild leafy vegetables; those who are better off buy brinjals, okra and unripe bananas. Tea and coffee are regarded as fashionable, and are regularly used by the rich people as well as those who are educated and who have [273] had some urban contacts. With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti all castes permit the drinking of fermented palm-juice by men; in most of the lower castes women are also not denied its use. Some Muslims claim never to touch it as its use is not permitted by their religion; others drink it openly. A limited quantity of other liquor imported from the city is also consumed in the village.

Among the Hindus, the Brahmin and the Komti are vegetarians; and the eating of all kinds of meat, fish and eggs is forbidden to them. All the Hindu castes abstain from beef; although the Madiga untouchables are allowed to eat the carrion of cattle which they are expected to dispose of. The Muslims eat beef, but refuse pork. With the exception of the Erkalas and the Madigas, no other Hindu caste eats the domestic pig; wild pigs, of course, are regarded as a delicacy by all meat-eaters except the Muslims.

Milk and *ghee* (clarified butter) are greatly valued, but are difficult to get, and indeed very few people can claim to have them as a part of their everyday diet.

Very little fruit is eaten in the village. When in season, mangoes, guavas and *jamun* (*Eugenia jambolana*) are eaten by the people, more commonly by the children. The only fruit-bearing trees grown by them in their backyards are lime and drum-stick trees. Few people buy any fruit in the markets and shops of the city. Coconuts and bananas are bought for ceremonial occasions, and occasionally large varieties of mangoes too are bought from the shops.

[264] Those who can afford eat three times, others eat only twice daily. According to the seasons there are variations in the type of food and also in the time when the principal meals are eaten. The following menus will illustrate the kind of food eaten by families at different economic levels:

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

part in the sacrifice, and conduct the buffalo from house to house. One Mādigā goes on ahead, with a tom-tom, to announce that "the buffalo devoted to the goddess is coming." The people then come out from their houses, bow down to worship the buffalo, and pour water over his feet, and also give some food to the Mālās and Mādigās, who form the procession. By about eight p.m. this ceremony is finished, and the buffalo is brought to an open spot in the village and tied up near a small canopy of cloths supported on bamboo poles, which has been set up for the reception of the goddess. All the villagers then assemble at the same place, and at about ten p.m. they go in procession, with music and tom-toms and torches, to the house of the potter, where the clay image is ready prepared. On arriving at his house, they pour about two and a half measures of rice on the ground and put the image on the top of it, adorned with a new cloth and jewels. All who are present then worship the image, and a ram is killed, its head being cut off with a large chopper, and the blood sprinkled on the top of the image, as a kind of consecration. The potter then takes up the idol and carries it out of the house for a little distance, and gives it to a washerman, who carries it to the place where the canopy has been set up to receive it. During the procession the people flourish sticks and swords and spears to keep off the evil spirits, and, for the same purpose, cut limes in half and throw them up in the air. The idea is that the greedy demons will clutch at the golden limes and carry them off, and so be diverted from any attack on the man who carries the image. When the idol has been duly deposited under the canopy, another procession is made to the house of the toddy-drawer. He is the man who climbs the palm trees and draws off the juice which is made into toddy. At his house some rice is cooked, and a pot of toddy and a bottle of *arrack*[1] are produced and duly smeared with yellow turmeric and a red paste, constantly used in religious

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[1] Arrack is a native intoxicant.

[273]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

Socially, it increases drunkenness in the lower classes; and I find more crimes in summer than in other seasons.

But it has turned the honest and sympathetic ryots into greedy money-lenders and capitalists. It has increased the lust for gold. True that the poorer classes have an opportunity of clearing off their family debts; true that they find sufficient food to eat in summer at least; true that there is more money in the village now than 20 years ago. But equally is it true that there are more debts now; that the gulf between the rich and the poor is widened more and more; that the once poor are now poorer and the once rich now richer. There is greater struggle, greater competition, and greater rises and falls of life.

Economic history of the village.—When compared with fifteen years ago, the village has, on the whole, progressed economically. True that estates once united are now split up into fragments; and that the once poor have now become poorer. True that there are cases where people borrow money and purchase land with it; and then sell it again to clear off that debt some years later. Still the village has improved. There is increase and improvement in agriculture. Many fields that were once forest are now brought under cultivation. There is more money in the village now than 20 years ago, more produce is now exported from the village than before. The introduction of the railway near by has revolutionized the commercial condition of the village. Prices have risen both of the commodities produced and of land in general, three or four-fold. There is a greater inflow of foreign goods into the village. Kerosene oil has completely driven out castor oil. There are sixteen Japanese wind-proof lamps in the village. The standard of living has decidedly been raised. Among the lower castes to eat solid food was a luxury; conjee, prepared of korra and ragi, was the food for all the lower castes, including Sudras. Now they all eat rice and cholam and wear better clothing. But the money is ultimately finding its destination into the hands of the rich money-lenders. Formerly there was enough corn in the land and there was a sort of self-sufficiency. Now there are more debts, consequently more ruin of families with the higher rates of interest, and greater servitude and misery.

If the Government were to open a sugar factory and utilize the jaggery, both the Government and the villagers would be profited. Wells can be very profitably sunk in the fields. But the ryots never do it, though it costs only Rs. 200. A ryot is prepared to spend even Rs. 1,500 in litigation but not Rs. 200 for a well in his fields, even though he is rich and knows that it is profitable. By example they may improve.

The Brahmans have almost lost their former property for want of any profession, while they incur heavy expenses for marriages, etc. Only one family is now well off. The Vaisyas too have lost their former lands by litigation, marriages, and other expenses. On the whole, the Sudras have grown richer, both with agriculture and the jaggery trade, and the rise of prices for their produce. The weavers, washermen, the Panchamas, many of the Sudras, are growing poorer; they are selling off the little lands they have for debts and other expenses.

Lands are sold chiefly to clear off old debts, though there are some cases where profits tempt people to purchase or sell. The

[i.e. The seasonal nature of industrial employment--Analyst]

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

THE SALE

The Sale consider themselves superior to the other artisan castes. Nowadays they no longer work on the basis of affiliation to the village agriculturists. According to an old informant, 'In the good old days when the Sale used to spin their thread in addition to weaving cloth, they also entered into a definite arrangement with the agriculturists, as most castes do to-day. They supplied us with a certain length of cloth every year, and in return we gave them some grain at each harvest. But now times have changed. They buy yarn manufactured in the mills, weave fancy cloth and sell it for cash.' The weavers have now practically abandoned the traditional system. Only with certain occupational castes do they arrive at a working arrangement under which, in return for their services, they give them an agreed length of cloth. In the course of our investigations we found that such arrangements existed between weavers on the one hand, and potters, barbers and washermen on the other.

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THE GAONDLA

The villagers in this area are very fond of *sendi*, or fermented palm juice. The Gaondla shops are the centre of attraction in the evenings for men—young and old—as well as for many middle-aged and old women. This caste has the monopoly of tapping the different kinds of palm trees, and also of selling the fermented juice, and has admirably succeeded in maintaining it, notwithstanding the introduction of the system by which government leases trees to the highest bidders irrespective of their caste. In Shamirpet, so far, there has been no challenge to their monopoly; although occasionally the Madigas and other poor people steal juice from the pots tied to the trees by the Gaondlas. The Gaondlas first mark out the trees to be tapped, then actually tap them in the afternoons and evenings, and tie pots at the points where each tree has been tapped to collect the dripping juice. Early next morning they go round to these trees again, climb up, and bring back to the village all the juice collected during the night. This is kept by them in large earthen pots and retailed to customers on demand, expecially in the afternoon and in the evening. One of the Gaondla families in the village has a government contract for other liquors and intoxicants. In addition to the fermented palm juice, that shop also sells several other varieties of liquor obtained from distilleries

564 249 273 [275] [477] 275 564

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

564 275 in Hyderabad. Payment is generally in cash, and only in exceptional cases may a credit account be maintained.

564 326 335 THE PANCH BRAMHA GROUP

In an earlier chapter mention has already been made of the group of artisan castes who designate themselves as Panch Bramha and maintain a certain degree of exclusiveness from the other Hindu castes. Out of these, two groups, namely, the Wadla (carpenter) and the Kammari (blacksmith), enter into relations of permanent affiliation to the agriculturists. Under this system, they have to supply new agricultural implements periodically, and look after their maintenance and repairs. In return for these services they get a share of the crops which they have to collect from the fields when harvesting is in progress. In addition to this, they practise their own occupation independently. All their services to non-agriculturists, as well as their services of a non-agricultural nature, must be paid for. The carpenter makes the wooden marriage-post required for several of the rites of Hindu weddings. For this he is paid a small fee prescribed by tradition. The blacksmith repairs and periodically supplies new iron agricultural implements, but in this case the agriculturist concerned has to supply the iron, charcoal and a labourer to work the bellows. The other three groups, that is the goldsmiths, workers in bell metal and carvers of images, specialize in fields which have little or almost nothing to do with agriculture; and as such they carry on their crafts independently.

564 328 532

564 296 305 THE SAKALI AND THE MANGALI

The barber and the washerman have no direct contribution to make to the agricultural pursuits of the landowners, but their services are required so often by the agriculturist, especially in their socio-religious ceremonies and rituals connected with birth, marriage and death, that the agriculturists find it more convenient to have families from these castes permanently affiliated to their households. For their normal services all the year round, that is for shaving and hair-cutting, or for washing clothes, they collect their share after each harvest. Other services, especially those connected with socio-religious activities, are generally provided for in the rituals themselves, for at several points in their progress these castes have to be given something, either in cash

THE CHANGING SCENE

husband is alive must wear, were formerly made by one of the local castes from indigenous materials. Now factory-made glass bangles have captured the market almost completely. Children's dresses are now generally of Western style. Frocks, rompers, shirts and shorts are bought for them from the local market or from the shops in the city. Among other items of everyday wear Western-style shoes with laces are now being used alongside country shoes and sandals.

To the list of articles of daily requirement there have been several significant additions. Aluminium and 'German silver' utensils became very popular with the poorer sections of the population on account of their low prices. Glasses, as well as china cups and saucers, could be seen in several homes. Besides the public buildings five private homes now possess wall or alarm clocks. Kerosene lanterns can be seen in several homes, and there are five kerosene pressure lamps in the village. Some old people use reading glasses, and more then half a dozen young men from the village have bought sun glasses. Several people in the village use safety razors and torches. Cheap fountain-pens are also very fashionable.

In the food habits of the people there has not been much change. Sweets and other dainty eatables are bought from the shops in the city or from the bazaar. Five small stores in the village sell, among other things, lozenges, fruit-drops and biscuits made in Hyderabad. Tea and coffee are also very popular. Even those who do not drink these beverages regularly at home, occasionally have them in the village shop ostentatiously known as the 'hotel'. Aerated waters enjoy an amazing popularity as they are believed to provide relief from many stomach disorders. The cigarette factories at Hyderabad have been producing and popularizing cheap brands of cigarettes, which have been progressively replacing the country cigarettes in which tobacco is rolled in dried leaves. Along with fermented palm-juice, some people now drink other liquors supplied by distilleries in Hyderabad.

Side by side with the traditional recreations of gossip, loafing and playing indigenous games, several new varieties of entertainments are now available to the village people. The village has three gramophones. In the tea shop there is a crystal radio. Some young men in the village play volley-ball. Many people patronize the circus and cinema in the city.

1: Dube E-S (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. But they have several other additional means of subsistence open to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village. As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner. From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes. Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra wages.

The Erkalas earn their livelihood through a variety of means. The menfolk are hunters. They are also adept in the use of snares and traps. They train hunting dogs and use them effectively for chasing and tracking wounded animals. When they succeed in getting some game, they retain a part of it for their domestic consumption and sell the rest to the villagers. The women beg in the countryside by singing songs and narrating legends. They also do some fortune-telling. Family earnings are supplemented by basket-making, a task at which both men and women work. They also rear pigs.

THE MADIGAS

The Madigas are the lowest caste in Shamirpet. Economically they constitute the poorest section of the community. While the Malas, who are also untouchables but a degree higher than the Madigas, either cultivate their own land or work as farm labourers for daily wages, the Madigas affiliate themselves to the households of the substantial agriculturists in the village. According to the size of the land-holding of the cultivator, one or more Madiga families permanently attach themselves to him. At every stage of agricultural operations during the year the attached Madiga, and his wife and children, work in the fields of their master. They are not paid any daily wages. After the crops are harvested they have to go and 'beg' in the master's fields or threshing grounds. The conventions of the community have prescribed the rates of payment, mostly on the basis of the area of land under cultivation and the yield during the particular harvest. Thus for a certain area a basic minimum must be given; but if on account of good crops the yield has been high it is expected that the affiliated Madiga family would be given a proportionately larger share. In former times there used to be considerable compulsion, and, being in no position to protest, the Madigas had to slave for their masters, who could be quite ruthless. If the master was kind and considerate, they regarded it as their good luck. On the whole it was advisable for them to tolerate even a bad master, for any protests or refusal to do the allotted work on their part would eventually have meant their being forced to leave the village. Now, of course, conditions have changed, and Madigas do not any longer put up with indig-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

242 The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and [782] accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

Cattle diseases—Kurama.—The ox or cow when it suffers from 232 this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

The village.—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. 342 Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, • [286] but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no longer raised.
465

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets manuls called *thiripamu* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four putties; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same manuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 There is a local road which passes by this village running from
489 Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

237 *Manuring.*—Nearly 90 per cent of the cow-dung is used as manure, the rest being used for household purposes.

Almost all the cattle urine is allowed to run to waste except trifling quantities used for household purposes.

241 The green manure chiefly used is the leaf of the Kanaga tree. Generally all kinds of green leaf are held to be good manure. This is obtained chiefly from the surrounding jungle, licences being obtained on payment of a fee to the Maharaja's Government. Sometimes topes are planted for the purpose.

No other kinds of vegetable manure are largely used. In some cases, for instance in the cultivation of sugarcane, the refuse left after the oil has been squeezed out from the fruit of the Kanaga tree is used.

232 Insect-pests and cattle diseases and the method of combating them are the same as in Thettupalli.[1]

361 *The village.*—The village occupies an area of 9·36 acres. The tendency is for the members of one caste to congregate together. For example all the Muhammadans live in one part of the village together. The Komatis live exclusively in one street.

342 The depressed classes live in dirty and squalid huts of but one room.

There are in the caste village 85 thatched houses, none tiled, 63 terraced; in the Paracheri, only thatched houses 31 in number. There are no gardens adjoining any of the dwellings. The fields lie adjoining and surrounding the village. The most distant field lies about three-quarters of a mile off.

There is a great demand for additional building sites.

435 If land is obtained direct from the Government a fee of ½ anna per square yard is charged, payable on sale. If dry land is acquired for the purpose from pattadars, the value ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre. It is only near this village that the value is so low. Further up the value goes up to nearly Rs. 300 or Rs. 350.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are only two pariahs who weave at all. They use two handlooms.

[281] No hand spinning is practised. Yarn is bought ready made. The other crafts are—

Crafts.	Average time.	Earnings per year.	Remarks.
Blacksmith.	The major part of the day.	About Rs. 300 a year.	He receives customary mamulis. At harvest time gets about 10 puttis of paddy. There are also inams in his name.
Potter ...	The major part of the day and almost throughout the year.	About Rs. 100 a year.	Do.
Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamulis.

438 *Village trade—Purchase of commodities by the village.*—Wood for implements is got from the forests already mentioned. Iron

1 [See category 116, pp. 99–100.—Ed.]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

together on the northern and north-east sides of the village. On the northern side, but apart from the village, crowded together in irregular muddy streets of obnoxious smell are the houses of the washermen (70 houses) and the toddy-drawing class (150 in number). All are thatched with palmyra leaves. It is difficult to go into the midst of these huts because of the bad smell. 361 [342]

There are 271 houses in the caste village according to official information, actually 350; 125 in the paracheri.

The village is rather crowded and there is no space for gardens. There is much demand for building sites. There are extensions on the north and south sides into the fields. Some houses contain even two or three families crowded together. From Rs. 2 to 3 per square yard is paid for house-sites. Some of the cultivated land is distant 5½ miles from the home of the cultivator. A hereditary disposition to hate changes, as well as party feelings, and suspicions of inequalities, prevent the ryots from exchanging to get their land continuous. Field huts are used, but mostly for the working seasons only, and are not permanent. [578]

Subsidiary industries.—At the time of the 1891 census there were 69 weavers; in 1901, 17; in 1911, 12; now there are only three. Foreign yarn of 10, 20 and 40 Nos. is purchased from fairs held at Nidadavolu, four miles off. The cloth woven is a very rough sort, used by the very póor classes; 75 per cent of the people prefer and use foreign goods. The implements are of the ordinary country type and of primitive nature. There is no co-operation among the weavers. They are unable to face the mill competition. As they find little demand for their goods, they are frequently forced to go away as agricultural labourers, and practise weaving only as a hobby for leisure hours. A weaver with five sons, as a rule, sends four of them to agricultural work and only one to his own industry. Till 10 years back 95 per cent of the population used to wear the village cloth. Now 75 per cent prefer and use foreign clothing. Two weaving families recently went to Rajahmundry as factory coolies. Ten years ago, many women of low castes used to practise handspinning. A little cotton was grown in the village up to 1912, but latterly it was sold for higher prices than the spinners could pay. 286

Economic condition of the village—Rates of wages.—Labourers are employed for the day or for the year. In the latter case Rs. 25 per annum is paid to boys and Rs. 50 per annum to men. For daily labourers the wage is three to four annas to men; 1½ to 2 annas to women; 1 to 1¼ annas to children; this may be paid in grain or money, or half in money and half in grain. The only perquisites are at harvest time. Thus for each crop, the yearly labourer receives 8 or 12 seers; on the whole 1 bag nearly. In festivals, they are given only meals and nothing more. 465

Current prices— 435

	Rs.	A.	P.
Paddy per bag of 166 lb.	5	8	0
Cholam "	9	1	6
Gingelly "	12	8	0
Red gram "	8	6	0
Kambu "	9	6	0
Soap nuts "	7	8	0
Ghee, per tin...	18	0	0

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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291

2*a*. Mother and Son

2*b*. A Mala Untouchable.

2*c*. A Madiga Untouchable

2*d*. Village Barber.

[Facing p. 17]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

resent this disability, but nevertheless they recognize the value of realizing their own limitations and continue to conform to the traditional norms of behaviour.

The people of Telangana and Andhra-desa belong to the great family of Dravidian-speaking people who developed a great civilization in the south and have materially contributed to the final make-up of Indian civilization as we know it to-day. Racially they represent a mixture of several elements. In physical types also the people of Shamirpet show great variation. Most of the Muslim inhabitants of Shamirpet are the descendants of local converts and do not therefore greatly differ in physical characteristics from the local Hindu inhabitants, but the few immigrants whose arrival dates from recent times present a marked contrast with their more delicate features and fairer skin colour.

In point of dress and ornament the Hindus and Muslims differ widely. Muslim men and boys wear loose trousers of thin white cloth called *pyjama*, and a vest or a shirt. Out of doors they put on the more conventional long coat buttoned up to the neck known as *sherwani*. They invariably wear a red fez cap or a black cap made of sheepskin. Muslim girls wear a tight *pyjama* and a long, loose tunic which often touches the knees. Round the shoulders and thrown round the back they wear a thin white or coloured scarf known as *dupatta* or *odhni*. On festive occasions these clothes are very colourful. Married Muslim women usually wear a blouse or bodice, and a *sari*—a wide piece of cloth, some five or six yards long, which is tied round the waist to form a skirt that nearly touches the ankles. It is tied in such a way that one end of the cloth is taken over the chest to one shoulder and then passed behind the neck to the other shoulder. Married Muslim women are obliged by the rules of their religion to observe *purdah*, i.e. veil themselves in the presence of all but their closest relations. Whenever they leave their houses they wear this veil known as *burkha*, a garment which falls from the crown of the head to the ground. The Hindu mode of dress is quite different, and varies greatly according to the financial status of the different families. Among the poorer classes, infants remain naked, but occasionally a few rags are tied round their waists; and in childhood they go about in these tattered rags. Boys wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Girls wear a skirt (*lahanga*) and a blouse. Among the poorer classes these clothes are almost always dirty, for within a few days of their

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

291 purchase they lose their new look; and although they are periodically washed, soap or soda-ash is rarely used and consequently they appear to be stained and soiled. In families which are financially better placed, and among those who have received some degree of education or who have been influenced by urban friends and relations, the children's clothing is markedly superior in quality and cleanliness. Boys wear shirts cut in modern style and *dhotis* or occasionally *pyjama*. Girls wear either a blouse and skirt or frocks bought ready-made from the city stores or made by the local tailor. Men wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Influential and well-to-do persons put on a coat when leaving their houses, particularly when going to the city. Women wear a *sari* and a bodice, the latter invariably embroidered. The favourite colours of the women in the countryside appear to be the deeper shades of red, yellow and green. The village shepherds have a distinctive dress. When they go out to graze their herds of goats and sheep they always have a locally made black blanket on their shoulders, even in the hottest season.

301 The people of Telangana, particularly the women, are extremely fond of ornaments. The commonest types are those made of metal which include ear-plugs and ear-rings, nose-pins and nose-rings, rings worn on the fingers and toes, bracelets, anklets, several types of light and heavy necklaces and belts worn round the waist. Among well-to-do people ear and nose ornaments as well as necklaces are generally made of gold; the rest of a woman's ornaments are of silver. However, very few people can afford ornaments of a metal as expensive as gold, and most people have a few silver pieces, the rest of their ornaments being made of cheaper metals and alloys. In addition to the metal jewellery all Hindu women except widows wear a number of glass bangles on the wrists. The Muslim women's choice of ornament differs from that of their Hindu neighbours, and such jewellery as they wear often comes from the shops in the city and is not made according to the designs of the local goldsmith.

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1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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4. Men Making Stakes.

[Facing p. 33]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

614 sexual union of any type between the two is regarded as a kind of incest. It has already been pointed out that these units have no functions beyond those mentioned above and have no common organization, authority or ceremonial distinctively belonging to them.

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564 Mention should also be made of three wandering caste groups—
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LIVING TOGETHER

point of rubbing genital organs. Girls masturbate either by pressing and releasing their clitoris with their fingers or by rubbing their thighs. Obscenity and talk about sex are disapproved by the elders, but the boys regard it as a mark of toughness and as an indication of their grown-up status, and as such indulge in it fairly regularly. Their vocabulary of abuse includes all the major sexual words, and they can often be heard abusing each other in terms such as: 'Copulate with your mother', 'Cohabit with your sister', 'My penis!'—or the rather curious 'Your mother's penis'.

Most children's games involve competition in the use of skills and stamina. The children are divided into several groups and factions, and these often come into conflict on account of intense jealousies and rivalries. Elaborate group *mores* and codes of ethics govern their inter-relations during states of friendship, neutrality and enmity. Toughness in boys is the admired quality; weakness, refined ways, spying and complaining coming in for criticism and ridicule. Running away from fright, crying and treachery to the group are remembered long after the quarrels and restoration of peace between conflicting factions. Outside the play-group the growing children have to lend a helping hand to their parents. Grown-up girls assist their mothers at their domestic tasks and take partial charge of their younger siblings, while boys do odd jobs for the father and other older male relatives. It is now time that they should take their first steps in preparing for adult life.

Adolescence brings about a significant change in the life of both boys and girls. By this age girls are expected to become proficient in all the major domestic tasks. Negotiations for their marriage are invariably started at this age. They grow up faster than the boys. While boys of a comparable age are still regarded as 'grown-up children who do not understand', girls come to be looked upon more or less as fully-grown women. Now they must be careful about their dress; particularly their breasts should never be exposed. They should 'not run about the village like boys', nor should they talk or laugh so loudly as to attract notice. Mothers advise them to be cautious in their behaviour, for this is the age when young people start giving attention to them. Young people have a special fascination for adolescent girls 'whose youth is just beginning to blossom'. Young men succeeding in fondling 'the unripe, half-developed breasts' of a girl and in having intercourse with one 'whose pubic hair is just beginning to grow' easily win the

practices or with their methods of cattle keeping. Compulsory vaccination and inoculation were introduced. The village people did not clearly understand the implications of the political movements that were developing in the city. The Muslims, thinking that they belonged to the 'ruling race', supported the Nizam and later the communalist Muslim party. The educated and city-influenced Hindus had sympathy with the Arya Samaj (a Hindu revivalist and reformist body), and the State Congress (a democratic political party affiliated to the Indian National Congress and dedicated to the ideal of self-government and democracy within the State), but could not express their sympathies openly. At least outwardly the landed Hindu peasantry maintained a loyalist attitude towards the established authority. These were the major influences that operated in the community. Nearly all of them had a slow and uncertain start, but gradually their intensity and effectiveness increased. As an outcome of their operation, at the close of the Jagir period, we get a picture of the village which is very different from the one that it would have presented in the pre- or early-Jagir period.

What then are the main lines of variation? In what spheres of community life are the changes most pronounced? As we find them most pronounced in material culture and technology, it would be appropriate to begin our analysis of change with this aspect of life. These changes have resulted in the acquisition of new habits and styles, of new tools and technological processes, and of a new outlook on things in general.

In the dress and ornaments of the village people there has been very noticeable change. The old-style peasant dress is now giving way to new-style clothes cut and stitched in imitation of the urban style. While it is still common to see an Indian lower garment—Hindu *dhoti* or Muslim *pyjama*—Western-style shirts with collars have mostly replaced the native upper garments. In the former times only the village headman, rich Reddis and Muslims, and the high-caste Brahmins and Komtis wore 'respectable' and semi-urban clothing, and that too only when they were to receive an important visitor or while going to the city. With the exception of this small minority, all others wore the traditional peasant dress. Spinning was done on the hand-wheel at home and cloth was woven by village weavers. Now the situation has changed. At present hardly any spinning is being done by the people, and the village weaver buys his yarn from the 218 shops in the city.

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buys his yarn from the shops in the city. The clothing to-day can be classified into three main types: the average peasant dress, the old-style respectable dress, and the new-style clothing. In all the three types of clothes mill-made cloth is extensively used. For shirts and vests practically everyone uses mill-made cloth. The same is true of materials used for the bodices and blouses of women. Before the Second World War mill-made women's *saris* were capturing the village markets, and were making the position rather difficult for the village weaver who was unable to withstand this competition. However, due to acute war-time shortages, particularly of *saris*, there was a switch back to the locally woven material. In the three styles of clothing enumerated above, those adopting the new are imitating the current urban styles. In these two different trends can be observed: Indian clothing and semi-Indian clothing. Most people in this group are young men. During the Muslim régime they had taken to *pyjama* (thin white trousers) and *sherwani* (long, buttoned-up-to-the-neck coats) which were then extremely popular. The *kurta*—long loose tunic popularized by the Congress in the civil disobedience days—became a mark of patriotism and is currently the accepted respectable dress with young men. It can be worn with both *dhoti* and *pyjama*. Shirts with collars, shorts and European-style jackets were also used by this section. Knitted vests too became very popular. Items of clothing introduced more recently are trousers and bush-jackets. These are confined mostly to people who have served in the Hyderabad Army or who have had some small jobs in the city. In the old-style respectable dress not much change is in evidence. During the Muslim régime the clothing of the respectable people had acquired a definite court touch, and a long coat and lambskin cap became the dress of the respectable city-going village people. With the decline of Muslim rule in Hyderabad this cap was discarded by the Hindus as it symbolized their subordination to the Muslims. It has been replaced by an ordinary black cap, and the traditional long coat is still in use. The average peasants' and workers' dress has not changed much, but it is now made of mill-cloth. Many of the agriculturists and artisans, and indeed some poorer people, buy shirts with collars, and coats, to wear on special occasions. Among women brightly coloured and gaudily printed clothes have become popular. City manufactured trinkets are eagerly bought by them. Bangles, which every Hindu woman whose

THE CHANGING SCENE

husband is alive must wear, were formerly made by one of the local castes from indigenous materials. Now factory-made glass bangles have captured the market almost completely. Children's dresses are now generally of Western style. Frocks, rompers, shirts and shorts are bought for them from the local market or from the shops in the city. Among other items of everyday wear Western-style shoes with laces are now being used alongside country shoes and sandals.

To the list of articles of daily requirement there have been several significant additions. Aluminium and 'German silver' utensils became very popular with the poorer sections of the population on account of their low prices. Glasses, as well as china cups and saucers, could be seen in several homes. Besides the public buildings five private homes now possess wall or alarm clocks. Kerosene lanterns can be seen in several homes, and there are five kerosene pressure lamps in the village. Some old people use reading glasses, and more then half a dozen young men from the village have bought sun glasses. Several people in the village use safety razors and torches. Cheap fountain-pens are also very fashionable.

In the food habits of the people there has not been much change. Sweets and other dainty eatables are bought from the shops in the city or from the bazaar. Five small stores in the village sell, among other things, lozenges, fruit-drops and biscuits made in Hyderabad. Tea and coffee are also very popular. Even those who do not drink these beverages regularly at home, occasionally have them in the village shop ostentatiously known as the 'hotel'. Aerated waters enjoy an amazing popularity as they are believed to provide relief from many stomach disorders. The cigarette factories at Hyderabad have been producing and popularizing cheap brands of cigarettes, which have been progressively replacing the country cigarettes in which tobacco is rolled in dried leaves. Along with fermented palm-juice, some people now drink other liquors supplied by distilleries in Hyderabad.

Side by side with the traditional recreations of gossip, loafing and playing indigenous games, several new varieties of entertainments are now available to the village people. The village has three gramophones. In the tea shop there is a crystal radio. Some young men in the village play volley-ball. Many people patronize the circus and cinema in the city.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

medicines and injections. The old beliefs and practices survive, partly because of the non-availability of quick and efficient modern treatment, and partly also because of its prohibitive cost. Besides the two systems do not conflict, and in order to be doubly sure, most people continue magico-religious practices along with modern medicinal treatment. Adoption of several new tools and instruments for occupational work, as well as of several other items of Western technology, such as buses, railways, razors, and electric torches, introduced in the comparatively recent times is due to their efficiency and utility. In the matter of dress and ornament other factors must also be taken into account. Mill-made cloth was not regarded only as cheap and more durable; it came to be looked upon as more respectable also. The coarse handloom cloth was regarded as rustic, the finer mill-cloth, on the other hand, was more refined and dignified. Further, mill-made cloth allowed a wider range of choice in the matter of colours, designs and patterns. The style of dress was influenced by a variety of factors. Under Muslim rule the style of dress of the rulers became fashionable. With Congress in power there was a sudden switch from the Muslim court-dress to Congress-patronized national dress. Modern Indian—as well as Western-style clothes—cigarettes, sun-glasses and tea are not only popular because of their utility, they possess a great prestige value as well.

Influence of the city has brought about adjustment and modification in several spheres, but the need of balancing different extremes in the organization of the community has so far prevented any drastic structural change in village communities. Under the impact of the new socio-economic factors the family ties have weakened, the kin-group has lost some of its characteristic strength and in the system of status evaluation achieved-status is competing with traditionally ascribed status; but the society still continues to be caste-structured as caste plays a vital role in its social, economic and ritual organization. Democracy has brought in its wake party organization and elections which demand group formation and group allegiance: in several rural areas no new groups have emerged, the loyalties of the people have only been re-affirmed to the pre-existing caste groups. While no important social or economic projects and reforms have so far been put into operation, the first major political change—the

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW7

PLATE VII

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BUFFALO SACRIFICE

[facing p. 50]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AWI India
TELUGU AWI7

PLATE VIII

782
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HEAD OF SACRIFICIAL BUFFALO

[facing p. 51]

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

or in kind. In the course of a long ceremony, two or three times they may get money, twice or thrice some grain or a few brass or bell-metal utensils, and ultimately a set of new clothes. Like the other castes, the barber and the washerman also work independently outside the system of these traditional arrangements.

OTHER CASTES

Before describing the system of family affiliation between the Madiga untouchables and the agriculturists, brief mention should be made of the other castes in the village.

There is only one family of Katike (Hindu butchers) in the village. In point of social status this family ranks equal to the Kapu group. The head of the family slaughters goats and sheep and sells meat to the villagers. The Muslims slaughter their goats and sheep separately or buy their requirement of beef from the market in the city. Shamirpet is largely a Hindu village, and partly out of regard for the sentiments of the majority community, and partly to avoid trouble, the Muslims do not slaughter cows in the village.

The solitary family of the Darzi (tailor) with an old sewing machine is obviously a new addition to the population of the village. Even by modest city standards the abilities of this tailor in his craft must be regarded as rather crude. Yet he has a fairly good business in the village. Except for the well-to-do people, and a few others who maintain regular contact with the city, all others either buy cheap ready-made clothes, or they get their tailoring done by this man in the village, who also attracts considerable custom from nearby villages.

The families of Vaddars (stone-workers) always have sufficient work, either in Shamirpet itself or in some of the neighbouring villages. Those who can afford a house of a superior type have it built of stone. Use of bricks is very rare in this part of the country and thus practically all substantial houses in the village are of stone. The rocky surroundings of the village provide an ample supply, and the Vaddars, adept in the traditional technique of breaking and shaping stone, turn it into a useful building material. Because of their crude technique the work of the Vaddars is very hard indeed and entails considerable physical exertion. Payment for this work is generally on the basis of piece wages. In the busy agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also [illegible] wages.

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564 275 in Hyderabad. Payment is generally in cash, and only in exceptional cases may a credit account be maintained.

564 326 335 THE PANCH BRAMHA GROUP

In an earlier chapter mention has already been made of the group of artisan castes who designate themselves as Panch Bramha and maintain a certain degree of exclusiveness from the other Hindu castes. Out of these, two groups, namely, the Wadla (carpenter) and the Kammari (blacksmith), enter into relations of permanent affiliation to the agriculturists. Under this system, they have to supply new agricultural implements periodically, and look after their maintenance and repairs. In return for these services they get a share of the crops which they have to collect from the fields when harvesting is in progress. In addition to this, they practise their own occupation independently. All their services to non-agriculturists, as well as their services of a non-agricultural nature, must be paid for. The carpenter makes the wooden marriage-post required for several of the rites of Hindu weddings. For this he is paid a small fee prescribed by tradition. The blacksmith repairs and periodically supplies new iron agricultural implements, but in this case the agriculturist concerned has to supply the iron, charcoal and a labourer to work the bellows. The other three groups, that is the goldsmiths, workers in bell metal and carvers of images, specialize in fields which have little or almost nothing to do with agriculture; and as such they carry on their crafts independently.

564 328 532

564 296 305 THE SAKALI AND THE MANGALI

The barber and the washerman have no direct contribution to make to the agricultural pursuits of the landowners, but their services are required so often by the agriculturist, especially in their socio-religious ceremonies and rituals connected with birth, marriage and death, that the agriculturists find it more convenient to have families from these castes permanently affiliated to their households. For their normal services all the year round, that is for shaving and hair-cutting, or for washing clothes, they collect their share after each harvest. Other services, especialiy those connected with socio-religious activities, are generally provided for in the rituals themselves, for at several points in their progress these castes have to be given something, either in cash

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buys his yarn from the shops in the city. The clothing to-day can be classified into three main types: the average peasant dress, the old-style respectable dress, and the new-style clothing. In all the three types of clothes mill-made cloth is extensively used. For shirts and vests practically everyone uses mill-made cloth. The same is true of materials used for the bodices and blouses of women. Before the Second World War mill-made women's *saris* were capturing the village markets, and were making the position rather difficult for the village weaver who was unable to withstand this competition. However, due to acute war-time shortages, particularly of *saris*, there was a switch back to the locally woven material. In the three styles of clothing enumerated above, those adopting the new are imitating the current urban styles. In these two different trends can be observed: Indian clothing and semi-Indian clothing. Most people in this group are young men. During the Muslim régime they had taken to *pyjama* (thin white trousers) and *sherwani* (long, buttoned-up-to-the-neck coats) which were then extremely popular. The *kurta*—long loose tunic popularized by the Congress in the civil disobedience days—became a mark of patriotism and is currently the accepted respectable dress with young men. It can be worn with both *dhoti* and *pyjama*. Shirts with collars, shorts and European-style jackets were also used by this section. Knitted vests too became very popular. Items of clothing introduced more recently are trousers and bush-jackets. These are confined mostly to people who have served in the Hyderabad Army or who have had some small jobs in the city. In the old-style respectable dress not much change is in evidence. During the Muslim régime the clothing of the respectable people had acquired a definite court touch, and a long coat and lambskin cap became the dress of the respectable city-going village people. With the decline of Muslim rule in Hyderabad this cap was discarded by the Hindus as it symbolized their subordination to the Muslims. It has been replaced by an ordinary black cap, and the traditional long coat is still in use. The average peasants' and workers' dress has not changed much, but it is now made of mill-cloth. Many of the agriculturists and artisans, and indeed some poorer people, buy shirts with collars, and coats, to wear on special occasions. Among women brightly coloured and gaudily printed clothes have become popular. City manufactured trinkets are eagerly bought by them. Bangles, which every Hindu woman whose

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

husband is alive must wear, were formerly made by one of the local castes from indigenous materials. Now factory-made glass bangles have captured the market almost completely. Children's dresses are now generally of Western style. Frocks, rompers, shirts and shorts are bought for them from the local market or from the shops in the city. Among other items of everyday wear Western-style shoes with laces are now being used alongside country shoes and sandals.

To the list of articles of daily requirement there have been several significant additions. Aluminium and 'German silver' utensils became very popular with the poorer sections of the population on account of their low prices. Glasses, as well as china cups and saucers, could be seen in several homes. Besides the public buildings five private homes now possess wall or alarm clocks. Kerosene lanterns can be seen in several homes, and there are five kerosene pressure lamps in the village. Some old people use reading glasses, and more then half a dozen young men from the village have bought sun glasses. Several people in the village use safety razors and torches. Cheap fountain-pens are also very fashionable.

In the food habits of the people there has not been much change. Sweets and other dainty eatables are bought from the shops in the city or from the bazaar. Five small stores in the village sell, among other things, lozenges, fruit-drops and biscuits made in Hyderabad. Tea and coffee are also very popular. Even those who do not drink these beverages regularly at home, occasionally have them in the village shop ostentatiously known as the 'hotel'. Aerated waters enjoy an amazing popularity as they are believed to provide relief from many stomach disorders. The cigarette factories at Hyderabad have been producing and popularizing cheap brands of cigarettes, which have been progressively replacing the country cigarettes in which tobacco is rolled in dried leaves. Along with fermented palm-juice, some people now drink other liquors supplied by distilleries in Hyderabad.

Side by side with the traditional recreations of gossip, loafing and playing indigenous games, several new varieties of entertainments are now available to the village people. The village has three gramophones. In the tea shop there is a crystal radio. Some young men in the village play volley-ball. Many people patronize the circus and cinema in the city.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

564 275 in Hyderabad. Payment is generally in cash, and only in exceptional cases may a credit account be maintained.

564 326 335 THE PANCH BRAMHA GROUP

In an earlier chapter mention has already been made of the group of artisan castes who designate themselves as Panch Bramha and maintain a certain degree of exclusiveness from the other Hindu castes. Out of these, two groups, namely, the Wadla (carpenter) and the Kammari (blacksmith), enter into relations of permanent affiliation to the agriculturists. Under this system, they have to supply new agricultural implements periodically, and look after their maintenance and repairs. In return for these services they get a share of the crops which they have to collect from the fields when harvesting is in progress. In addition to this, they practise their own occupation independently. All their services to non-agriculturists, as well as their services of a non-agricultural nature, must be paid for. The carpenter makes the wooden marriage-post required for several of the rites of Hindu weddings. For this he is paid a small fee prescribed by tradition. The blacksmith repairs and periodically supplies new iron agricultural implements, but in this case the agriculturist concerned has to supply the iron, charcoal and a labourer to work the 564 328 532 bellows. The other three groups, that is the goldsmiths, workers in bell metal and carvers of images, specialize in fields which have little or almost nothing to do with agriculture; and as such they carry on their crafts independently.

564 296 305 THE SAKALI AND THE MANGALI

The barber and the washerman have no direct contribution to make to the agricultural pursuits of the landowners, but their services are required so often by the agriculturist, especially in their socio-religious ceremonies and rituals connected with birth, marriage and death, that the agriculturists find it more convenient to have families from these castes permanently affiliated to their households. For their normal services all the year round, that is for shaving and hair-cutting, or for washing clothes, they collect their share after each harvest. Other services, especialiy those connected with socio-religious activities, are generally provided for in the rituals themselves, for at several points in their progress these castes have to be given something, either in cash

or in kind. In the course of a long ceremony, two or three times they may get money, twice or thrice some grain or a few brass or bell-metal utensils, and ultimately a set of new clothes. Like the other castes, the barber and the washerman also work independently outside the system of these traditional arrangements.

OTHER CASTES

Before describing the system of family affiliation between the Madiga untouchables and the agriculturists, brief mention should be made of the other castes in the village.

There is only one family of Katike (Hindu butchers) in the village. In point of social status this family ranks equal to the Kapu group. The head of the family slaughters goats and sheep and sells meat to the villagers. The Muslims slaughter their goats and sheep separately or buy their requirement of beef from the market in the city. Shamirpet is largely a Hindu village, and partly out of regard for the sentiments of the majority community, and partly to avoid trouble, the Muslims do not slaughter cows in the village.

The solitary family of the Darzi (tailor) with an old sewing machine is obviously a new addition to the population of the village. Even by modest city standards the abilities of this tailor in his craft must be regarded as rather crude. Yet he has a fairly good business in the village. Except for the well-to-do people, and a few others who maintain regular contact with the city, all others either buy cheap ready-made clothes, or they get their tailoring done by this man in the village, who also attracts considerable custom from nearby villages.

The families of Vaddars (stone-workers) always have sufficient work, either in Shamirpet itself or in some of the neighbouring villages. Those who can afford a house of a superior type have it built of stone. Use of bricks is very rare in this part of the country and thus practically all substantial houses in the village are of stone. The rocky surroundings of the village provide an ample supply, and the Vaddars, adept in the traditional technique of breaking and shaping stone, turn it into a useful building material. Because of their crude technique the work of the Vaddars is very hard indeed and entails considerable physical exertion. Payment for this work is generally on the basis of piece wages. In the busy agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also [illegible] wages.

1: Dube . E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. But they have several other additional means of subsistence open to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village. As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner. From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes. Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

311 ment, classified in government land records as belonging to this village, approximately 20·4 acres are covered by streams and small rivers, 25 acres by unmetalled roads and footpaths and 61 acres by irrigation channels. Thus apart from the 58 acres which provide the site for the village and the two hamlets attached to it, 106·4 acres are covered by these footpaths, channels and streams. The total land area of the village according to government records is 5,777 acres. Out of this 2,012 acres are uncul-
241 tivable; 162·8 acres being covered with rocks and shrubs. In all 3,765 acres are under cultivation in the village: 3,339·5 acres are classed as 'dry land', for this area is irrigated entirely by the rains; and 425·6 acres are classed as 'wet land' as extra irrigation is available. Although the dry land occupies a proportionately wider area, it is much less productive than the wet land. In 1951–52, out of the total village land revenue of Rs. 9,137 (Hyderabad currency) only Rs. 3,982/4/- were derived as revenue on dry land, the rest came from wet land. The wet land is further classified into *ābi*, *tābi* and *do fasla* land. In the *ābi* land seeds are sown in the rainy season (June to July) and harvested in mid- or late winter (November to January). This type of land occupies 131 acres and yields a revenue of Rs. 1,332 per year. In the *tābi* land sowing is done in winter (October to November) and the crops are harvested in summer (April to May). *Tābi* land covers 162·4 acres in the village and yields a revenue of Rs. 1,868/12/0 per year. Finally 63·5 acres are classed as the much prized *do fasla* or two crop land. As the very name suggests, crops are sown and harvested on this land twice every year. Notwithstanding its small area this land yields a revenue of Rs. 1,208/12/0. All this wet land is irrigated by channels from the Shamirpet tank. Mention may also be made of another 68 acres, which are irrigated by small privately owned tanks and wells and bring to the government a revenue of Rs. 745/12/0 per year. Wet land is very much desired by the cultivators because of its high productivity and requirement of com-
[435] paratively low investment. According to current valuation average wet land sells at Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 per acre.

241 433 It would only be natural to expect that in a primarily agricultural community the number of professional cultivators and others directly dependent upon agriculture should be the highest. Table I shows the number of people who are wholly agriculturists, partly agriculturists and partly field-labourers, and partly agri-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

a number of years, according to law he acquires semi-proprietary rights over them. The landlord does not want this to happen, and so with a view to safeguarding his own interests he leases out his land to different persons in different years. A short-term lease is naturally not conducive to land improvement, for the person cultivating the land does not risk any investment in it. If he does improve it, in one of the following years the landlord may lease it out to someone else who offers to pay more than the person who improved the land. Secondly, those who hold most of the agricultural land in the village are interested in maintaining a supply of cheap agricultural labour, without which it would be impossible for them to cultivate their extensive fields. They benefit more by cultivating their land with the help of this labour, than by leasing out their land. If they leased out all their surplus land the cheap labour supply would appreciably diminish, and for want of competition wages of those who were still available would rise. To avoid this they choose to leave some of their land uncultivated, and thus we have the paradox of having in the same village many land-hungry families and several hundred acres of uncultivated land.

The land belongs to the family, and normally the head of the family exercises control over it. On the death of the father, the land and other agricultural property—such as tools, implements and livestock—are distributed equally among the brothers. Provision is made for the marriage of unmarried daughters as well as for the maintenance of the minor sons of the deceased. In very special cases, with the consent of all the brothers, a widowed sister is also given a small share. But this is a gratuity rather than a rightful share.

The agriculturists have considerable sentiment for their land and cattle. If adversity compels them to sell some of their fields or cattle, the day when this is done becomes a day of semi-mourning for the household. The hour of transfer is indeed a sad one, and the farmer will complete the necessary formalities with a heavy heart. For several days the family atmosphere remains overcast with gloom. The womenfolk may even wail and shed tears of real grief. In the sentiments of an Indian peasant, the Earth occupies a mother's position and parting with a fragment of it is nearly tantamount to separation from the mother. It is surprising how cattle become almost members of the agriculturist's family, and how

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

diseases. Plough-cattle are on the whole better looked after. But the neglect of the cow, traditionally regarded as 'the mother', is indeed pathetic. Absence of good breeding bulls and lack of grazing grounds further account for the poor condition of the cattle. In the absence of a good pedigree bull, scrub bulls of no particular description are allowed to move freely among the cows. According to village land records there are 1,482 acres of pasture-land in the area surrounding the settlement; but this land is almost always auctioned to contractors from outside the village. As these pastures are not available for grazing to the village cattle, they roam about the shrubs and rocks around the village and eat whatever fodder is available there.

The shortage of draught-cattle is a serious handicap to the prosperity of average peasants in the village. The well-to-do agriculturists always have a sufficient number of cattle to meet their own agricultural requirements. But the average and poorer peasants find great difficulty in tilling their fields in time with the limited number of their own or hired cattle. Dependence on the monsoons obliges them to make certain variations in their agricultural schedule to fit in with the uncertainty of the rains. Some of their operations must precede the first rainfall; others must follow it almost immediately. For some days during the busy season this causes great pressure on available resources in men and cattle. The cultivators who depend on hired cattle or who practise co-operative lending and borrowing of cattle cannot take the best advantage of the first rains, and this enforced wait results in untimely sowing and poor crops.

The absence of good milch cattle affects the nutrition of the people. In May 1951 the total daily yield of milk in the village was about 14 lb. only. Earlier it has been pointed out that most people in the village keep poultry, but in general its quality is poor, and the production of eggs is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 1,400 a year.

5. OTHER ECONOMIC PURSUITS

Before we pass on to the other occupations brief reference should be made to some common exploitative activities of the people.

Hunting is done regularly by a very limited number of people. Only the Erkalas have adopted it as a part of their profession.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWl India
Telugu AW17

and Tungabhadra valleys lie at 1000–1500 ft, and to the NW the watershed between the Bhima and the Godavari is a great swelling upland reaching 2400 ft in places. But the general aspect nearly everywhere is that of practically senile peneplains, intersected by broad, open, almost completely graded valleys, and littered with monadnocks which range from considerable hill-groups to innumerable fantastic tors which look like dumps of gigantic road-metal. Around Hyderabad City these form "a chaos of granitic boulders . . . piled up in bizarre heaps, as if giants had amused themselves with childish games"; in places these rocky belts form a wilderness wide enough to act as a marchland.[34] With the poor sandy red soils of the gneisses and granites, a variable rainfall of 25–35 ins., and May mean temperatures in the 90s, life is hard except in favoured basins, where soil-wash and tank irrigation give some prosperity. Bare hills, reddish-khaki plains with scattered thorny scrub, rivers merely ribbons of sand for half the year or more, tanks bunded into the little valleys, all combine to produce a landscape with a desolate and brooding charm. The contrast between Hyderabad Marathwara and Telangana is extremely striking, and is brought out by Figs. 130 and 131.

The Ceded Districts are if anything worse.[35] In Marathwara there is hardly any surface water in the hot weather, except in the bigger streams; in Sn Telangana even this exception hardly holds. The railway bridges are stoutly built to withstand the immense volume of monsoon water in rivers which are then half a mile or more wide; in the hot weather they traverse great flats with a yard or so of water in the middle, and the herds of cattle or goats crossing the bed are recognisable from afar by their great clouds of dust.

Except for the jungles of the N, the region presents a decided savannah aspect, poor savannah with widely spaced acacias. Most of the tors are absolutely naked, and their skirts (with much of the more or less level ground) carry only a thorny scrub, in which euphorbias are prominent, while in damper depressions there are scattered palms, toddy or the wild Indian date. The scrub is secondary, on ground long subject to the depredations of sheep and especially goats, or once cultivated.

Agriculture

Rainfall, by and large, is much the same in Telangana as in Maharashtra; if anything more favourable, since the region lies farther from the lee of the Ghats and more open to Bay of Bengal influences. But differences in terrain and soil are decisive. The area here considered is about 75,000 sq mls, of which the TSA is only about 43% (approximately 20,250,000 ac.).[36] Forest

[34] E. Reclus, *L'Inde* (1883), 506; cf. *Hyderabad Gaz.* (1909), 2.
[35] For some vivid remarks, see J. C. Molony, *A Book of South India* (1926), 166.
[36] Figures even more approximate than usual, as those of Hyderabad are internally suspect.

311 [312] covers over 14,000 sq mls, largely on the indeterminate En marches of the region. Irrigation, though more important than in Maharashtra, accounts for only 8–9% of NSA and is over 60% from tanks. Fig. 136 brings out some points of the Maharashtra/Telangana contrasts, the Districts selected being comparable in area, while Ahmadnagar is not too specialised to cotton. The most striking features are the much smaller proportion of cultivation in Anantapur, and the far higher proportion of 'other food-grains', i.e. the poorer millets and pulses such as gram.

241 There is, however, considerable internal variation. Rice everywhere plays a much more prominent role than in most of Maharashtra, but still accounts for only 7% of NSA: dependent on the tanks, it is the food of the better-off agricultural classes. Jowar has the largest acreage (*c.* 5·4 m.), followed by bajra (*c.* 1·5 m., largely on lighter soils); significantly enough, gram is third with 600,000 ac. Maize is important in some Hyderabad Districts, nearly 10% of TSA in Karimnagar. Oilseeds are the dominant cash crop, approaching 4 m. ac. Groundnuts account for some 60% of this,[27] and in the Ceded Districts play something of the role of cotton in Maharashtra:

	NSA, 1948–49	*% of total area*	*Groundnuts*		
			"Normal"	*1948–49*	*1948–49, % of NSA*
Kurnool . .	2,074	41·5	476	267	12·5
Bellary . .	2,225	61·4	320	324	12·9
Cuddapah . .	1,000	26·3	187	182	16·9
Anantapur .	2,026	47·0	341	372	17·7
	7,325	43·7	1,324	1,145	15·6

Figures in thousand acres; the 1948–49 groundnuts total was 31% of that for Madras. Figures supplied by Mr C. D. Deshpande.

Jowar takes the heavier soils: "In a tract with just the minimum rainfall, 20–30 ins., groundnut is the most valuable kharif crop on light soils, where the soil is not heavy enough for jowar and rainfall not high enough for rice." Cotton has only half the acreage of oilseeds, and except on the black soils of the greater rivers, extrusions from Maharashtra, it is largely limited to the Raichur (Kistna/Tungabhadra) Doab: Raichur and Bellary Dts account for well over half the total acreage. In this area a high proportion of the rain comes late in the wet season; at Anantapur, a little to the E, 8·6 ins. fall in September alone, and July–September inclusive account for 15·6 of a total 27·4 ins. The rabi crop therefore tends to be more important than the

[27] S. Velayudham, "Groundnut in Madras", *IGJ* XXI (1946), 100–12 and 153–73; refce at p. 157.

312 Tungabhadra scheme; but the history of large-scale irrigation here is discouraging, though of course much experience has been gained since the 377 Kurnool failure. With the development of hydro-electricity there may come 491 decentralised industrial development on the Mysore model; but Mysore 433 had a more solid backing in at least some industry, sericulture and Bhadravati iron for instance, to give a base. Telangana is not without resources such as oilseeds and fibres (including sheep and goat wool), and in view of *India's* shortages in non-ferrous metals development of the poor communication net might lead to at least some exploitation of the scattered minerals. But when all is said, it seems likely that Telangana will remain, if not a backward, at least a poor country.

The Anantapur-Chittoor Basins

133 Between the bold scarp of the Palkonda Range and the higher Mysore levels are a series of basins around the middle courses of the Penner tributaries—Chitravati, Papagni, Punchu/Cheyyeru, the last two with a remarkable confluence-gorge in the Palkondas. To the SE the sub-region breaks down to the Nellore/Coromandel plains through the little intermont basins of the Nagari Hills (up to 2800 ft) and through the broader Swarnamukhi valley, which may occupy a fault-trough under the Palkondas. The whole area is crossed by N/S or NE/SW trap dykes, which may also have some influence on the remarkable drainage-pattern.

● 311 The area is isolated and poor, except in the extreme SE—the Nagari valleys, culturally transitional to Tamilnad. Only 20% of Chittoor Dt is cultivated—less than any other Madras District except the Nilgiris—but the density is **304**, intermediate between the Ceded Districts (*c.* **185**) and the coastal plains (**450–650**). Millets account for over 40% of the cropped area, followed by rice and groundnuts (24 and 14%).

491 There is no urban or industrial development worth mentioning. The
311 Nagari basins are better cultivated than those of the plateau, but even they
133 are not very impressive agriculturally: their flattish floors are broken by patches of sandy soil, almost bare but for a thin grass/acacia cover, and by naked rock exfoliation surfaces, looking like *roches moutonnées* and often used as threshing floors. Around the plain a lateritic piedmont slope fringes the craggy hills, with boulders as big as a small house on the talus slopes.
[361] Below the lateritic apron is a better-watered and more fertile piedmont strip, which is in places a solid belt of paddy, the zone of bush and trees along the laterite margin being a favoured settlement-line. It is a strange landscape: fantastic hills, stacked and pinnacled, long ridges capped by massive quartzites, reflected in the still waters of the big tanks with their borders of toddy palms; an eerily attractive picture under iron-blue or grey skies.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

dictates deposition in shallow but not sheltered waters, and the general lie of the E coast may thus be of great antiquity. The change in strike between the Orissa Hills and the Cuddapahs is very closely followed by the coast.

The hills are wooded and the pattern of relief stands out clearly on forest and population maps (Figs. 18, 30); but the forest is thin, rainfall being only about 40 ins. and the rocks porous or fissured. The few inhabitants are mostly Chenchus, an aboriginal tribe living a semi-pastoral existence eked out by the collection of honey, bamboos, fuel for the railways, and other minor forest produce.

The valleys, however, though on the whole poor enough, have a fair amount of cultivation, mostly jowar (25–30% TSA), other millets, groundnut (16–20%), with some irrigated paddy. The topography in the longitudinal valleys favours the construction of large tanks by bunding a transverse tributary gorge. The main (GIP) Madras–Bombay railway strikes diagonally across the S of the region, and is one of the most interesting traverses in India. The hill country is first entered in the Nagaris, which are the last Cuddapah outliers; here Renigunta and Tirupati are little towns controlling at once the route up the Swarnamukhi, the crossings of the river, and the col to the N between the Palkondas and Velikondas. Beyond, in the Razampeta corridor, the contrast between cultivated floor and barren hills is exceedingly sharp. The generally arid aspect is mitigated by groves of mangoes around the tanks; houses are stone- or mud-walled, and round beehive huts, striped vertically in white and rusty red, attest the Telugu country. After crossing the wide bed of the Cheyyeru, the line emerges at Cuddapah from grey and arid hills into a greyer plain, a vast ash-coloured expanse largely given over to dry cultivation. The region lies on the margin of the October–December rainfall area of the Madras littoral, and the rivers rise in the dry Mysore Maidan, not in the Wn Ghats as do Kistna and Tungabhadra; hence, even in August, the great streams—Penner itself, Cheyyeru, Papagni, Chitravati—may be spreads of quartzite boulders, shingle, or sand, several hundred yards wide with a line of water a yard across, or even not a drop; while only 90 miles to the N the Ghats-fed rivers are full, great ribbons of muddy water half a mile or more wide.

Through the Kunderu valley runs the ill-starred Kurnool Canal, constructed in 1860–76 by a private company which apparently failed to notice the difference in the régimes of Peninsular and extra-Peninsular rivers; the complete, but inefficient, canal had eventually to be taken over by the government in 1882 after two decades of mismanagement. The topographical layout is obviously encouraging, and it is now proposed to recast the whole project, with reservoirs on the Kistna and at Someswaram in the lowest of the Penner watergaps; the project, if carried out in full, would irrigate no less than 3 m. ac., mostly, however, in the coastal plain of Nellore.

Orissa AWI3
Telugu AWI7

CHAPTER XXIV

THE EASTERN LITTORAL: ORISSA AND ANDHRA DESA

(Regions XXXIII and XXXIV)[1]

Generalities

THE En Littoral forms a strong contrast to the Wn. The lowland is in general much wider, and much of it is a true coastal plain structurally, with in-facing cuestas developed on Cretaceous and Tertiary epeirogenetic deposits; elsewhere it is formed of the great deltas of the Mahanadi, Godavari, Kistna, and Cauvery. In the S the coastal lowland is no less than 60–80 miles wide, and is backed not by a steep more or less continuous wall but by the broken Tamilnad Hills (Javadis, Shevaroys, etc.) and by the low (1000–1500 ft) plateaus around the middle Cauvery.

O T 133

The climatic variation on this 1200-mile coast is highly significant. The N lies full in the track of the Bay of Bengal branch of the summer monsoon and receives *c.* 60 ins.; but Sn Orissa already lies on the fluctuant flank of this great current and receives a lower (*c.* 50 ins.) and less reliable fall. As we move S we enter the largest area of anomalous rainfall régime in the sub-continent, the SE which has its rainy season in the months of the retreating monsoon, October–December. From the great bend of the coast S of the Kistna delta this régime is dominant, and the lie of the coast—sub-parallel to the track of the rain-bearing depressions—contributes to generally low figures. The extreme S, Ramnad and Tinnevelly, is sheltered from the Arabian Sea branch by the high Anaimalai/Cardamom block, while to the N the great projection of the Cauvery delta, low-lying as it is, yet shuts off some at least of the retreating monsoon rain. Here we have remarkably low figures (25–30 ins.) for a coastal area in sub-equatorial latitudes.

O T 133 132

The agricultural contrasts which would normally result are to some extent masked by irrigation in the great deltas, but are nevertheless striking enough (Fig. 139). Orissa is as typical a paddy-land as Bengal—indeed in Balasore Dt over 95% of TSA is *unirrigated* paddy, and millets are totally absent. S of the Kistna, however, they generally exceed the area of *unirrigated* rice, and in places all rice; paddy dominates the landscape only where irrigation is possible on a reasonably large scale. There is further the difference between tank- and canal-irrigation, the former dominant everywhere away from the deltas.

O T 311 [312]

The primary division, then, is that between the areas of normal and of

O T 133

[see cat. 116, pp. 361-362 and map facing p. 352.--ANALYST]

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu

12 m.; densities increase from Ganjam (420) to E Godavari (714) and then decrease to Guntur (393); beyond the regional limits Nellore, with more Archaean terrain than the central parts of the Circars, and less (and less reliable and well distributed) rain than the Nn, had only 204. On the whole it seems best to treat Ganjam/Vizagapatam and the deltas separately.

(a) *The North*: *Ganjam and Vizagapatam* (*Vizakhapatnam*)

Essentially this is the area with over 40 ins.: the three Sn taluks of Vizagapatam fall a little short of this. The lowland narrows to 12 miles under Mahendragiri, but on either side of this gate are the embayments of the Rushikulya (Ganjam) and the Languliya and Vansadhara (Vizag) valleys. The plains are floored by red lateritic soils near the hills, shading off into black loams and clays; but they are cut up by numerous irregular outliers of the En Hills: thus Vizagapatam itself lies between the 1600-ft Kailana Ridge to the N and the 1100-ft Yaroda to the S; the latter runs out to sea in the bold cliffs (300 ft) of Dolphin's Nose which shelters the port, while in the Nn suburbs of the town are the peculiar Waltair Highlands, *c.* 150 ft high and formed largely by the accumulation, since the Pleistocene, of red loams partly fluviatile and partly perhaps aeolian.[3]

Of a TSA of some 4 m. ac., rice accounts for about 1·65 m. ac., ragi 390,000, oilseeds (chiefly groundnut) 500,000, the balance being widely distributed amongst millets and pulses mainly. Irrigation is on the whole unimportant, much of it being dependent on temporary mud-and-brush-wood dams across the short rivers.

Mineral resources are few—graphite, manganese, kaolin, mica—and hardly developed; a potential resource of some interest in this atomic age, though limited in amount in comparison with other *Indian* occurrences, is the ilmenite and monazite in the dunes and beaches around Vizagapatam.[4]

Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

Again there is only one real town, 'Vizag' itself (**108,042**), which has developed considerably since the opening of the railway up the Languliya valley to Raipur and the subsequent dredging of a deep-water harbour in the tidal marshes. The accommodation at quayside is limited, but it is more up-to-date than at most E coast ports. The selection of Vizag as the main shipbuilding centre of *India* is presumably because of its situation as the nearest *ocean* port to Jamshedpur, but it is still a long way round. Ships up to 8000 tons have been launched. The hinterland extends to Nagpur and the chief trade is in Madhya Pradesh (CP) manganese, and oilseeds and their products. The small ports of Bimlipatam and Gopalpur are quite

[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Satheesathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *JMJ* XXIV (1949), 26–51.

[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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The worn-down margin of the Archaean hinterland is poor country: undulating plains broken by little hills, with much waste and stony ground; soils are mainly lateritic with some loams. The coast for several miles inland is largely fringed with mangrove swamp (valuable as a fuel reserve) or sand-dunes rising to 30 or 50 ft. Between the relatively negative upland and the completely negative coast lie the rather limited areas of true delta. At Bezwada (Vijayarada), 45 miles inland, the Kistna crosses a low gneissic ridge in a 1300-yd-wide gap; this is utilised for the headworks of canals irrigating about 900,000 ac. The Godavari Delta begins 40 miles inland at Dowleshwaram, where a dam 2¼ miles long feeds canals for another 1 m. ac. (TSA; NSA 800,000). The deltas are of course liable to flood, at times disastrous; and cyclones are also a danger, that of 1864 causing 30,000 deaths and ruining the prosperity of Masulipatam port for ever. In the Kistna delta the land slopes away from the main distributaries at about 18 ins. to the mile, and in that of the Godavari below Dowleshwaram "the country is a vast expanse of ricefields dotted with gardens and villages. During the rains the greater part of this tract becomes one sheet of water, only village sites, canal banks, roads, and field boundaries appearing above it. Later in the year, as the rice grows higher, the dividing boundaries are hidden; and the whole country looks like a single ricefield, the groves around the villages, the road avenues, and the white sails of the boats gliding along the main canals breaking the uniform sea of waving green crop." [6] There is still a certain amount of local traffic, chiefly paddy, on the canals.

[312]
[731]

Between the deltas Colair Lake occupies a depression not yet silted up, though constantly diminishing by natural and artificial encroachment; covering about 100 sq mls in the rains, it has at times dried out. Its numerous islands are intensively cultivated, and there is a good deal of fishing.

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Rainfall exceeds 35 ins. only in the seaward half of the Godavari Delta, and the tendency to October maxima is unfavourable to the groundnut and early paddy harvests, while cotton sowings must be late. Irrigation, if not essential, is at least highly useful; its importance is reflected in the high densities (up to 1100 plus) of some delta taluks. The following figures (in thousand acres approximately) give a summary view of the agriculture:

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	Total area	*NSA*	*TSA*	*Rice*	*Total foodgrains*	*Ground-nuts*	*Total oilseeds*
E Godavari .	3981	1072	1380	692	1070	4	142
W Godavari	1511	800	1111	697	823	42	115
Kistna .	2270	1119	1225	572	877	185	195
Guntur .	3684	2092	2384	400	1405	365	395

[6] *Ibid.*, 268–69.

For the purely delta taluks, of course, the rice proportion would be higher. Tobacco covers some 200,000 ac. in all, the best being grown on temporary sand-islands in the larger streams. Some sugar is grown, but this tall and long-standing crop must be protected from cyclones by expensive fencing with bamboos.

Again mineral potentialities are slight and development slighter. There are two tiny unworked coalfields, of dubious value, in the Gondwanas along the Godavari; graphite and kaolin are worked in a small way, mainly for Rajahmundry paper mills (which use paddy straw as well as bamboo from the hills) and for the small crucible industry at the same town. Salt evaporation at Cocanada might lead to a chemical industry. Industry itself, though very small-scale, is interesting; as well as the Rajahmundry works just mentioned, and the rice and tobacco trades to be expected, there are cement, silk, fruit canning, and vegetable ghee works. Most of these are congregated along the Kistna below Bezwada and between Rajahmundry and Cocanada. Varied as it is, the total is not impressive: the crucible industry has 150 skilled workers, the paper mill a capacity of 3000 tons p.a.; the 77 rice mills in E Godavari employ only 1800 workers, the three silk factories 122; and the total industrial population of this District is only 7200—0·39% of total population, and at that not much below the figure for Madras State (0·42%). Such as it is, this industrial development has yet led to an ominous, if incipient, competition for land in a few tracts between tobacco and paddy; fortunately the region, except for Guntur, has a sizeable rice surplus (about 400,000 tons less 110,000 tons deficit in Guntur); and counting all foodgrains Guntur also has a surplus.[1]

The industrial, and to some extent the agricultural, future of the region will depend on whether or not the great Ramapadasagar multi-purpose scheme is executed; at present financial difficulties stand in the way. The proposed dam, 428 ft high with foundations 190 ft below the river bed, and 1½ miles long, would impound 15·6 m. ac.-ft of water, irrigate for paddy some 2·35 m. ac. of un- or under-developed land, improve the supply to 2 m. ac. already irrigated, and develop at least 100,000 kW; it might also, and less beneficially, trap the silt.

There are a fair number of minor towns. The site-significances of Bezwada (**161,198**) and Rajahmundry (**105,276**) are plain; Guntur (**125,255**) and Ellore (64,911) are trading centres with a little industry. The ports of Cocanada (75,140) and Masulipatam (59,146) are of little use. At Masulipatam large ships must lie 5 miles offshore (weather permitting!) and the half-dozen wharves are three miles up a winding creek; yet in early European days it was a place of great importance, famous for carpets and

[1] This discussion is based on (i) Dr. V. L. S. P. Rao's interesting summary of his doctoral dissertation, "Industrial Problems, Development, and Planning [in] . . . the Lower Godavari Region" (*JGJ* XXIII (1948), 1–15); (ii) V. V. Ramanadham and V. L. S. P. Rao, *Economic Atlas of Andhra Desa* (Calcutta, 1949).

369 chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the
504 cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days
167 of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

133 The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tiru-
312 patti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

133 Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses
311 and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between
[339] low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

312 The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

135 Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral
471 wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

631 The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which never-
197 theless is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

The Village Panchayat Courts were for a group of villages with powers to try cases upto Rs. 200/- without legal practitioners. The Court Members were elected by all adult residents in the village. The number of members varied from 5 to 12 and each member held office for 3 years. 692

Forest Panchayats were elected by the cattle-owners of the village and then the Panchayat elected its President. The Forest Panchayats were allowed to levy fees for grazing and fuel collection, and then they were vested with certain statutory powers. They were under the control of the Revenue Department. 311

Besides these, there were Irrigation Panchayats elected by all landholders of the village who got water from the sluice. These were under the control of the Revenue Dapartment. 312

Then there were the Village Panchayat Schools. Each village with a population of 500 or more could, on application, have a grant of Rs. 180/- for a school-teacher and an initial grant of Rs. 80/- to start a school in the Panchayat area. There were about 800 Panchayat Schools in Madras by about 1928. 871

Last, but not the least, was the jurisdiction of the Panchayat in its present constitutional set up. The Statute in force did not allow the Village Panchayats any control over the Panchayat Court or Irrigation Panchayat or Forest Panchayat, wherever they existed, though Panchayat Schools alone were entrusted to Village Panchayats wherever they existed. These are discussed in latter sections of this chapter. 642

B. **Finance**: (Table No, 19)

Local Fund Cess: This was the main source of income to Panchayats in Madras as everywhere else. It was usually 1/6th of the total local fund cess of the Local Boards, soon after the abolition of the Taluk Boards in 1934, it was increased to 1/5th of the District Board Cess. But, the grant of the local fund cess to Panchayats was not based on any rational principle of local finance. In fact, the proportion, each Panchayat got, bore no relation to population, prosperity, poverty or administrative requirements. While a Panchayat situated in an irrigated area got local fund cess as its share, in proportion to the larger land revenue collected from the village. Panchayats existing in the dry areas got positively less local fund cess, in view of the lesser land revenue collected therein. 651

[p. 204]

Section V: Forest Panchayats in Madras

PART I

Administrative and Legislative Position on the Eve of Enquiry

311 Forest Panchayats in Madras can be traced back to 1912 when the Forest Committee recommended the formation of Forest Panchayats in the interest of economy and of bringing together the villagers and the Government. Establishment of Forest Panchayat was announced by a Gazette Notification to the villagers. It was considered good to choose single village as the area of a Forest Panchayat, but sometimes it was considered more advantageous to club together more villages with their grazing areas and to place these under a single Forest Panchayat elected by the conference of the villagers.

The Revenue Divisional Officer or his deputies went to the village for conducting elections. The number of seats was determined by the number of cattle owners in the village. Efforts were to be made as far as possible to represent members of all the communities. In the case of Forest Panchayats in South Canara, where the forest was used for leaf cutting alone, the body of the electors consisted of permit holders only.

[642] B. S. O. 195 of Madras gave all the details regarding the elections, finances, functions and supervision of the Forest Panchayats. The position of the Forest Panchayats during 1930–40 was as given in Table No. 21.

A. Structure: The resident cattle owners of the village were to form the electorate to elect the members of the Forest Panchayat and the Panchayat, its President. The Government transferred to these Forest Panchayats the management of forests with a view to create interest in the ryots for the preservation of areas entrusted to them. Usually an agreement was entered into between the Government and the management whereby the Panchayat was authorised to issue a specified number of grazing permits, to collect grazing fees at stipulated rates, and to enjoy minor forest produce. In return the Panchayat agreed to protect the forest from illegal grazing and goat browsing, fire accidents by employing sufficient number of watchers and also to pay to the Government a fixed rent every year for the forest

311 President was responsible for keeping : 1. the accounts book, 2. permit bills, 3. permit holder's register, 4. offence register was reported for 10 years, 5. a diary for recording the results of the inspection by the members and the President, and 6. map of the forest.

Whenever any offence was detected all the Forest Panchayatdars and Forest Panchayat Dy. Tahasildars and some Presidents of Forest Panchayats were empowered to compound the offences, when the value of the property damaged or compounded did not exceed Rs. 50/- Penalty should not exceed 3 times the grazing fee rates, in case of felling a tree, not more than 3 times the value of the property involved, and in the matter of forest goat browsing not more than 5 times the rate of sheep grazing fees. In the case of repeated or subsequent offence, the maximum might be exceeded. Minor fuel coups might be worked for meeting the domestic and agricultural needs of the village after the sanction of the Collector. One coup for the year might be marked. This fuel was not to be sold by auction. It was to be cut by the Panchayat through hired labour and to be sold to the villages by the issue of permits at the rates fixed by the Collector. Major fuel coups might be worked for supplying fuel to a town or a factory according to a plan approved by the Collector and the District Forest Officer in consultation with the Forest Panchayat. The coups were sold by public auction by the Deputy Forest Tahsildar with the help of the Panchayat and the proceeds were credited to Government except the incidental expenditure incurred for the cutting of wood which would be credited to the Panchayat.

[316] Similarly for quarrying, seignorage rates were fixed in the agreement subject to certain conditions of which one was that any quarrying conducted under this agreement should be confined to the ground vertically beneath the site of the locality covered by the agreement, and no quarrying beyond the area should be permitted. The Forest Panchayat should during the period of the agreement keep the premises in good and substantial repairs excepting the necessary and reasonable damages caused by quarrying.

D. Supervision and Control: The Forest Panchayat Deputy Tahsildars did the initial supervision while over them were the Revenue Divisional Officers and the District Collectors.

PART II

Actual Conditions Revealed by the Survey:

A. Structure: Selection of the sample of the Forest Panchayats was made on the same basis as that of the Village Panchayats in four categories i.e. good, moderate, unsatisfactorily and very unsatisfactorily working according to the connotation explained in the preface. (Table No. 22) 311

The Forest Panchayats were not constituted on one village one Panchayat basis, but they were constituted for a group of villages. Sometimes the Forest Panchayat was for 7 to 8 village hamlets e. g. Bayyavaram in Vizagapatam District, so with almost all the Forest Panchayats in every district.

The membership varied with the number of hamlets to be represented on the Panchayat. If number of hamlets was less and the area of the Forest Panchayat was meagre, naturally, the number of members of the Forest Panchayat was less.

The caste composition was usually cosmopolitan, i. e. 4 were Valamas, 4 were Kapus and one was Raju in Bayyavaram which was typical example. The other Forest Panchayats in other districts revealed a representation of all castes. [64]

The method of election was always by show of hands. The electorate consisted of the cattle owners. [641] [666]

There was no ex-officio membership of the Village Officials.

The ability of the Forest Panchayat and its working depended mostly on the team work of the members and their sense of responsibility, not to speak of the resources at their disposal.

B. Finance: Generally the income of the Forest Panchayats was constituted of the proceeds of the grazing fee, the sale of dead wood, fuel and quarry's stone, income from minor forest produce, bark, leaves, Tangedu, Avaram, etc. Income from sandalwood trees was generally taken by the Forest Department of the Government. Similarly income from big fuel coups was also taken away by the Government except an insufficient share given to the Forest Panchayats for meeting the cost of cutting the wood. (Table No. 23). 31, 651

The grazing permits of the Forest Panchayats were usually determined according to the extent of the acreage under command of the Panchayat. The incidence per cow came usually to 3 acres. But the rate of the grazing permits varied from one Panchayat to another Forest

311 651 Panchayat for instance in Bayyavaram Forest Panchayat in Vizagapatam, the rate of grazing per cow was Re 0-6-0, per buffalo Re. 0-12-0 and per sheep Re. 0-3-0 and for fuel each chit for head-load was charged at only Re. 0-0-6.

The grazing rates in Bellary for instance again varied similarly from one Forest Panchayat to another. In Chigetheri Forest Panchayat whose extent in area was 2686.83 acres, the rates of grazing permits were Re. 0-5-0 per cow, Re. 0-10-0 per buffalo, and Re. 0-2-6 per sheep. In Haskanhal, the rates were Re. 0-6-0 per cow. In Kodattu the rates for cow, buffalo and sheep were Re. 0-6-0, Re. 0-12-0 and Re. 0-3-0, respectively.

[314] The income from minor forest produce also varied from one Forest Panchayat to another depending on the nature of the forest produce available, i. e. Tangedu, Avaram, Garualmia, Margosa, sandal-wood, Kasangaddi, Kluesklues, Tamarind, Mustard and the game like deer, peacock, dove, etc.

[316] Quarrying fees were collected in Panchayats like Bayyavaram in Vizagapatam and Betamcherla in Kurnool. Such examples were to be found even in Bellary.

Bayyavaram Forest Panchayats usually sold the fuel coups at a cost not less than Rs. 1000, remitting the same to the treasury. Of this only 10 per cent was given to the Panchayat. It sold fuel dead-woods at Re. 0-0-6 per head load, Re. 0-6-0 per cart-load, Re. 0-1-0 per shoulder-load etc., and levied quarrying fees of Re. 0-2-0 and Re. 0-1-0 per cart load of chisled and unchisled stone respectively.

Income from fuel coups was rarely seen except in Panchayats of the Ceded Districts as that of Bellary, e. g. Jaga the biggest toward Hospet and Dhemaketupalli near Hindupur, in Anantapur. Here the Government of the neighbouring four areas were keeping their wood in Government Depots. The ordinary dead wood was allowed to be sold as usual on the basis of permits.

311 652 One peculiar feature of the budget of the Forest Panchayats was the large balances that accrued from year to year. There was no systematic planning of expenditure for useful purposes by these Panchayats. Panchayats were responsible for the payment of watchers, pay and dress, maintenance and the protection of the reserves from damages of illicit grazing, fire, and theft of firewood and forest produce, the preservation of cairns, the cleanliness, orderliness, etc. Greater the extent of the Panchayat area, greater the number of watchers and greater consequently was the expenditure.

C. **Functions**: Table No. 24. 1/1 311 ●

Watch: The appointment and pay of the watchers was usually left entirely to the discretion of the Forest Panchayat President and members. Very often the pay per month varied from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12, rarely a watcher was paid Rs. 20 or above. There were instances where he was paid only Rs. 6. 465

In Vizagapatam Bayyavaram Forest Panchayat maintained 3 watchers on a monthly pay of Rs. 10 each. In Pedapalli Forest Panchayat of the same district, there were watchers but each got Rs. 6 per month. In Gokivada Forest Panchayat of the same district the pay of the watcher was Rs. 8.

In Anantapur Dhemaketupalli Forest Panchayat paid Rs. 15 to each of its watchers. In Kurnool East Ramalkota Forest Panchayat paid one watcher Rs. 12 per month and another Rs. 14 p. m. In Jonnagiri, the watcher was paid Rs. 16 p. m.

In Bellary, the pay of the watcher similarly varied from one Forest Panchayat to another.

Lease Amount: The most important item of expenditure in the budget of the Forest Panchayats was the lease amount as it would be noticeable from the table. This depended partly on the extent of the forest area and consequently on the number of coups filled up. 311 652

After these two main items of expenditure i. e. the pay and dress of the watchers and the lease amount paid to the Government, what remained was not very often adequate to spend for the functions extended to the Forest Panchayats, as for instance, maintenance and repair of cairns, the preservation of fuel reserves, the protection of forest from illicit grazing, fire, etc. The paucity of funds was in general responsible for the unsatisfactory nature of the Forest Panchayats in most instances.

The working of the Forest Panchayats in the Ceded Districts was far superior to the working of the Forest Panchayats in any other part of the Presidency. There were of course various levels observable. 311

In Vizagapatam, for instance, they were notorious for their backwardness.

Plantation: Plantation of trees, development of nurseries, repairs of ponds and reconstruction of cairns were the duties which few Panchayats could either afford or care to undertake and finish. Accordingly we found some Forest Panchayats with good finances and doing good work, some with good finances and still doing bad work, 311 313

 1/1 [See p. 218, category 316.—Analyst]

911 a few with bad finance and good work and the majority with bad
313 finances and doing bad work.

311 There were to be seen specimens of good Panchyats as Dhemake-tupalli in Aantapur, Bandar Forest in Kistna, East Ramalkota in Kurnool and Jaga in Bellary.

Dhemaketupalli Forest Panchayat was an ideal type so far as Anantapur was concerned. Its jurisdiction extended over 3 villages of Hensakepalli, Kanchi Samudram and Chila Mathur along with the hamlets of Godarallapalli, Kellapuram, Godepalli, Manda Makulapalli, Gorgatipalli, etc. The big tank in the middle of the Forest Panchayat was repaired and a big nursery was developed for plantation of about 50 trees of Margosa, Peta, Kanga Neridi, Tangedu, etc., every year. It also prepared the fuel coups. The sale value of Tangedu was usually given to the Forest Panchayat, but even that was stopped for the time being. In Kistna District, Bandar was the ideal type of Forest Panchayat and Jaggayapeta was another good specimen. Here the Forest Panchayat spent every year a good sum for the repairs and up-keeps of the ponds and the tanks. East Ramalkota in Kurnool began planting every year 100 trees of which about 25 survived. Repairs along with cleaning of the tank for cattle were regularly done. Scent from Khuskhus was prepared and sold. Here cairns were white washed and kept neat. In Bellary Jaga Forest Panchayat was the biggest of its type.

There were some moderate Panchayats, where though the income was not much, the working showed good enthusiasm, as for instance the Forest Panchayats like Kanavalli, Kanchikari, Nenikathi, and Saluvojigi in Bellary. Here the income of the Panchayats was not much yet they paid some attention to the maintenance of cairns, repairs of ponds, etc. They also took up the work of plantations of Margosa, Mango, Tangedu, etc.

The majority of the Forest Panchayats sufferd from both bad finances and bad administration too. They were not able to pay adequate attention to the several functions entrusted to them.

911 **Departmental Administration** : As a means of improving their
656 administration, the Government started taking up their management and handed it over to the Revenue Department. This, in practice, proved to be a more miserable failure than the existing system of management by the Panchayats. For instance in Anantapur out of the existing 88 Forest Panchayats, 50 were under the manage-

ment of the Revenue Department. Administration of Venkatampalli, Sangina Malka. Durgam, Odepalli and Methola, etc. Forest Panchayats was under the village Munsifs and was pretty unsatisfactory. Moreover no separate administration and supervision reports were maintained by the supervisory staff to distinguish the consequences of the management by the Government. 311 656

Whenever a particular Forest Panchayat was transferred to the charge of the Government, the Panchayat was abolished and the village headman was automatically kept in charge of it. Thereafter, the moiety, the minor forest produce, the income from the fuel coups, etc. the receipts of the sale of dead wood and stone, the quarrying fees, all accrued only to the Government. When the administration of the Forest Panchayat was not satisfactory under an elected Panchayat, it could not be bettered under the village headman and this was proved by experience in every district.

D. Supervision and Control: The number of watchers in relation to the extent of the Forest Panchayat was everywhere thoroughly inadequate. To add to it, the members and the Presidents of the Forest Panchayats in most instances were litigant. In the Collectorate, the Revenue Divisional Officers and Forest Tahsildars were [illegible]nced in number. Forest Tahsildars were still only in the districts of Nellore, Chittoor, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur. Several instances of illicit browsing, cutting fuel coups unnoticed by the supervisory staff who could not always go through the whole of the forest area, etc. continued. The members of the Forest Panchayat sometimes willfully took away the supervisory staff from places where such ravages would be discovered. Some of the Forest Deputy Tahsildars in the course of their interviews observed that generally the members of the Forest Panchayat attempted to mislead them without allowing them to know the real facts of the situation. 311

PART III

Observations

A. Structure: Forest Panchyats in practice were constituted not on one Panchayat to one village basis, but on the basis of the forest area of contiguous villages. The membership varied from one Forest Panchayat to another according to hamlets and communities to be represented. Election was usually by show of hands. The electorate was of the cattle owners in the Forest Panchayat area.

B. Finance: The resources at the disposal of the Forest Panchayats were usually collected unleft, but the oft-repeated 311 652

311 662 complaint was that they did not always sell as many grazing permits as they ought to sell. Again there was no uniformity in the rates of the grazing fees or the incidence of the grazing area alloted. Large balances which went on accruing were usually left without being properly utilised. Some Panchayats did not sell the authorised number of grazing permits and thus lost legitimate revenue.

311 **C. Functions:-** If the small resources which were at the disposal of these bodies were almost all expended on the pay of the watchers and their dress, and on lease, very little was left over for other normal functions. To allow the watchers to be appointed by the Forest Panchayats and to keep them at the mercy of these bodies seemed to be a precarious affair as they were not given some protection. Their salaries varied from Panchayat to Panchayat according to the financial ability of each Panchayat. There were no rules laid down about the required qualifications or scale or service of these servants. Most of the Forest Panchayats were not able to undertake satitfactorily functions like: 1. the preparation of the fuel coups, 2. sale of the dead wood, 3. giving quarrying permits and 4. protecting the forest reserves from fires, goat browsing and illicit grazing. Even white washing the cairns, digging wells and ponds were done by very few Panchayats. Development of nurseries was a novel idea that was always catching the imagination of enthusiastic Panchayats only, while the rest were very indifferent in this respect. Sale of minor forest produce, barks, medicinal herbs, fire wood, timber and fuel coups, if regularly planned and worked out, would under normal circumstances yield a good revenue, but these resources were not being properly tapped.

Even the transference of these functions from elected Forest Panchayats to nominated village officials did not rather mean any improvement in the situation than the contrary because the village officials did not even keep the records of the inspection notes at the time of of their visits to the reserves. Consequently, there was much deterioration.

The Special Officer appointed to study the working of the Forest Panchayats in 1940 had observed in his report that the backwardness of most of these bodies was due to their slackness in issuing grazing permits and the failure of the Panchayat members to buy them. They were often found to be grazing their cattle without the necessary permits besides allowing their parties' in whom they were interested. He had suggested: 1. the abolition of the payment of the lease amount to Government, 2. increasing the incidence of grazing units from 3 to 6 acres, 3. better payment to the watchers to ensure efficient watching and supervision to avoid unnecessary felling and grazing, 4. appoint-

ment of a forester to train the villagers in all technical matters, 5. specific allocation of forest resources like income from moiety, compounding fees, minor forest produce, sale of fuel and quarrying permits to Panchayats, 6. award of Re. 1 per cultivated acre, 7. opening of fuel coups wherever possible and the starting of departmental depots for selling fuel and timber; 8. appointment of Forest Panchayat watchman by the Government rather than by the Panchayat and 9. starting of nurseries. 311

Other suggestions in the Report were: 1. the creation of a single Forest Panchayat for single village, 2. adding the adjoining reserves in its jurisdiction, 3. nomination of the village officials as ex-officio members, 4. standardization of the rates of the grazing permits, and raising them by 10 per cent, 5. concentration on converting the Forest Panchayats mostly as grazing areas. 6. development of tree growth, 7. compulsory construction of cattle pounds by the Panchayats, and 8, surprise checks of Forest Reserves by the Revenue Divisional Officers, Forest Tahsildars and forest rangers. But unfortunately the Government did not accept most of the recommendations on one ground or other with the result there was also no improvement in the administrative position of these bodies upto the time of the enquiry.

D. Supervision and Control: The number of the watchers compared to the area of the forest panchayats was usually inadequate with the result supervision of the reserves was extremely unsatisfactory in many instances. To add to it the members and Presidents of the Forest Panchayat were guilty of several offences like not buying the grazing permits and allowing not only their cattle but those of their friends and relations to graze free in forest reserves and prevent detection. To add to this state of affairs, the Collectors, Revenue Divisional Officers and Forest Deputy Tahsildars were reduced in number and were confined to the districts of Chittoor, Kurnool, Bellary Nellore and Anantapur. Several instances of illicit grazing, goat browsing and fuel cutting went unchecked because the supervisory staff could not go round the entire reserve each time and periodical visits were so rare that there was much time lag between them. The supervisory agency said that very often they were lead away from the actual scene of ravages by the Panchayat members so that if any acts of vandalism were committed they might not be known to them. In view of such deplorable lack of conscientiousness on the part of the Panchayat members, shortage of supervisory personnel and indifference of Panchayats to do honest good work, their future would lie in uncertainty unless some attempts would be made soon to remedy these defects.

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Table No. 21—Data on Forest Panchayats in Madras State. (1930-1939)

Particulars regarding the number of Panchayats, the area under their charge and the rent payable by them to Government in each District

No.	District	1930-31			1931-32			1932-33			1933-34			1934-35		
		No. of Panchayats	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No. of Panchayats	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No. of Panchayats	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No. of Panchayats	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.
1	Vizagapatam	8	32·67	562	8	32·67	567	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562
2	East Godavari	5	16·91	225	6	18·06	260	6	18·06	260	6	18·06	260	5	18·06	260
3	West Godavari	13	57·94	1985	13	59·43	1435	13	59·05	1440	13	59·36	1510	13	59·36	1385
4	Kistna	20	98·95	2384	20	98·57	2334	20	98·57	2234	20	98·51	2219	20	98·72	2219
5	Guntur	61	193·63	14085	60	193·63	13820	60	196·78	12968	60	196·39	12995	60	196·27	12518
6	Kurnool	25	143·72	5719	25	114·49	5661	25	148·88	5661	25	148·37	6038	24	130·67	5728
7	Bellary	101	485·20	11827	98	485·72	11908	98	485·72	11818	98	486·36	11818	98	485·72	11693
8	Anantapur	93	448.34	11922	92	452·91	12034	92	452·74	11952	92	457·43	11763	92	457·43	11712
9	Cuddapah	54	216·45	6053	54	224·07	6148	54	224·08	6063	54	224·08	6063	54	224·08	5983
10	Nellore	167	395·77	28362	155	394·46	27707	154	399·76	27524	154	399·39	27787	153	394·52	28435
11	Chingleput	66	112·57	10318	67	117·00	10412	67	117·00	10342	67	116·70	9848	67	116·83	9809
12	South Arcot	73	232·52	15714	68	222·50	15755	68	222·40	15615	64	222·55	15618	64	222·28	15618
13	Chittoor	73	318·42	9037	71	315·68	8742	72	315·66	8062	72	315·70	8177	72	315·66	7882
14	North Arcot	90	275·41	15525	91	277·63	15450	91	276·62	16479	91	277·55	17362	90	278·45	17188
15	Salem	42	158·27	7597	42	159·21	7363	42	159·21	7363	42	159·21	7363	41	159·21	7295
16	Coimbatore	21	60·73	3715	21	60·73	3715	21	61·73	3715	21	61·62	3715	21	58·62	4438
17	Trichinopoly	43	90·88	7353	41	90·88	5613	41	90·86	5601	42	90·44	5601	42	90·44	5601
18	Madura	21	41·65	2038	21	41·65	2026	21	41·81	2031	21	41·80	2031	21	41·80	2031
19	Ramnad	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254	1	8·86	254	1	0·86	254
20	Tinnevelly	7	9·84	773	7	10·25	773	8	12·52	966	7	10·22	780	7	10·22	830
21	South Kanara	10	3·05	...	10	3·38	...	10	3·17	...	10	3·11	...	10	3·04	...
	Total	994	3383·78	155448	971	3403.78	150972	972	3423·12	151281	968	3420·41	152483	963	3395·08	151441

28: Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1954
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26. Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1954
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(Table No. 21—Contd)

No.	District	1935-36			1936-37			1937-38			1938-39			1939-40		
		No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.
1	Vizagapatam	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562
2	East Godavari	5	18·06	260	5	18·06	260	5	18·06	260	5	18·06	260	5	20·75	290
3	West Godavari	13	58·61	1385	13	58·61	1385	13	58·61	1385	13	58·61	1385	13	58·61	1385
4	Kistna	20	99·06	2319	20	99·06	2219	20	99·06	2219	20	99·06	2219	20	99·06	2219
5	Guntur	60	196·19	12438	61	195·59	12433	61	195·59	12424	56	175·01	10959	56	174·89	9461
6	Kurnool	24	130·61	12438	24	130·61	5698	24	130·44	5698	24	130·43	5598	24	130·44	5253
7	Bellary	99	490·52	11711	98	488·74	11591	95	474·04	11387	95	474·04	11212	95	474·04	11212
8	Anantapur	92	457·43	11712	92	457·44	11187	92	457·44	11262	92	457·44	11262	92	457·04	11212
9	Cuddapah	54	227·74	5773	54	227·75	5773	54	227·75	5823	54	227·75	5473	54	227·75	5408
10	Nellore	154	396·22	28617	154	391·49	28714	156	388·84	28734	156	394·85	28301	156	394·85	28248
11	Chingleput	67	116·81	9709	67	116·59	9679	67	116·62	9633	67	115·80	8923	68	110·36	8923
12	South Arcot	64	222·49	15538	67	222·50	15308	67	222·50	15408	67	222·40	14848	67	222·40	14848
13	Chittoor	72	315·70	7867	71	315·69	7802	71	315·69	7802	71	315·69	7637	71	315·69	7287
14	North Arcot	89	274·20	16738	89	274·21	16723	89	274·21	16596	89	274·21	16350	89	274·21	15403
15	Salem	41	153·67	7295	40	152·52	6992	39	147·56	6722	39	140·58	6776	39	139·69	5979
16	Coimbatore	21	58·62	4615	21	58·49	4640	21	58·56	4705	21	58·56	4852	21	58·56	4681
17	Trichinopoly	42	90·66	5586	42	90·58	5586	42	90·58	5586	42	90·58	5511	42	90·58	4896
18	Madura	21	41·77	2031	21	41·77	1976	21	41·77	2031	21	41·77	1961	21	41·77	1953
19	Ramnad	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254
20	Tinnevelly	7	10·23	780	7	10·33	780	7	10·03	780	7	10·08	780	7	10·08	780
21	South Kanara	13	3·04	...	10	3·04	...	10	3·04	...	10	3·04	...	10	3·04	...
	Total	964	3395·12	150878	965	3386·57	149563	963	3363·04	149562	963	3341·46	145124	960	3336·74	140090

N. B.—The figure for 1939-40 includes figures upto June 30th 1940. There were no Panchayats in Malabar District.

31 **Table No. 22—Constitutional Aspects of Forest Panchayats in Madras**

S. No.	Name of Village	District	No. of Members	Extent Acres	Category	Starting Date
1	Bayyavaram	Vizagapatam	9	3686	A	1925
2	Pedapalli	"	8		A	1922
3	Gokivada	"	6		C	1920
4	Regupalem	"	9		A	"
5	Kalavalapalli	"	9		C	1926
6	Yerravaram	"	9		A	1920
7	Dhemaketupalli	Anantapur	9	3523	A	1926
8	Sankargallu	"	9	...	A	1920
9	Betamcherla	Kurnool	9	5000	B	1925
10	Jonnagiri	"	6	824	B	1920
11	Gooty, Erraguderu	"	6	3655	B	1920
12	East Ramalkotah	"	9	2800	A	1926
13	Jaggayapeta	Kistna	5	9000	A	1923
14	Bandar Forest	"	8	2500	B	1920
15	Balgeti	Bellary	8	1879	B	1920
16	Arekara	"	5	1634	C	1920
17	Hulikatti	"	6	...	C	1924
18	Eligatteri	"	6	2687	B	1920
19	Harkanlal	"	8	1901	C	1926
20	Adivimakankara	"	7	1863	C	1920
21	Alagalivada	"	9	3506	C	1926
22	Uchangidurgam	"	9	5278	B	1926
23	Musavankalahal	"	8	2319	C	1926
24	Kodattu	"	7	2151	C	1926
25	Jiydrada	"	9	3858	C	1922
26	Dasna Halli	"	5	1765	C	1927
27	Tagaikatti	"	6	3943	C	1926
28	Halvagal	"	9	4669	B	1927
29	Nagatbibasapuram	"	8	4523	B	1926
30	Aravamahal	"	8	2768	C	1926
31	Kanobikari	"	9	3478	C	1226
32	Kanavalli	"	9	2851	C	1926
33	Kayakathi	"	9	4719	C	1926
34	Bandikara	"	9	...	C	1926
35	Holgondi	"	9	2087	C	1923
36	Nenikathi	"	12	3004	B	1923
37	Salugoyi	"	9	2141	B	1920
38	Yellartai	"	9	2108	C	1923
39	Rayadrug	"	8	3500	A	1920
40	Kanispuram	"	9	2620	B	1926
41	Vithalapuram	"	5	1584	B	1926
42	Nibalgiri	"	7	3287	C	1926
43	Thimalgiri	"	6	2533	C	1926
44	Hospet, Joint for 7 villages	"	9	3280	B	1926
45	Metri	"	5	1753	C	"
46	Gandigamanur	"	6	3358	C	1925
47	Venkatapuram	"	9	3016	C	1926
48	Dharmasany	"	7	3047	B	1926
49	Jagga	"	9	...	A	1920
50	Dargi	"	9	3068	C	1920
51	Ingloti	"	8	...	C	1920

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Table No. 23—Income of the Forest Panchayats in Madras 1946 (Rs.)

	Name of the Village	District	Opening Balance	Grazing Fees	Minor Forest Produce	Moiety	Bank Interest	Assessment of Quarries	Stores & Deadwood
1	Bayyavaram	Vizagapatam	265	130	22	47	...	56	56
2	Pedapalli	"	206	12	30	12	12	...	...
3	Gokivada	"	298	90	8	6	8	...	8
4	Rezupalem	"	165	96	...	...	...	...	2
5	Kalavalapalli	"	765	117	6	100	...	...	8
6	Yerravaram	"	568	102	15	42	35	42	19
7	Dhemakotapalli	Anantapur	1067	600	125	40	25	...	...
8	Sankaragallu	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	Betamcherla	Kurnool	800	700	90	50	...	...	...
10	Jonnagiri	"	137	99	20	...	...	...	...
11	Gooty, Erragudera	"	1025	363	5	15	...	...	...
12	East Ramaikotah	"	1523	409	120	189	20	...	...
13	Jaggayapeta	Kistna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	Bandar Forest	"	60	124	138	...	...	...	78
15	Balgoti	Bellary	532	187	100	20	8	4	5
16	Arekara	"	100	172	5	1	...	...	...
17	Hulikatti	"	417	226	20	44	44	20	1
18	Eligatteri	"	...	312	70	2	1	...	...
19	Harkanlal	"	23	182	20	6	16	...	...
20	Adevimakankara	"	116	138	...	13	10	...	...
21	Alagalivad	"	36	318	15	5	...	15	...
22	Uonangidurgam	"	453	340	16	...	...	13	...
23	Musavankalahal	"	85	203	3	14	3	...	...
24	Kodattu	"	34	236	20	11	2	...	...
25	Hydrada	"	75	372	60	2	50	15	...
26	Dassna Halli	"	42	188	8	...	...	...	...
27	Tagaikatti	"	24	273	2	2	3	...	...
28	Halvagal	"	938	387	15	9	76	9	...
29	Nagathibasapuram	"	126	375	160	9	12	...	12
30	Kanchikari	"	175	275	30	5	5	24	324
31	Aravamahal	"	70	193	14	8	9	5	14
32	Kanavalli	"	632	296	125	5	10	3	1072
33	Kayakathi	"	632	296	20	29	3	...	...
34	Bandikara	"	340	225	20	20	25	20	10
35	Holgondi	"	52	262	63	...	254	...	...
36	Nenikathi	"	635	150	40	5	200	...	...
37	Salugoyi	"	417	163	112	82	20	1	15
38	Yellarthi	"	388	187	3	80	20	80	...
39	Rayadrug	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40	Kanispuram	"	537	337	31	2	10	...	...
41	Vithalapuram	"	...	262	30	2	...	...	...
42	Nibalgiri	"	226	289	87	8	...	...	9
43	Thimalgiri	"	...	175	22	60	...	...	...
44	Hospet	"	375	204	130	50	20	50	30
45	Metri	"	585	219	30	20	23	...	...
46	Gandigamanur	"	517	220	80	30	20	...	28
47	Venkatapuram	"	307	378	...	...	...	...	40
48	Dharmasany	"	988	365	41	2	4	...	...
49	Jaega	"	1283	464	10	44	...	...	292
50	Dargi	"	207	350	1	5	350	...	...
51	Ingleti	"	350	1	10	286	1	...	...

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Table No. 24—Expenditure of the Forest Panchayats in Madras (Rs.)

No.	Name of the Village	District	Lease Amount	Pay of Watchers	Dress	Contingencies	Cairns Repairs	Ponds Repairs	Plantation Charges	Maintenance	Balance
1	Bayyavarm	Vizagapatam	100	90	...	17	20	...	...	...	...
2	Pedapalli	"	127	120	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
3	Gokivada	"	20	64	...	115	...	...	...	...	405
4	Regupalem	"	100	200	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
5	Kalavalapalli	"	30	627	...	200	...	...	...	...	...
6	Yerravaram	"	20	110	...	1	11	...	...	2	234
7	Dhemaketupalli	Anantapur	165	540	60	15	40	5	...	...	1265
8	Sankargallu	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	Betamcherla	Kurnool	300	334	50	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	Jonnagiri	"	45	96	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Gooty, Erraguderu	"	260	264	...	36	2	...	...	...	...
12	East Ramalkotah	"	200	307	...	5	...	1	1	...	...
13	Jaggayapeta	Kistna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	Baudar Forest	"	150	192	...	20	...	...	...	...	...
15	Balgoti	Bellary	51	240	30	3	5	40	...	...	721
16	Arakara	"	35	192	10	2	10	5	5	...	...
17	Hulikatti	"	43	156	10	30	10	5	10	20	...
18	Elligatteri	"	60	204	10	10	15	5	5	5	...
19	Harkanial	"	63	132	5	5	5	5	...	...	...
20	Adivimakankara	"	30	80	...	5	...	...	...	...	...
21	Alagalivada	"	131	216	5	5	5	...	3	...	...
22	Uchangidurgam	"	60	160	15	5	4	...	...	...	...
23	Musavankalahal	"	70	168	5	15	5	...	...	...	...
24	Kodattu	"	41	236	40	5	3	20	...	...	...
25	Hydrada	"	126	294	20	1	20	...	...	...	...
26	Dassna Halli	"	55	108	10	5	5	5	...	...	...
27	Tagaikatti	"	110	92	5	5	2	...	...	...	...
28	Nagathibasapuram	"	144	288	12	18	144	7	7	...	...
29	Aravamahal	"	80	216	20	3	5	20	10	5	20
30	Kanchikari	"	64	216	20	4	10	10	10	5	...
31	Kanavatti	"	65	168	10	3	65	3	3	4	...
32	Halvagal	"	110	92	5	5	1	...	...	...	...
33	Kayakathi	"	168	10	3	40	65	3	4	...	...
34	Bandikara	"	33	216	20	220	250	250	17	...	...
35	Holgondi	"	65	66	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
36	Nemikathi	"	41	240	20	5	10	150	15	15	...
37	Salugoyi	"	130	288	20	3	5	300	20	...	...
38	Yellarthi	"	19	162	8	6	10	10	10	10	...
39	Rayadrug	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40	Kanispuram	"	55	232	13	3	12	5	15	...	...
41	Vithalapuram	"	87	108	10	2	12	55	3	...	...
42	Nimbalgiri	"	85	240	7	2	20	100	5	5	...
43	Thimalgiri	"	90	110	...	13	...	...	...	...	...
44	Hospet	"	60	354	15	5	330	30	...	...	...
45	Metri	"	73	108	10	2	3	32	5	5	...
46	Gandigamanur	"	350	30	10	156	15	5	10	4	...
47	Venkatapuram	"	324	20	6	70	20	6	5	...	...
48	Dharmasany	"	112	18	5	115	...	...	...	...	...
49	Jagga	"	384	20	5	226	20	...	...	...	...
50	Dargi	"	192	20	2	170	20	...	...	...	...
51	Ingloti	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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Castes.	Brahman.		Komati.		Kapu.		Balija.		Dhoby.		Karumala.		Boyas.		Yekili.		Kummara.		Muhammadan.		Dommara.		Total.		Grand total.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Under 1 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	3	5
1—5 ...	2	...	2	...	1	1	1	2	2	1	...	1	3	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	11	10	21
5-10 ...	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	8	5	13
10-15 ...	...	...	...	1	3	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	6	5	11
15-20 ...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	3	7	10
20-25 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	1	3	4	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	1	7	8	15
25-30 ...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	3	4	7
30-35 ...	...	...	...	1	...	2	1	...	1	1	2	...	3	1	2	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	12	5	17
35-40 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	4	...	4
40-45 ...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	5	8
45-50 ...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	3	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	7	4	11
50-55 ...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	3	7
55-60 ...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	2	4	6	10
60-65 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	5	3	8
65-70 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
70-75 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1

M. = Male. F. = Female.

The population of the paracheri is—men 13, women 12, children 19; 44 in all in 30 homesteads.

—	Family No. I.	Family No. II.	Family No. III.	Family No. IV.	Family No. V.	Family No. VI.	Family No. VII.	Family No. VIII.
Men ...	1 (age 60)	1 (age 45)	2 Age 20, 16	1 (age 60)	1 (age 35)	1 (age 50)	5 Age 55, 30, 27, 25, 20	1 (age 56).
Women ...	1 (age 36)	1 (age 30)	3 50, 16, 13	1 (age 50)	1 (age 20)	2 35, 35	1 (age 12)	2 40, 35
Children ...	6	2	...	2	...	3	...	6
Number dead.	...	3	...	...	1	...	...	...

311 *Land.*—There is jungle all round the village, where the cattle belonging to the village are allowed to graze on paying grazing fees to the zamindar.

312 There are five tanks. Out of these only two are of some size. The rest are small tanks. Even in the big tanks the water stored is sufficient for only one crop.

There are about 20 wells. Water is lifted up in most of them by means of the picottah. Four of the wells have been dug out of hard rock.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

312 There are no other sources of water-supply. There are no streams or rivers belonging to the village. There is one at some distance, but its water is used to irrigate lands belonging to adjoining villages.

311 651 According to assessment—

Wet lands.				Dry lands.			
Rate per acre paid to zamindar.	Extent.	Revenue.		Rate per acre.	Extent.	Revenue.	
RS. A. P.	ACRES.	RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.	ACRES.	RS. A. P.	
8 14 3	4·89	44 3 9		2 1 9	11·11	23 7 2	
7 12 6	1·57	12 8 2		1 10 9	4·65	7 11 1	
7 6 6	0·86	6 6 6		1 7 3	2·91	4 3 11	
6 10 9	1·11	7 7 2		1 3 7	13·95	17 6 7	
5 8 11	8·35	48 12 4		1 0 0	3·41	3 7 7	
4 7 2	58·60	266 6 1		...	...	...	
					Total ...	442 0 4	

Inams.

Dry lands.			Wet lands.			
Rate per acre.	Extent.	Revenue.	Rate per acre.	Extent.	Revenue.	
RS. A. P.	ACRES.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	ACRES.	RS. A. P.	
2 3 1	1·06	2 3 3	10 15 0	3·46	39 5 10	
1 10 3	15·52	20 9 4	8 12 0	5·69	61 5 8	
1 6 9	7·90	11 3 8	7 10 6	4·54	34 15 2	
1 3 2	3·58	4 4 11	5 7 6	0·85	6 5 0	
				Total ...	180 4 10	
				Other lands ...	442 0 4	
			Grand total of revenue received by zamindar ...		622 5 2	

427 [311] 241 *Occupation of land.*—A very small area, 62½ cents of dry land, and 31 cents of wet, belongs to the zamindar himself and is cultivated by a tenant. Such lands are called "kanagi." The rent is Rs. 1-5-2 for the dry land and Rs. 2-11-0 for the wet land.

There are eight ryots who hold land under the zamindar, of these six cultivate their holdings, and two, of whom one is the karnam of the village, let their land to sub-tenants who pay in shares of the produce.

There are thirteen sub-tenants who own no land.

In cultivating paddy, ragi, cholam, sazzulu, and other such grains, half of the produce generally goes to the cultivator, and the other half to the zamindari tenant who lets out his land, all the straw going to the cultivator only, who supplies himself with all the necessaries for cultivation.

But in some cases the zamindari tenant (the pattadar or inamdar) himself supplies one pair of bulls, and ploughs the land, while the cultivator simply helps him in his work. In that case only one-sixth of the produce is given to the cultivator. If the

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI

311 *Land*—

	ACS.
Wet land	141·30
Dry land	304·29
Land watered by wells	52·19
Common waste	451·35
Pastures other than waste	898·14
Woods and forests	

312 There are two tanks, *Kodipalli cheruvu* and *Varadarajulu kunta*. The first is sufficiently deep though not extensive, and the water stored in the tank is sufficient for two crops. The surplus water is allowed to collect in another small pond. There are fourteen wells, all built round with stone; and one stream when in flood affords an additional water-supply.

311 651 *Classification of lands—According to assessment*—

Wet lands.		Dry lands.	
Rates.	Acres.	Rates.	Acres.
Rs. 4-0-0	18·38	Re. 1	304·29
Rs. 5, Rs. 5-8-0	32·38	...	...
Rs. 6-0-0	21·24	...	...
Rs. 7-0-0	20·35	...	...
Rs. 8-0-0	7·37	...	...
Rs. 9-0-0	1·10	...	...

311 *Occupation of land.*—Of the dry land 109·02 acres, of the wet land 31·50 acres are cultivated by the landowners, the remainder, viz., 32·28 acres of wet land, and 272·79 acres of dry land are sublet and cultivated by tenants.

423 There are about 25 non-cultivating landowners. Some hold Government posts, about 12 are engaged in trade; there are between 30 and 40 tenants who own no land, and the agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land number men 113, women 47.

There are two kinds of ownership, inam and patta. All sirkar lands are held by pattadars. The area of holdings of inam ownership is 127·38 acres. The rest of the cultivable land is held by pattadars. Inamdars pay only quit-rent and road-cess.

There are only about half a dozen pattadars. One family alone owns 97·15 acres of wet and 143·14 acres of dry land.

427 *Rents.*—There are no cultivators who pay a money rent. Everything is paid in kind. The usual arrangement is that the cultivator himself supplies all that is necessary for cultivation, and out of the produce one-half goes to the landowner and the other to the cultivator. There are no other conditions of contract. But when sugarcane is cultivated the landowner gets only one-fourth of the produce.

The whole land revenue comes to Rs. 1,034 7-0, out of which the revenue from the inam lands alone amounts to Rs. 154-3-0.

463 Some of the villagers are engaged in trade side by side with agriculture. Others are potters, dhobis, in addition to being cultivators. Some hold Government posts. Some are contractors.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

426 allowed by the Government for waste lands. An economic enquiry is held by the village officers every year and a report is sent to the Government.

311 There is scope for improvement on a large scale if only ryots are prepared to start with a large capital and adopt modern methods of agriculture. There does not seem to be any possibility of extending the irrigated lands. Almost all available land has been used up, and brought under cultivation.

312 The condition of tanks and wells has been improved of late. More wells could be sunk with advantage, but are not sunk owing to lack of funds.

733 The barbers, dhobis and others are tending to lose their lands
426 owing to their pernicious habit of drinking. People sell land in order to pay off old debts. Loans are given only on mortgage of lands. The chief purchasers are money-lenders.

167 There has been no emigration. But two Muhammadans are at
702 the front as sepoys. About a hundred belonging to this particular taluk are in the army and most of them are at the field of operations.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

165 The figures for deaths are in general accurate, according to information collected in the village, with the exception of the deaths in the cholera epidemic of 1911 and the small-pox epidemic of 1915. In the latter, according to non-official information between 80 and 85 children died, and 160 persons in all. The record of births appears to be very defective.

162 By the 1911 census there were 396 homesteads; there are now 430 to 440, there being many recent extensions of the inhabited village into the fields on the north and south.

An approximate statement of the population according to caste is as follows:—

	Adults.	Children.
Brahmans	25	13
Vaisyas	55	40
Sudras, Kammas	225	220
„ Kapus	275	240
Carpenters and silversmiths	33	24
Weavers	26	22
Barbers	10	4
Washermen	100	150
Toddy-tappers	283	305
Shepherds	52	33
Potters	4	2
Muhammadans	5	1
Oil-mongers	11	5

Land.

311

	Acres.
Wet land	Nil.
Dry land, cultivated	1,545·27
Land watered by wells	7·40
Common waste	145·36
Pasture other than common waste	415·82

Most of the land is cultivated by the pattadar, but 226 acres are sublet to tenants. There are about 350 agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land.

241 The following are the principal crops:—

	Acres.
Paddy	166·39
Cholam	468·88
Kambu	73·68
Gingelly	194·74
Horsegram	151·34
Ragi	...
Chodi	1·90
Korra	6·10
Chillis	0·67
Jute	1·80
Tobacco	1·34

651 Land is assessed for revenue at the following rates:—

	Per acre. Rs.	A.	P.
Best black clay	1	12	0
Best black loam	1	10	0
Best red loam	1	10	0
Best red sand	0	10	0

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available.

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission.

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village.

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals.

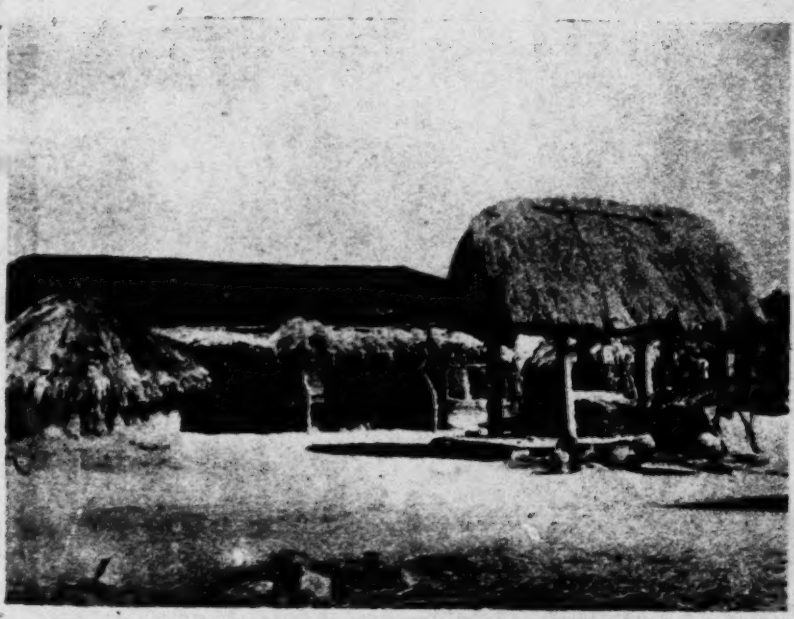
The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; in return for the service, the government grants them the use of certain rent-free lands. 27

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

361

3*a*. Shamirpet from a hill outside.

312



3*b*. The Village Well.

[Facing p. 32]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

THE SETTING

361 Three miles to the north on the Hyderabad–Karimnagar road
312 there is another village, about as large as Shamirpet. It is called
578 Aliyabad. It has some rich and influential Muslim and Hindu agriculturists among its residents who share with those of Shamirpet the waters of the Shamirpet tank for irrigation purposes. This system is not very satisfactory and the two villages have numerous complaints against each other. There is a keen rivalry between the two, and every two or three years the tension and passions of the people rise to such an extent that there is danger of a breach of peace and of rioting. The residents of Shamirpet do not think much of the people of Aliyabad, and the latter heartily reciprocate their dislike.

671 People living in different villages have very few occasions on which to meet each other as a whole. There are no common ceremonies and functions in which several villages participate. To a certain extent caste ceremonies provide opportunities for inter-village meetings; but the most common meeting-places for people belonging to the nearby villages of the same area are the markets and fairs.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

311 covers over 14,000 sq mls, largely on the indeterminate En marches of the [312] region. Irrigation, though more important than in Maharashtra, accounts for only 8–9% of NSA and is over 60% from tanks. Fig. 136 brings out some points of the Maharashtra/Telangana contrasts, the Districts selected being comparable in area, while Ahmadnagar is not too specialised to cotton. The most striking features are the much smaller proportion of cultivation in Anantapur, and the far higher proportion of 'other food-grains', i.e. the poorer millets and pulses such as gram.

241 There is, however, considerable internal variation. Rice everywhere plays a much more prominent role than in most of Maharashtra, but still accounts for only 7% of NSA: dependent on the tanks, it is the food of the better-off agricultural classes. Jowar has the largest acreage (*c.* 5·4 m.), followed by bajra (*c.* 1·5 m., largely on lighter soils); significantly enough, gram is third with 600,000 ac. Maize is important in some Hyderabad Districts, nearly 10% of TSA in Karimnagar. Oilseeds are the dominant cash crop, approaching 4 m. ac. Groundnuts account for some 60% of this,[27] and in the Ceded Districts play something of the role of cotton in Maharashtra:

	NSA, 1948–49	*% of total area*	*Groundnuts*		
			"Normal"	*1948–49*	*1948–49, % of NSA*
Kurnool . .	2,074	41·5	476	267	12·5
Bellary . .	2,225	61·4	320	324	12·9
Cuddapah . .	1,000	26·3	187	182	16·9
Anantapur .	2,026	47·0	341	372	17·7
	7,325	43·7	1,324	1,145	15·6

Figures in thousand acres; the 1948–49 groundnuts total was 31% of that for Madras. Figures supplied by Mr C. D. Deshpande.

Jowar takes the heavier soils: "In a tract with just the minimum rainfall, 20–30 ins., groundnut is the most valuable kharif crop on light soils, where the soil is not heavy enough for jowar and rainfall not high enough for rice." Cotton has only half the acreage of oilseeds, and except on the black soils of the greater rivers, extrusions from Maharashtra, it is largely limited to the Raichur (Kistna/Tungabhadra) Doab: Raichur and Bellary Dts account for well over half the total acreage. In this area a high proportion of the rain comes late in the wet season; at Anantapur, a little to the E, 8·6 ins. fall in September alone, and July–September inclusive account for 15·6 of a total 27·4 ins. The rabi crop therefore tends to be more important than the

[27] S. Velayudham, "Groundnut in Madras", *IGJ* XXI (1946), 100–12 and 153–73; refce at p. 157.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

kharif, especially on heavier soils which, with the intense May heat and late start of considerable rains, may not be workable till August. While groundnut is the kharif cash crop, cotton is entirely rabi. Jowar is grown for fodder as well as grain; ragi and other millets as well as rice are often wet crops; and millets are sown mixed with pulses, which take longer to mature and are a safeguard against the failure of the cereals. Most of these features point to the general precariousness of the agriculture in the region, which as a whole is a food-deficit area.

Differences of expert opinion in the two states long impeded work on the great dam, 1½ miles long and 160 ft high, being built across the Tunga-

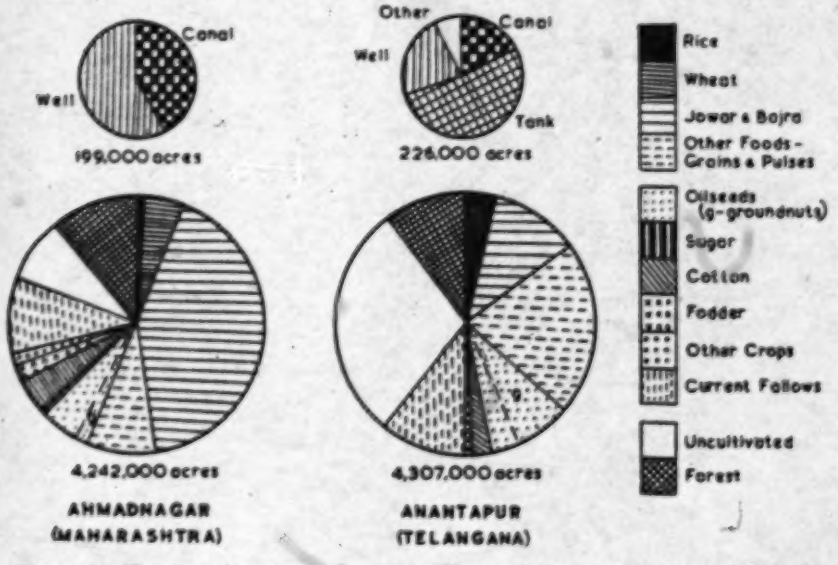


Fig. 136.—The Lava/Archaean Contrast. Upper circles represent areas irrigated.

bhadra: this will irrigate 600,000 ac. in Hyderabad and 300,000 in Madras, as well as generating about 150,000 kW. But the execution of the 7 major and some of the 32 minor projects in Hyderabad, which together might command 3·5 m. ac. and produce 500,000 kW, probably lies in an indefinite future. Terrain and climate impose severe limitations on Telangana, and the unlucky history of the Kurnool project (below, 680) suggests that a cautious policy may be essential for real progress.

Other Resources; Settlement and Towns

The mineral resources of Telangana are scattered and little exploited. The most important production is probably that of Gondwana coal, mined chiefly at Singareni; in NE Hyderabad are some outliers of the great iron

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

state of weight not inferior to that of many a sovereign member of UNO. 631
But large parts of it were still under practically feudal *jagirs*, and the tension [578]
between a Muslim aristocracy and bureaucracy, and the Maratha/Telugu peasantry, was a fundamental weakness. As the only notable survivor of the Muslim Mogul succession-states, it was an Islamic cultural and political outlier fatally isolated from the Islamic bases in the NW and NE. These things were obvious to the casual traveller: as one passes from the lava mesas of Maharashtra the cultural landscape changes as much as the physical. At Gulbarga, on the lava edge, the tombs of the Muslim Bahmani Sultans dominate the gently rolling country, their domes rising like giant bubbles over the flat skyline; on the station platforms the local petty bourgeoisie and bureaucracy, gathered to meet the train and always easily recognisable, no longer wore the dhoti or completely anglicised office clothes, but were clad in the long tight-fitting Muslim *sherwani* coat. But the Muslim hold was thin, and they were a minority of 12·8%. Geographically the weakness of the state was of course its separation from the sea—doubtless not accidental on the EIC's part; hence its interest in Masulipatam on the Godavari delta, linked by rail and only 60 miles from Hyderabad territory by the easy gap where the Gondwana trough breaks the En Hills.

To-day it seems possible that all the Telugu country may be united into an Andhra state, despite the great gap in economic development, and perhaps in economic interests, between the harsh and arid plateau and the paddy-plain of the Madras littoral. It would probably be difficult enough to weld together peoples of such divergent environment; but the major objection to Andhra Desa is not so much the thing in itself as the difficulty of stopping such particularisms from spreading. The detachment of Telangana from Hyderabad leaves Marathwara to be disposed of; presumably there would be a move to attach it to a Maharashtra state. This would involve in turn the creation of Karnataka for the Kanarese, and there is an important overlapping zone between the two [20], while, as we have seen, the Bombay Karnatak has important ties with Bombay. That city itself is the [192]
natural outlet for Maharashtra and is in historically Maratha country; but commercially it is also closely allied with Gujarat, and indeed Gujarati is probably the main business language of Bombay. Clearly to such separatisms there is no end territorially; they probably raise as many problems as they solve; and from an *Indian* point of view the result of creating linguistically homogeneous states might be a grave weakening of national unity. (Cf. below, 682,692).

In any case, the development of the essentially poor land of Telangana 312
will call for great capital expenditure without, perhaps, much prospect of cash returns. The future depends largely on the progress of the great

[20] Deshpande, *op. cit.*, Fig. 20 (p. 86).

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

312 Tungabhadra scheme; but the history of large-scale irrigation here is discouraging, though of course much experience has been gained since the 377 Kurnool failure. With the development of hydro-electricity there may come 491 decentralised industrial development on the Mysore model; but Mysore 433 had a more solid backing in at least some industry, sericulture and Bhadravati iron for instance, to give a base. Telangana is not without resources such as oilseeds and fibres (including sheep and goat wool), and in view of *India's* shortages in non-ferrous metals development of the poor communication net might lead to at least some exploitation of the scattered minerals. But when all is said, it seems likely that Telangana will remain, if not a backward, at least a poor country.

The Anantapur-Chittoor Basins

133 Between the bold scarp of the Palkonda Range and the higher Mysore levels are a series of basins around the middle courses of the Penner tributaries—Chitravati, Papagni, Punchu/Cheyyeru, the last two with a remarkable confluence-gorge in the Palkondas. To the SE the sub-region breaks down to the Nellore/Coromandel plains through the little intermont basins of the Nagari Hills (up to 2800 ft) and through the broader Swarnamukhi valley, which may occupy a fault-trough under the Palkondas. The whole area is crossed by N/S or NE/SW trap dykes, which may also have some influence on the remarkable drainage-pattern.

311 The area is isolated and poor, except in the extreme SE—the Nagari valleys, culturally transitional to Tamilnad. Only 20% of Chittoor Dt is cultivated—less than any other Madras District except the Nilgiris—but the density is **304**, intermediate between the Ceded Districts (*c.* **185**) and the coastal plains (**450–650**). Millets account for over 40% of the cropped area, followed by rice and groundnuts (24 and 14%).

491 There is no urban or industrial development worth mentioning. The 311 Nagari basins are better cultivated than those of the plateau, but even they 133 are not very impressive agriculturally: their flattish floors are broken by patches of sandy soil, almost bare but for a thin grass/acacia cover, and by naked rock exfoliation surfaces, looking like *roches moutonnées* and often used as threshing floors. Around the plain a lateritic piedmont slope fringes the craggy hills, with boulders as big as a small house on the talus slopes. [361] Below the lateritic apron is a better-watered and more fertile piedmont strip, which is in places a solid belt of paddy, the zone of bush and trees along the laterite margin being a favoured settlement-line. It is a strange landscape: fantastic hills, stacked and pinnacled, long ridges capped by massive quartzites, reflected in the still waters of the big tanks with their borders of toddy palms; an eerily attractive picture under iron-blue or grey skies.

133 dicates deposition in shallow but not sheltered waters, and the general lie of the E coast may thus be of great antiquity. The change in strike between the Orissa Hills and the Cuddapahs is very closely followed by the coast.

B7 The hills are wooded and the pattern of relief stands out clearly on forest 132 and population maps (Figs. 18, 30); but the forest is thin, rainfall being 323 only about 40 ins. and the rocks porous or fissured. The few inhabitants are mostly Chenchus, an aboriginal tribe living a semi-pastoral existence eked out by the collection of honey, bamboos, fuel for the railways, and other minor forest produce.

311 The valleys, however, though on the whole poor enough, have a fair 312 amount of cultivation, mostly jowar (25–30% TSA), other milleta, groundnut (16–20%), with some irrigated paddy. The topography in the longitudinal valleys favours the construction of large tanks by bunding a transverse [496] tributary gorge. The main (GIP) Madras–Bombay railway strikes diagonally across the S of the region, and is one of the most interesting traverses 133 in India. The hill country is first entered in the Nagaris, which are the last 361 Cuddapah outliers; here Renigunta and Tirupati are little towns control- 311 ling at once the route up the Swarnamukhi, the crossings of the river, and the col to the N between the Palkondas and Velikondas. Beyond, in the Razampeta corridor, the contrast between cultivated floor and barren hills is exceedingly sharp. The generally arid aspect is mitigated by groves of [342] mangoes around the tanks; houses are stone- or mud-walled, and round beehive huts, striped vertically in white and rusty red, attest the Telugu country. After crossing the wide bed of the Cheyyeru, the line emerges at Cuddapah from grey and arid hills into a greyer plain, a vast ash-coloured expanse largely given over to dry cultivation. The region lies on the margin of the October–December rainfall area of the Madras littoral, and the rivers rise in the dry Mysore Maidan, not in the Wn Ghats as do Kistna and Tungabhadra; hence, even in August, the great streams—Penner itself, Cheyyeru, Papagni, Chitravati—may be spreads of quartzite boulders, shingle, or sand, several hundred yards wide with a line of water a yard across, or even not a drop; while only 90 miles to the N the Ghats-fed rivers are full, great ribbons of muddy water half a mile or more wide.

312 Through the Kunderu valley runs the ill-starred Kurnool Canal, constructed in 1860–76 by a private company which apparently failed to notice the difference in the régimes of Peninsular and extra-Peninsular rivers; the complete, but inefficient, canal had eventually to be taken over by the government in 1882 after two decades of mismanagement. The topographical layout is obviously encouraging, and it is now proposed to recast the whole project, with reservoirs on the Kistna and at Someswaram in the lowest of the Penner watergaps; the project, if carried out in full, would irrigate no less than 3 m. ac., mostly, however, in the coastal plain of Nellore.

Orissa AW13
Telugu AW17

CHAPTER XXIV

THE EASTERN LITTORAL: ORISSA AND ANDHRA DESA

(Regions XXXIII and XXXIV)[1]

Generalities

THE En Littoral forms a strong contrast to the Wn. The lowland is in general much wider, and much of it is a true coastal plain structurally, with in-facing cuestas developed on Cretaceous and Tertiary epeirogenetic deposits; elsewhere it is formed of the great deltas of the Mahanadi, Godavari, Kistna, and Cauvery. In the S the coastal lowland is no less than 60–80 miles wide, and is backed not by a steep more or less continuous wall but by the broken Tamilnad Hills (Javadis, Shevaroys, etc.) and by the low (1000–1500 ft) plateaus around the middle Cauvery. O T 133

The climatic variation on this 1200-mile coast is highly significant. The N lies full in the track of the Bay of Bengal branch of the summer monsoon and receives *c.* 60 ins.; but Sn Orissa already lies on the fluctuant flank of this great current and receives a lower (*c.* 50 ins.) and less reliable fall. As we move S we enter the largest area of anomalous rainfall régime in the sub-continent, the SE which has its rainy season in the months of the retreating monsoon, October–December. From the great bend of the coast S of the Kistna delta this régime is dominant, and the lie of the coast—sub-parallel to the track of the rain-bearing depressions—contributes to generally low figures. The extreme S, Ramnad and Tinnevelly, is sheltered from the Arabian Sea branch by the high Anaimalai/Cardamom block, while to the N the great projection of the Cauvery delta, low-lying as it is, yet shuts off some at least of the retreating monsoon rain. Here we have remarkably low figures (25–30 ins.) for a coastal area in sub-equatorial latitudes. O T 132 132

The agricultural contrasts which would normally result are to some extent masked by irrigation in the great deltas, but are nevertheless striking enough (Fig. 139). Orissa is as typical a paddy-land as Bengal—indeed in Balasore Dt over 95% of TSA is *unirrigated* paddy, and millets are totally absent. S of the Kistna, however, they generally exceed the area of *unirrigated* rice, and in places all rice; paddy dominates the landscape only where irrigation is possible on a reasonably large scale. There is further the difference between tank- and canal-irrigation, the former dominant everywhere away from the deltas. O T 311 [312]

The primary division, then, is that between the areas of normal and of O T 133

[see cat. 116, pp. 361-362 and map facing p. 162.--ANALYST] 683

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Orissa AW13
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OT 133

anomalous season of rain; but this is cut across by the deltas and, in the S especially, there is considerable regional diversity. Culturally also there is the great distinction between the Aryan-speaking (Oriya) lands N of Vizagapatam and the Dravidian S, itself divided into Andhra Desa (Telugu)

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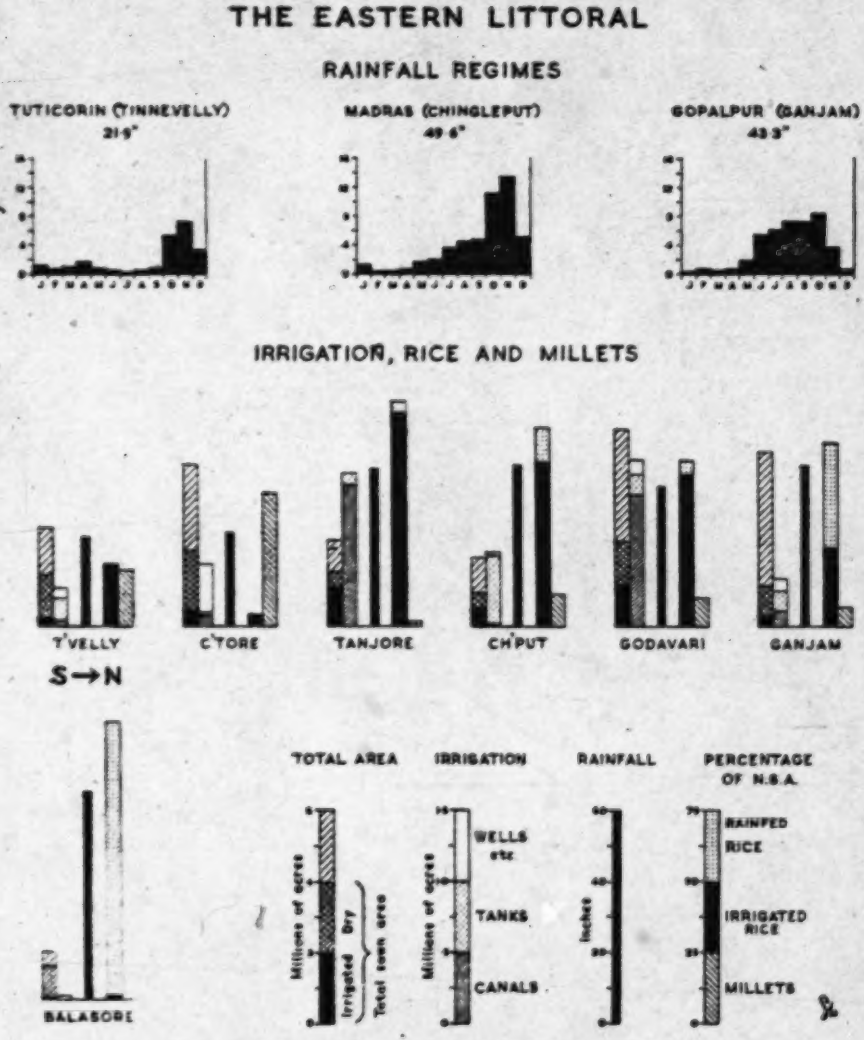


Fig. 139.—The Eastern Littoral: Rain, Rice, and Millets.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu

161 12 m.; dentities increase from Ganjam (420) to E Godavari (714) and then decrease to Guntur (393); beyond the regional limits Nellore, with more Archaean terrain than the central parts of the Circars, and less (and less reliable and well distributed) rain than the Nn, had only 204. On the whole it seems best to treat Ganjam/Vizagapatam and the deltas separately.

(a) *The North*: *Ganjam and Vizagapatam* (*Vizakhapatnam*)

[132] Essentially this is the area with over 40 ins.: the three Sn taluks of Vizagapatam fall a little short of this. The lowland narrows to 12 miles
133 under Mahendragiri, but on either side of this gate are the embayments of the Rushikulya (Ganjam) and the Languliya and Vansadhara (Vizag) valleys. The plains are floored by red lateritic soils near the hills, shading off into black loams and clays; but they are cut up by numerous irregular outliers of the En Hills: thus Vizagapatam itself lies between the 1600-ft Kailana Ridge to the N and the 1100-ft Yaroda to the S; the latter runs out to sea in the bold cliffs (300 ft) of Dolphin's Nose which shelters the port, while in the Nn suburbs of the town are the peculiar Waltair Highlands, *c.* 150 ft high and formed largely by the accumulation, since the Pleistocene, of red loams partly fluviatile and partly perhaps aeolian.[3]

311 Of a TSA of some 4 m. ac., rice accounts for about 1·65 m. ac., ragi
312 390,000, oilseeds (chiefly groundnut) 500,000, the balance being widely
241 distributed amongst millets and pulses mainly. Irrigation is on the whole unimportant, much of it being dependent on temporary mud-and-brush-wood dams across the short rivers.

435 Mineral resources are few—graphite, manganese, kaolin, mica—and hardly developed; a potential resource of some interest in this atomic age, though limited in amount in comparison with other *Indian* occurrences, is the ilmenite and monazite in the dunes and beaches around Vizagapatam.[4]
471 Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

369 Again there is only one real town, 'Vizag' itself (108,042), which has
[504] developed considerably since the opening of the railway up the Languliya
316 valley to Raipur and the subsequent dredging of a deep-water harbour in the tidal marshes. The accommodation at quayside is limited, but it is more up-to-date than at most E coast ports. The selection of Vizag as the main shipbuilding centre of *India* is presumably because of its situation as the nearest *ocean* port to Jamshedpur, but it is still a long way round. Ships up
[439] to 8000 tons have been launched. The hinterland extends to Nagpur and the chief trade is in Madhya Pradesh (CP) manganese, and oilseeds and
504 their products. The small ports of Bimlipatam and Gopalpur are quite

[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Sathapathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *IGJ* XXIV (1949), 26–51.
[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

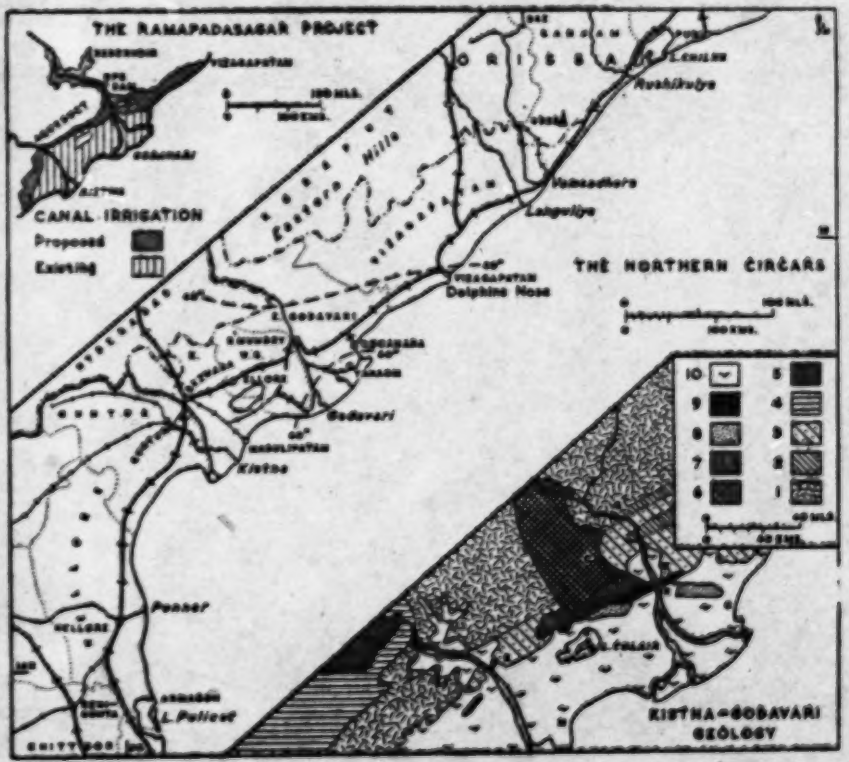
6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telug AW17

dead, especially since the cessation of coolie emigration to Burma and Malaya. 504

(b) *The Deltas*

These, like N Kanara on the W coast, form an 'overlap' region, the breaching of the En Hills by the Godavari and the Kistna leaving the limits in the hinterland indeterminate where the hills virtually disappear for about 100 miles. There is of course a marked break of grade where the rivers cross the line of the hills—the Kistna, as we have seen, is actually superimposed across the Nn end of the Cuddapah Ranges, and here the gradient is 3½ ft or more to the mile, against 7–9 ins. near the sea. Their discharge is of course irregular; it has been estimated that in high flood the Kistna carries enough silt "to cover daily an area of 5 sq mls to a depth of one foot".[1] 133

[1] *Madras Gaz.* (1908), I. 167.



133 312 496 361

Fig. 140.—Andhra Desa: The Nn Circars. On main map, dotted line District boundaries—K, Kistna, WG, W Godavari Dts; all railways ST, BG (thick line) or metre. *Geology*: 1, Archaean gneisses; 2, Charnockites; 3, Khondalites; 4, Cuddapah; 5, Vindhyan; 6, Lower, 7, Upper, Gondwana; 8, Tertiary; 9, Deccan Lava outlier; 10, alluvium. G, graphite; K, kaolin; C, coal (doubtful value); other initials towns, as on main map.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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The worn-down margin of the Archaean hinterland is poor country: undulating plains broken by little hills, with much waste and stony ground; soils are mainly lateritic with some loams. The coast for several miles inland is largely fringed with mangrove swamp (valuable as a fuel reserve) or sand-dunes rising to 30 or 50 ft. Between the relatively negative upland and the completely negative coast lie the rather limited areas of true delta. At Bezwada (Vijayarada), 45 miles inland, the Kistna crosses a low gneissic ridge in a 1300-yd-wide gap; this is utilised for the headworks of canals irrigating about 900,000 ac. The Godavari Delta begins 40 miles inland at Dowleshwaram, where a dam 2¼ miles long feeds canals for another 1 m. ac. (TSA; NSA 800,000). The deltas are of course liable to flood, at times disastrous; and cyclones are also a danger, that of 1864 causing 30,000 deaths and ruining the prosperity of Masulipatam port for ever. In the Kistna delta the land slopes away from the main distributaries at about 18 ins. to the mile, and in that of the Godavari below Dowleshwaram "the country is a vast expanse of ricefields dotted with gardens and villages. During the rains the greater part of this tract becomes one sheet of water, only village sites, canal banks, roads, and field boundaries appearing above it. Later in the year, as the rice grows higher, the dividing boundaries are hidden; and the whole country looks like a single ricefield, the groves around the villages, the road avenues, and the white sails of the boats gliding along the main canals breaking the uniform sea of waving green crop." [1] There is still a certain amount of local traffic, chiefly paddy, on the canals.

[312]
[731]

Between the deltas Colair Lake occupies a depression not yet silted up, though constantly diminishing by natural and artificial encroachment; covering about 100 sq mls in the rains, it has at times dried out. Its numerous islands are intensively cultivated, and there is a good deal of fishing.

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Rainfall exceeds 35 ins. only in the seaward half of the Godavari Delta, and the tendency to October maxima is unfavourable to the groundnut and early paddy harvests, while cotton sowings must be late. Irrigation, if not essential, is at least highly useful; its importance is reflected in the high densities (up to 1100 plus) of some delta taluks. The following figures (in thousand acres approximately) give a summary view of the agriculture:

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	Total area	*NSA*	*TSA*	*Rice*	*Total foodgrains*	*Ground-nuts*	*Total oilseeds*
E Godavari	3981	1072	1380	692	1070	4	142
W Godavari	1511	800	1111	697	823	42	115
Kistna	2270	1119	1225	572	877	185	195
Guntur	3684	2092	2384	400	1405	365	395

[1] *Ibid.*, 268–69.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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For the purely delta taluks, of course, the rice proportion would be higher. Tobacco covers some 200,000 ac. in all, the best being grown on temporary sand-islands in the larger streams. Some sugar is grown, but this tall and long-standing crop must be protected from cyclones by expensive fencing with bamboos.

Again mineral potentialities are slight and development slighter. There are two tiny unworked coalfields, of dubious value, in the Gondwanas along the Godavari; graphite and kaolin are worked in a small way, mainly for Rajahmundry paper mills (which use paddy straw as well as bamboo from the hills) and for the small crucible industry at the same town. Salt evaporation at Cocanada might lead to a chemical industry. Industry itself, though very small-scale, is interesting; as well as the Rajahmundry works just mentioned, and the rice and tobacco trades to be expected, there are cement, silk, fruit canning, and vegetable ghee works. Most of these are congregated along the Kistna below Bezwada and between Rajahmundry and Cocanada. Varied as it is, the total is not impressive: the crucible industry has 150 skilled workers, the paper mill a capacity of 3000 tons p.a.; the 77 rice mills in E Godavari employ only 1800 workers, the three silk factories 122; and the total industrial population of this District is only 7200—0·39% of total population, and at that not much below the figure for Madras State (0·42%). Such as it is, this industrial development has yet led to an ominous, if incipient, competition for land in a few tracts between tobacco and paddy; fortunately the region, except for Guntur, has a sizeable rice surplus (about 400,000 tons less 110,000 tons deficit in Guntur); and counting all foodgrains Guntur also has a surplus.[1]

The industrial, and to some extent the agricultural, future of the region will depend on whether or not the great Ramapadasagar multi-purpose scheme is executed; at present financial difficulties stand in the way. The proposed dam, 428 ft high with foundations 190 ft below the river bed, and 1½ miles long, would impound 15·6 m. ac.-ft of water, irrigate for paddy some 2·35 m. ac. of un- or under-developed land, improve the supply to 2 m. ac. already irrigated, and develop at least 100,000 kW; it might also, and less beneficially, trap the silt.

There are a fair number of minor towns. The site-significances of Bezwada (**161,198**) and Rajahmundry (**105,276**) are plain; Guntur (**125,255**) and Ellore (64,911) are trading centres with a little industry. The ports of Cocanada (75,140) and Masulipatam (59,146) are of little use. At Masulipatam large ships must lie 5 miles offshore (weather permitting!) and the half-dozen wharves are three miles up a winding creek; yet in early European days it was a place of great importance, famous for carpets and

[1] This discussion is based on (i) Dr. V. L. S. P. Rao's interesting summary of his doctoral dissertation, "Industrial Problems, Development, and Planning [in] . . . the Lower Godavari Region" (*JGJ* XXIII (1948), 1–15); (ii) V. V. Ramanadham and V. L. S. P. Rao, *Economic Atlas of Andhra Desa* (Calcutta, 1949).

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
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369 chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the
504 cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots
167 of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

133 The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tiru-
312 patti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

133 Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses
311 and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between
[339] low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

312 The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

135 Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral
471 wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

631 The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which never-
197 theless is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

692 The Village Panchayat Courts were for a group of villages with powers to try cases upto Rs. 200/- without legal practitioners. The Court Members were elected by all adult residents in the village. The number of members varied from 5 to 12 and each member held office for 3 years.

311 Forest Panchayats were elected by the cattle-owners of the village and then the Panchayat elected its President. The Forest Panchayats were allowed to levy fees for grazing and fuel collection, and then they were vested with certain statutory powers. They were under the control of the Revenue Department.

312 Besides these, there were Irrigation Panchayats elected by all landholders of the village who got water from the sluice. These were under the control of the Revenue Dapartment.

871 Then there were the Village Panchayat Schools. Each village with a population of 500 or more could, on application, have a grant of Rs. 180/- for a school-teacher and an initial grant of Rs. 80/- to start a school in the Panchayat area. There were about 800 Panchayat Schools in Madras by about 1928.

642 Last, but not the least, was the jurisdiction of the Panchayat in its present constitutional set up. The Statute in force did not allow the Village Panchayats any control over the Panchayat Court or Irrigation Panchayat or Forest Panchayat, wherever they existed, though Panchayat Schools alone were entrusted to Village Panchayats wherever they existed. These are discussed in latter sections of this chapter.

B. **Finance**: (Table No. 19)

651 **Local Fund Cess**: This was the main source of income to Panchayats in Madras as everywhere else. It was usually 1/6th of the total local fund cess of the Local Boards, soon after the abolition of the Taluk Boards in 1934, it was increased to 1/5th of the District Board Cess. But, the grant of the local fund cess to Panchayats was not based on any rational principle of local finance. In fact, the proportion, each Panchayat got, bore no relation to population, prosperity, poverty or administrative requirements. While a Panchayat situated in an irrigated area got local fund cess as its share, in proportion to the larger land revenue collected from the village. Panchayats existing in the dry areas got positively less local fund cess, in view of the lesser land revenue collected therein.

651
[514] The sanitary agency in the Panchayats should encourage bore-hole latrines, where there are no Pucca Latrines, and if they buy the machine and lend it to the people, it would be a worthy encouragement.

Animal Tax: Tax on animals was a source of income again not very often tapped by most of the Panchayats except in rare instances.

Though the Panchayat in Madras were authorised to collect this tax according to sec. 154 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930, none of them were courageous enough to impose this tax for fear of popular disaffection.

Income from Grass Sales: The sale proceeds of grass on river banks were generally obtained by Panchayats by paying a lump sum to the Public Works Department, as lease amount. This was an income which was usually obtained by the minor Panchayats, as most of the major Panchayats had no grass growing areas within their local limits. On account of the disparity between the lease value paid to the P. W. Department, and the actual return from sale of grass, the minor Panchayats were able to make some profit, which, however varied from Rs. 50 to Rs. 4000. (Column 20.)

[312] As the irrigation facilities and fresh water canals and rivers are in abundance in the Delta Districts of the two Godavaries and Kistna, grass grew in abundance on the banks of rivers and canals. This was a source of income available mostly in the minor Panchayats of these areas. In other districts like Vizagapatam or the Ceded Districts, where the land was dry and water facilities were scarce, and where grass was rarely grown, this source of income was not available to Panchayats.

Fishery Rentals: Income from fishery rentals was usually derived by the Panchayats by leasing out or auctioning the right of fishing in the fresh water tanks, pounds or canals in the Panchayat areas. As such, this income was conditioned by the existence of such amenities and could be derived only by such of the Panchayats which had amidst them water sources in case they decided to exploit this income source,

This was a source of income mostly available in the minor Panchayats and rarely in the major Panchayats in Godavari, Kistna and the Ceded Districts, except in places where there were huge tanks or canals. (Column 21.)

Water Supply: So far as the Northern Circars were concerned, there was no acute problem, of water supply but the Ceded Districts presented a most distressing picture of acute scarcity. Even in the Circars the position was not always very rosy. In places like Amalapuram, Bhimavaram and Tuni, which were all fit to be the 1st grade Panchayats, though there was no actual scarcity of water as such and there were plenty of wells, the water was tasteless and the demand was for protected water supply. In some places there were tanks for use of both washing as well as drinking. Wells were separately castewise for Brahmins, Harijans, Muslims and Christians. Even on the rivers, separate *ghats* were constructed usually for the separate sub-castes, as the caste rigidity still lingered in the villages of South India to a predominant degree. 312

In the Ceded Districts, step-wells and draw-wells were more common, but for a whole village to depend on a precarious single source of water supply caused a terrible hardship to the people who had not the wherewithal to find better means or to dig more wells. The Panchayat finances themselves were not quite adequate to do anything in this connection on a large scale.

Table showing the facilities of water supply in some Panchayats

Name of the village	Canal	Tank	Fresh water wells	Blackish water wells	Pot wells
Amalapuram	3	1	10	...	...
Tuni	...	...	25	18	...
Bhimavaram	...	13	4	...	...
Narsapur	Godavari	...	...	...	...
Guntakal	...	...	2	...	...
Ramachandrapuram	...	1	yes	...	...
Mandapeta	Cannal	5	22	..	...
Vuyyuru	...	5	16	8	...
Dharmavaram	...	1	1	...	...
Razole	Godavari	2	7	2	2*
Kadiri	...	1	4	...	...
Kampli	Cannal	...	12	...	...
Rayadrug	...	...	22	...	...
Ganapavaram	...	5	3	...	...
Undi	...	2	17	...	...
Peatapadu	...	5	3	...	...
Akividu	...	4	2	...	...
Betamcherla	...	...	7	...	...
Veldurti	...	...	1	...	...

*For Harijans.

312 In Tuni for instance, there were 25 fresh water wells and 18 blackish water wells. In summer 5 pot ring wells were usually provided to safeguard against insufficiency. It badly required supply of fresh water. There were tank watchers to look after the safe keeping of the water and to guard against attempts to pollute it. In Anantpur there was great water scarcity. Guntakal was another notorious instance of this type. There were only two draw wells for the whole of the Panchayat area and the water scarcity was very acute. The Government had sanctioned a scheme of one lakh of rupees, wherein the Government was to share ⅓rd and the people ⅔rd, but this did not yet come into force. Ramchandrapuram had a protected water supply scheme to meet the requirements of the local area. Mandapeta Panchayat had 5 tanks and 20 public wells, beside separate wells for Harijans. Panchayats in Kistna District again were not equally fortunate in having good water facilities. For instance, Vuyyuru had 16 public wells, out of which some were good water wells. Water had to be purchased at a heavy cost by the public. In Jaggayapeta, there were four draw wells, and six step wells but water scarcity was rampant.

Anantpur, it was said, was notorious for the water scarcity. To add to it, village factions as in the case of Dharamvaram Panchayat led to the stopping of an excellent scheme of protected water supply that was in force. A big tank and a public well served the needs of the water supply there, besides 28 draw wells and 4 step wells. In Kadiri, water supply was purely dependent on draw wells. The tank in the temple had fresh water all the year round, but no efforts were ever made to prevent people from bathing and washing therein.

The problem of water scarcity was most common in the villages in the Ceded Districts. Except Kampli Panchayat near Tungabhadra in Bellary District, Panchayats either big or small like Betumcherla, Veldurti, Kallur, etc. had great water scarcity.

364 **Sanitation and Conservancy**: Sweeping of roads, cleaning of gutters, removing of the rubbish and sewage water were some of the functions which the sanitary department of the Panchayats was expected to take up. The efficiency with which this obligation was met depended upon the staff; the Panchayat was usually capable of appointing according to its ability to pay for these services and this again was indirectly controlled by the local taxation policy. Some of the major Panchayats had their own sanitary inspectors, sanitary mistries, lady and male vaccinators, compounders and mid-wives to look to the local sanitary needs besides the usual squads of sanitary and conservancy staff like the Thotties, the male and female sweepers, gutter-cleaners,

661 653 Even the major Panchayats with overseers and mistries, either left the budgeted plans unfinished, neglecting the roads on the plea that plans were not approved by the District Board or executed them in a haphazard piecemeal way by reducing all the estimates to an amount below Rs. 250/- which they could undertake. Some Panchayat budgets showed expenditure on roads, which were never laid but, when caught, sought to plead that they were spoiled by the time the inspecting authority could visit them. There were frauds in preparing the estimates, in the execution of contracts and in the accounts of the amounts shown as paid in the Panchayat budgets. These shady deals go unpunished for want of positive proof. Minor Panchayats portrayed better enthusiasm in the execution of their public works by the use of communal labour. However, to avoid much wastage of public money by the Panchayats more competent, honest and sincere supervising staff to look to their estimates and execution is essential. Corruption, delay and dilatory tactics should seriously be dealt with. Starting of Government Central Depots for storing and selling raw materials like lime, stone, tar, keel and other materials required for public works under Local Boards would mitigate to some extent the present evil of embezzlements of public funds. A close laison between the District Board and the Public Works Department to tighten up the supervision may also improve the position.

● 312 Though there is no acute water scarcity in the Circars as in the Ceded Districts there is need for providing protected water supply in Panchayats where there are no fresh water wells or to dig more wells where they are inadequate. While the Panchayats have not got resources to undertake this task, the District Boards and the State Government should take more interest.

744 364 Only some major Panchayats appointed sanitary inspectors, vaccinators, mid-wives and compounders to look after public health, scavengers and thotties to clean the roads, drains, gutters and latrines private and public. The sanitary inspectors looked to the enforcement of the Food Adulteration Act, supervision of the slaughter houses, prevention of infectious diseases, maintenance of the public health, sweeping of the roads, etc. with the assistance of the sanitary staff. But many Panchayats were not in a position to undertake most of these functions due to the lack of funds or difficulties in recruiting scavengers and thotties as in the case of Vizagapatam due to the low salaries paid.

231 Slaughter houses were found mostly in the minor and major Panchayats where even the right of collecting the receipts was

26: Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1954 AWI India
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Section IV: Irrigation Panchayats in Madras

PART I

Administrative and Legislative Position on the Eve of Enquiry

A. Structure: Irrigation was looked after not by the usual Village Panchayat Boards, but by separate Panchayats called the Irrigation Panchayats with separate constitution, finance and powers, working under the supervision and control of the Revenue Department and the Board of Revenue. 312

It was difficult to trace the regular historical evolution of these Irrigation Panchayats. The brief back-ground given here was based on the available information in the several Collectorates. It was found that the Irrigation Panchayats as such were very few in number, in the whole Presidency and even those few were to be found only in the Andhra Districts of Nellore, East and West Godavari, Kistna, Anantapur and Bellary. In 1913, there were about 8 Irrigation Boards in Nellore, Sarvepalli, Kovvur, Kavali, Ponnalur, Ravur, Kandukur, Karedu, Gudur and Kota. The constitution of the Irrigation [642] Board was given in G. O. No. 2311 dated 14th October, 1915 as below, as in the case of Sarvepalli. The Irrigation Board, consisted of village elders, was: 1. to manage irrigation under the reservoir; 2. to see that no field suffers for want of water at the cost of another; 3. to get all their difficulties removed by correspondence with the P. W. D. and Revenue; 4. to see that the rules were properly enforced; and 5. to exercise a general supervision over the work of the Panchayat and to guard specially that richer ryots were not benefitted at the expense of the poorer ryots and to supply labour to the P. W. D. on requisition.

The Board should meet at least once a year. Anybody feeling the necessity for a meeting was to inform the head Karnam about it, who would intimate to the delegates.

The members of the Board would elect among themselves a President and Secretary. Their duties were: 1. to discuss in the meetings all topics relating to irrigation of the locality; 2. to convey the decisions by the delegates to be signed by them; 3. to

312 communicate the decisions to all the ryots as well as to Tahsildars; 4. to inspect all the lands; 5. to inform the P. W. D. whenever action is to be taken; 6. to publicize the decision to all parts of the village; 7. to make one among the Board for presiding at the time of the meetings; 8. to treat the decision of the majority as the decision of the Board; 9. in case of equal voting to see that the President shall have the casting vote; and 10. if even on the requisition of the Collector, the Panchayat did not serve water, it would be fined.

The functions of the Karnam were: 1. to maintain a register of delegates; 2. to convene a meeting of the delegates with a notice; and 3. to maintain the attendance of the Board.

The electorate for the Irrigation Panchayat consisted of the Pattadars who would enjoy the water from the sluices and they elected 3 delegates for each sluice.

But when the opinion of the several District Collectors was invited for the advisability of adopting such a system, most of them were not in favour of it.

312 642 The Irrigation Panchayat Act was ultimately passed in 1928. According to G. O. 109, the constitution, powers and functions of these informal Panchayats were: 1. ryots owning cultivation lands and tenants or their nominees were the electorate; 2. Revenue Divisional Officer to convene a meeting of the electorate for the election of the Panchayatdars who would be not more than 5, such that at least one Panchayatdar from each village, served by irrigation source, should be on the Panchayat; 3. the working period was 3 years, but at the annual meeting under the presidentship of the Revenue Divisional Officer any one member can be removed on complaint; 4. the President of the Panchayat was to be elected by them; 5. the meetings of the Panchayat should be held at least once a month presence of 3 members being treated as quorum; 6. the date of meeting to be intimated 3 days in advance in a public place and copies of the minutes of meetings were to be sent to the Collector and Executive Engineer; 7. the District Collector could dissolve any Irrigation Panchayat without offering any reasons; 8. the Irrigation Panchayat would regulate the manner and order in which the wet-lands under the channel should be irrigated, the time at which the supply of water should commence, the period during which the supply of water should continue and the quantity of water to be supplied, the supply let into the channel would be determined by the officers of the P. W. D.;

9. the Irrigation Panchayats should not effect any alterations to sluices or masonary works or make any alterations in the channels or interfere with any headworks; 10. the Panchayat shall be responsible for keeping water over the bund during the rainy seasons; 11. the Panchayat should make good any damage to the bund sluice, head-work etc., resulting from their mismanagement; 12. the Government may sanction a grant for the up-keep of the channels and masonry works; and 13. the Panchayat should maintain an account of expenditure and receipts. 312 642

B. Finance: The Government gave them small annual grants. As these were usually very meagre, the Irrigation Panchayats depended to a great extent on the funds they collected by way of subscriptions from the local ryots for the improvement and repairs of irrigation sources. 651 312

C. Functions: The functions of the Irrigation Panchayat were to see that richer ryots did not get more water at the expense of the poorer ryots, to keep the water sluices in order, to send intimations to the Public Works Department in time and to make representations in the matter of any difficulty. 312

D. Supervision and Control: Irrigation Panchayat supervision was entrusted to the Revenue and the Public Works Departments. They had to submit periodical reports of work to the Tahsildar or the Revenue Divisional Officer who was supposed to be their immediate superior authority.

PART II

Actual Conditions Revealed by the Survey

Irrigation Panchayats were at Brahmanayeleru in Anantpur, Bhimavaram and Cherukumilli in West Godavari, Jaggayapeta in Kistna, Kampli and five informal Irrigation Panchayats at Chinatam. balem, Avinamadugu, Daroji, Haganuru and Sirigupa in Bellary. Palem River Irrigation Scheme, a registered cooperatived society since 1927, would deserve special mention as it was first of its type in the Presidency.

A. Structure: The membership of these Irrigation Panchayats varied from Panchayat to Panchayat. For instance, while Bhimavaram Irrigation Panchayat consisted of 5 members, Cherukumilli Irrigation Panchayat in the same district consisted of 10 members; while Kampli Irrigation Panchayat in Bellary consisted of 7 members, the Irrigation Panchayat of Brahmanayeleru in Anantapur consisted of 4 members,

312 3 from the Village Panchayat and one from the Panchayatdars. Again in Kampli in Bellary and in Brahmanayeleru in Anantapur, the President of the Panchayat as well as that of the Irrigation Panchayat were the same without any detriment to the good work of either body.

[666] **Method of Election**: This was generally by show of hands and the election was always conducted by the Revenue Divisional Officer.

Term: The term of office for the members of the Irrigation Panchayat was 3 years, but for the last 13 years, there were no elections due to war and the same old bodies were in power.

[564] **Caste Composition**: The majority was always of non-Brahmins, more than of Brahmins. There was no system of reservation of seats or ex-officio membership as in the case of the Village Panchayats.

651 312 **B. Finance**: This was constisted of meagre Government grants supplemented in a few cases by the small proceeds from sale of grass, etc. The Government of Madras had made the following sanctions to the Irrigation Panchayats:

1.	Kovvada Channel	... Rs.	30-0-0
2.	Yendaganda Channel	... „	30-0-0
3.	Aya Bhimavaram Channel I.	... „	60-0-0
4.	„ „ Channel II.	... „	60-0-0
5.	Bhaskararao Channel	... „	20-0-0
6.	Cherukumilli Channel	... „	20-0-0
7.	Kampli Irrigation Panchayat in Bellary		nil.

As regards the income of the Irrigation Panchayats, they did not have any other sources than the grants of the Revenue Department annually as mentioned above; and these were inadequate. Besides these, the Panchayats got some income from the sale of grass on canal bunds, whenever that source was available, but this was possible only in the Circars and not in the Ceded Districts. The actual expenditure was generally in excess of finance and the gap was usually filled in by subscriptions voluntary and methodical. Brahmanayeleru Irrigation Panchayat in Anantpur collected at the rate of Re. 1/- per acre on wet cultivation and as. 4 per acre on dry cultivation in its area.

312 652 **C. Functions**: The income of the Irrigation Panchayats was inadequate to meet the cost of their functions which were generally the same as Bhimavaram and Cherukumilli Irrigation Panchayats, Details of expenditure for these were as below.

312 652

Details of Expenditure of Bhimavaram Irrigation Panchayat

Year	Particulars	Rate per Kunta as.	Amount Rs. as. p.
1927	Digging charges ...	2	140-0-0
1928	Digging channels ...	2	128-0-0
1929	Digging channels ...	3	109-2-0
1930	-do- ...	-do-	81-12-0
1931	-do- ...	-do-	57-14-10
1932	-do- ...	1½	48-0-0
1934	-do- ...	1	62-3-0
1941	-do- ...	1½	160-0-0
1944	-do- ...	3	215-0-0

Same was the case in Cherukumilli Irrigation Panchayat as indicated below:

Date	Particulars	Amount Rs. as. p.
3-11-1940	Opening Balance ...	302- 6-8
	Postage charges ...	5- 0-0
	...	
8-11-1940	Costs for digging the channel ...	65-10-0
20- 5-1943	Sell of avenues ...	9-12-0
22- 3-1943	Digging channels ...	98- 0-0
23- 3-1944	Cartage charges ...	105- 1-0
12- 7-1946	Grass expenditure ...	94- 0-0
	Balance	146 -8-0 ,

312 652 651

While in the case of Bhimavaram, the annual revenue grant was Rs. 60; in the case of Cherukumilli it was only Rs. 20. The expenditure that was being incurred by the irrigation Panchayats was far in excess of their income, and the excess money was being collected from the individual ryots as private subscriptions for the improvement of the irrigation channels. This was the case with regard to all the Irrigation Panchayats in West Godavari.

312 651

In Anantapur, Brahamanayeleru Irrigation Panchayat professed to be the oldest and best. It collected irrigation tax at the rate of Re.1 per acre of wet crops and 4 as. per acre of dry crops. Kudimaramat (free labour contribution by the villagers) was in force and Irrigation Panchayat appointed Nirgantis at a pay of Rs. 13, though the

312 651 authorised scale was only Rs. 6 per mensem, to look after the distribution of water.

312 The administrative duties of the Irrigation Panchayats were more of a nature of conscientious execution by themselves rather than a directorial imposition from above. Mostly these consisted of digging up channels, regulation of water by sluices, sending proper intimation to the P. W. D. and the revenue authorities, occasional sale of grass and usufruct of trees on the banks of the rivers and provision of other ameliorative measures to the village ryots. But even this much of an activity was visible only in the villages of West Godavari, while in the Ceded Districts, except in rare instances as at Brahmanayeleru, they were mostly nominal. They functioned well because the members were active. Brahmanayeleru in Anantapur had also the right of appointing its own Nirgantis, but this was a privilege rarely exercised or given to any of the Panchayats.

D. Supervision and Control: The Irrigation Panchayats, also known as the informal Panchayats, were usually subject to the supervision of the Revenue and Public Works Departments.

PART III

Observations

A. Structure: The Irrigation Panchayats revealed features like disproportionate membership in relation to the population, election by show of hands, and lack of representation according to the communities.

[651] **B. Finance:** These were inadequate to undertake any works of public utility. The Irrigation Panchayats had always to depend upon the voluntary contributions of ryots as the Government grants were very inadequate.

C. Functions: As most of the functions were self-imposed there was no need for direction from above. The villagers, in their own interest, discharged their obligations by getting the necessary water supply for their fields in time by digging channels and repairing sluices, etc.

While the honorary services of the local non-officials were available, the enthusiasm could not be properly exploited without giving them the required financial assistance and administrative help like appointment and payment of Nirgantis, etc.

D. Supervision and Control: Both the Revenue and Public Works Departments never took any active interest in the adminis-

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tration of Irrigation Panchayats. The Revenue Divisional Officers, the District Collectors and the Board of Revenue paid insufficient attention to their dffiiculties. Thus ignored by tbe Government and indifferently treated by the local government officials, the institution of Irrigation Panchayats was still found lingering in the body politic of village life as a relic of tbe ancient system of Panchayat administration, displaying a deep sense of civic consciousness and local responsibility. 3/2

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Castes.	Brahman.		Kometi.		Kapu.		Balija.		Dhoby.		Karamala.		Boyas.		Yekili.		Kummara.		Muhammadan.		Dommara.		Total.		Grand total.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Under 1 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	3	5
1—5 ...	2	...	2	...	1	1	1	2	2	1	...	1	3	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	11	10	21
5-10 ...	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	8	5	13
10-15 ...	...	...	...	1	3	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	6	5	11
15-20 ...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	3	7	10
20-25 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	1	3	4	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	1	7	8	15
25-30 ...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	3	4	7
30-35 ...	...	...	...	1	...	2	1	...	1	1	2	...	3	1	2	...	...	...	1	...	2	4	12	5	17
35-40 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	4	...	4
40-45 ...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	3	5	8
45-50 ...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	3	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	7	4	11
50-55 ...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	3	7
55-60 ...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	2	4	6	10
60-65 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	5	3	8
65-70 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1
70-75 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1

M. = Male. F. = Female.

The population of the paracheri is—men 13, women 12, children 19; 44 in all in 30 homesteads.

—	Family No. I.	Family No. II.	Family No. III.	Family No. IV.	Family No. V.	Family No. VI.	Family No. VII.	Family No. VIII.
			Age				Age	
	1	1		1	1	1		1
Men ...	(age 60)	(age 45)	2 { 20, 16	(age 60)	(age 35)	(age 50)	5 { 55,30, 27,25, 20	(age 56).
	1	1		1	1		1	
Women ...	(age 36)	(age 30)	3 { 50, 16, 13	(age 50)	(age 20)	2 { 35, 35	(age 12)	2 { 40, 35
Children ...	6	2	...	2	...	3	...	6
Number dead.	...	3	...	...	1	...	...	...

311 *Land.*—There is jungle all round the village, where the cattle belonging to the village are allowed to graze on paying grazing fees to the zamindar.

•312 There are five tanks. Out of these only two are of some size. The rest are small tanks. Even in the big tanks the water stored is sufficient for only one crop.

There are about 20 wells. Water is lifted up in most of them by means of the picottah. Four of the wells have been dug out of hard rock.

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312 There are no other sources of water-supply. There are no streams or rivers belonging to the village. There is one at some distance, but its water is used to irrigate lands belonging to adjoining villages.

311 According to assessment—

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Wet lands.						Dry lands.					
Rate per acre paid to zamindar.			Extent.	Revenue.			Rate per acre.			Extent.	Revenue.		
Rs.	A.	P.	ACRES.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	ACRES.	Rs.	A.	P.
8	14	3	4·89	44	3	9	2	1	9	11·11	23	7	8
7	12	6	1·57	12	8	2	1	10	9	4·65	7	11	1
7	6	6	0·86	6	6	6	1	7	3	2·91	4	3	11
6	10	9	1·11	7	7	2	1	3	7	13·95	17	6	7
5	8	11	8·35	45	12	4	1	0	0	3·41	3	7	7
4	7	2	38·60	266	6	1	...			...	...		
										Total ...	442	0	4

Inams.

Dry lands.						Wet lands.					
Rate per acre.			Extent.	Revenue.			Rate per acre.			Extent.	Revenue.		
Rs.	A.	P.	ACRES.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	ACRES.	Rs.	A.	P.
2	3	1	1·06	2	3	3	10	15	0	3·46	39	5	10
1	10	3	15·52	20	9	4	8	12	0	5·69	61	5	8
1	6	9	7·90	11	3	8	7	10	6	4·54	34	15	2
1	3	2	3·58	4	4	11	5	7	6	0·85	6	5	0
										Total ...	180	4	10
										Other lands ...	442	0	4
										Grand total of revenue received by zamindar ...	622	5	2

427 *Occupation of land.*—A very small area, 62½ cents of dry land, and 31 cents of wet, belongs to the zamindar himself and is [311] cultivated by a tenant. Such lands are called "kanagi." The rent 241 is Rs. 1-5-2 for the dry land and Rs. 2-11-0 for the wet land.

There are eight ryots who hold land under the zamindar, of these six cultivate their holdings, and two, of whom one is the karnam of the village, let their land to sub-tenants who pay in shares of the produce.

There are thirteen sub-tenants who own no land.

In cultivating paddy, ragi, cholam, sazzulu, and other such grains, half of the produce generally goes to the cultivator, and the other half to the zamindari tenant who lets out his land, all the straw going to the cultivator only, who supplies himself with all the necessaries for cultivation.

But in some cases the zamindari tenant (the pattadar or inamdar) himself supplies one pair of bulls, and ploughs the land, while the cultivator simply helps him in his work. In that case only one-sixth of the produce is given to the cultivator. If the

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station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

Economic condition.—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee
Ragi	...	...	...	10 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10 " "
Cholam	...	...	...	9 " "
Tamarind		...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6 "
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8 "

The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

Expenditure on religious festivals.—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

Sanitary condition.—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¼ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzalu or cholam about 1¾ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

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311 *Land*—

	ACS.
Wet land	141·30
Dry land	304·29
Land watered by wells	52·19
Common waste	451·35
Pastures other than waste ... ... }	898·14
Woods and forests ... ... }	

312 There are two tanks, *Kodipalli cheruvu* and *Varadarajulu kunta*. The first is sufficiently deep though not extensive, and the water stored in the tank is sufficient for two crops. The surplus water is allowed to collect in another small pond. There are fourteen wells, all built round with stone; and one stream when in flood affords an additional water-supply.

311 651 *Classification of lands—According to assessment*—

Wet lands.		Dry lands.	
Rates.	Acres.	Rates.	Acres.
Rs. 4-0-0	18·38	Re. 1	304·29
Rs. 5, Rs. 5-8-0	32·38	... ..	...
Rs. 6-0-0	21·24	.....	...
Rs. 7-0-0	20·35	.....	...
Rs. 8-0-0	7·37	.....	...
Rs. 9-0-0	1·10	.....	...

311 *Occupation of land.*—Of the dry land 109·02 acres, of the wet land 31·50 acres are cultivated by the landowners, the remainder, viz., 32·28 acres of wet land, and 272·79 acres of dry land are sublet and cultivated by tenants.

423 There are about 25 non-cultivating landowners. Some hold Government posts, about 12 are engaged in trade; there are between 30 and 40 tenants who own no land, and the agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land number men 113, women 47.

There are two kinds of ownership, inam and patta. All sirkar lands are held by pattadars. The area of holdings of inam ownership is 127·38 acres. The rest of the cultivable land is held by pattadars. Inamdars pay only quit-rent and road-cess.

There are only about half a dozen pattadars. One family alone owns 97·15 acres of wet and 143·14 acres of dry land.

427 *Rents.*—There are no cultivators who pay a money rent. Everything is paid in kind. The usual arrangement is that the cultivator himself supplies all that is necessary for cultivation, and out of the produce one-half goes to the landowner and the other to the cultivator. There are no other conditions of contract. But when sugarcane is cultivated the landowner gets only one-fourth of the produce.

The whole land revenue comes to Rs. 1,034 7-0, out of which the revenue from the inam lands alone amounts to Rs. 154-3-0.

463 Some of the villagers are engaged in trade side by side with agriculture. Others are potters, dhobis, in addition to being cultivators. Some hold Government posts. Some are contractors.

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426 Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

435 Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

426 Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

796 *Festivals.*—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gownipalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, [782] wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. [782] The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease 759 people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest [743] hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

352 All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

582 No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.

[582] All Muhammadans observe purdah.

● 312 Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

871 *Education.*—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

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allowed by the Government for waste lands. An economic enquiry is held by the village officers every year and a report is sent to the Government.

There is scope for improvement on a large scale if only ryots are prepared to start with a large capital and adopt modern methods of agriculture. There does not seem to be any possibility of extending the irrigated lands. Almost all available land has been used up, and brought under cultivation.

The condition of tanks and wells has been improved of late. More wells could be sunk with advantage, but are not sunk owing to lack of funds.

The barbers, dhobis and others are tending to lose their lands owing to their pernicious habit of drinking. People sell land in order to pay off old debts. Loans are given only on mortgage of lands. The chief purchasers are money-lenders.

There has been no emigration. But two Muhammadans are at the front as sepoys. About a hundred belonging to this particular taluk are in the army and most of them are at the field of operations.

C. **Functions**: Table No. 24. 1/1 311

Watch: The appointment and pay of the watchers was usually left entirely to the discretion of the Forest Panchayat President and members. Very often the pay per month varied from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12, rarely a watcher was paid Rs. 20 or above. There were instances where he was paid only Rs. 6. 465

In Vizagapatam Bayyavaram Forest Panchayat maintained 3 watchers on a monthly pay of Rs. 10 each. In Pedapalli Forest Panchayat of the same district, there were watchers but each got Rs. 6 per month. In Gokivada Forest Panchayat of the same district the pay of the watcher was Rs. 8.

In Anantapur Dhemaketupalli Forest Panchayat paid Rs. 15 to each of its watchers. In Kurnool East Ramalkota Forest Panchayat paid one watcher Rs. 12 per month and another Rs. 14 p. m. In Jonnagiri, the watcher was paid Rs. 16 p. m.

In Bellary, the pay of the watcher similarly varied from one Forest Panchayat to another.

Lease Amount: The most important item of expenditure in the budget of the Forest Panchayats was the lease amount as it would be noticeable from the table. This depended partly on the extent of the forest area and consequently on the number of coups filled up. 311 652

After these two main items of expenditure i. e. the pay and dress of the watchers and the lease amount paid to the Government, what remained was not very often adequate to spend for the functions extended to the Forest Panchayats, as for instance, maintenance and repair of cairns, the preservation of fuel reserves, the protection of forest from illicit grazing, fire, etc. The paucity of funds was in general responsible for the unsatisfactory nature of the Forest Panchayats in most instances.

The working of the Forest Panchayats in the Ceded Districts was far superior to the working of the Forest Panchayats in any other part of the Presidency. There were of course various levels observable. 311

In Vizagapatam, for instance, they were notorious for their backwardness.

Plantation: Plantation of trees, development of nurseries, repairs of ponds and reconstruction of cairns were the duties which few Panchayats could either afford or care to undertake and finish. Accordingly we found some Forest Panchayats with good finances and doing good work, some with good finances and still doing bad work, 311 313

 [See p. 218, category 316.—Analyst]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

242 The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and
[782] accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

Cattle diseases—Kurama.—The ox or cow when it suffers from
232 this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

The village.—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts.
342 Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally,
[276] but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no
465 longer raised.

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets mamuls called *thiripamu* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four putties; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same mamuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 There is a local road which passes by this village running from
489 Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

They mostly hunt small game, and are adept in the use of traps, snares and dogs. At the time of these investigations there were six guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shooting. Similarly, fishing is done by very few people, mostly by some young Muslim men. They do not use fishing nets and traps, and practically the only method employed by them for catching the fish is that of using the rod, hook and bait. The large tank in the vicinity of the village could afford a good supply of fish, but the absence of the fishing caste in the village population leaves this possibility almost unexplored. Fishermen from the neighbouring villages, however, periodically come to the tank.

The surroundings of Shamirpet offer very few opportunities for the collection of wild food. Around the village there are not many fruit-bearing trees. Mango and *jamun* (rose apple, *Eugenia jambolana*) fruits are mostly eaten while they are still unripe by the village boys. Parties of children and young people periodically go to pick wild berries when they are in season. These are mostly eaten on the spot. When wild figs are ripe children collect and eat them. Another item of food eagerly sought by everyone is the *chikur*—tender tamarind leaves. These leaves are curried, as well as pickled and preserved. Honey is collected by some men of lower castes and inferior social status, whenever they can spot a comb. Medicinal herbs, roots, tubers and barks are collected according to need.

Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic organization of the community, the traditional occupations and functions of the different castes have already been described. With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

311 651 Panchayat for instance in Bayyavaram Forest Panchayat in Vizagapatam, the rate of grazing per cow was Re 0-6-0, per buffalo Re. 0-12-0 and per sheep Re. 0-3-0 and for fuel each chit for head-load was charged at only Re. 0-0-6.

The grazing rates in Bellary for instance again varied similarly from one Forest Panchayat to another. In Chigetheri Forest Panchayat whose extent in area was 2686.83 acres, the rates of grazing permits were Re. 0-5-0 per cow, Re. 0-10-0 per buffalo, and Re. 0-2-6 per sheep. In Haskanhal, the rates were Re. 0-6-0 per cow. In Kodattu the rates for cow, buffalo and sheep were Re. 0-6-0, Re. 0-12-0 and Re. 0-3-0, respectively.

[314] The income from minor forest produce also varied from one Forest Panchayat to another depending on the nature of the forest produce available, i. e. Tangedu, Avaram, Garualmia, Margosa, sandal-wood, Kasangaddi, Kluesklues, Tamarind, Mustard and the game like deer, peacock, dove, etc.

[316] Quarrying fees were collected in Panchayats like Bayyavaram in Vizagapatam and Betamcherla in Kurnool. Such examples were to be found even in Bellary.

Bayyavaram Forest Panchayats usually sold the fuel coups at a cost not less than Rs. 1000, remitting the same to the treasury. Of this only 10 per cent was given to the Panchayat. It sold fuel dead-woods at Re. 0-0-6 per head load, Re. 0-6-0 per cart-load, Re. 0-1-0 per shoulder-load etc., and levied quarrying fees of Re. 0-2-0 and Re. 0-1-0 per cart load of chisled and unchisled stone respectively.

Income from fuel coups was rarely seen except in Panchayats of the Ceded Districts as that of Bellary, e. g. Jaga the biggest toward Hospet and Dhemaketupalli near Hindupur, in Anantapur. Here the Government of the neighbouring four areas were keeping their wood in Government Depots. The ordinary dead wood was allowed to be sold as usual on the basis of permits.

311 652 One peculiar feature of the budget of the Forest Panchayats was the large balances that accrued from year to year. There was no systematic planning of expenditure for useful purposes by these Panchayats. Panchayats were responsible for the payment of watchers, pay and dress, maintenance and the protection of the reserves from damages of illicit grazing, fire, and theft of firewood and forest produce, the preservation of cairns, the cleanliness, orderliness, etc. Greater the extent of the Panchayat area, greater the number of watchers and greater consequently was the expenditure.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWl India Telugu AW17

kharif, especially on heavier soils which, with the intense May heat and late start of considerable rains, may not be workable till August. While groundnut is the kharif cash crop, cotton is entirely rabi. Jowar is grown for fodder as well as grain; ragi and other millets as well as rice are often wet crops; and millets are sown mixed with pulses, which take longer to mature and are a safeguard against the failure of the cereals. Most of these features point to the general precariousness of the agriculture in the region, which as a whole is a food-deficit area.

Differences of expert opinion in the two states long impeded work on the great dam, 1½ miles long and 160 ft high, being built across the Tunga-

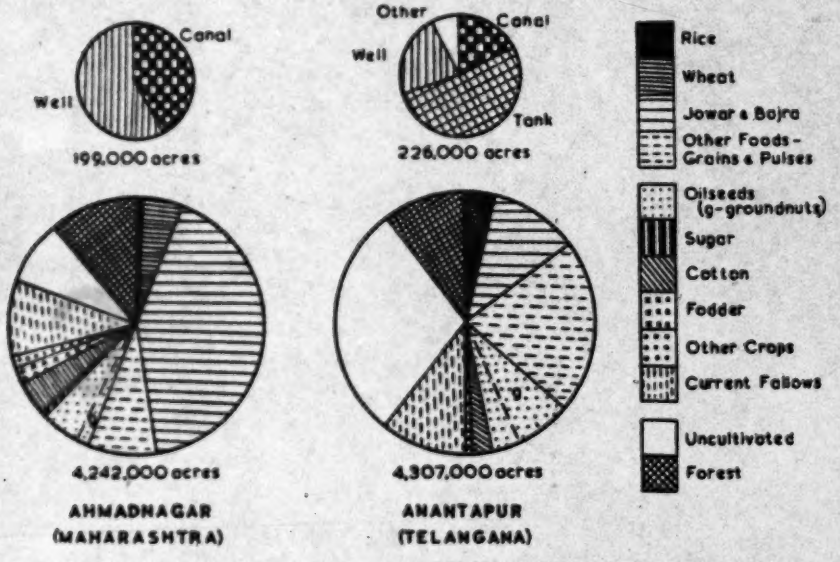

Fig. 136.—The Lava/Archaean Contrast. Upper circles represent areas irrigated.

bhadra: this will irrigate 600,000 ac. in Hyderabad and 300,000 in Madras, as well as generating about 150,000 kW. But the execution of the 7 major and some of the 32 minor projects in Hyderabad, which together might command 3·5 m. ac. and produce 500,000 kW, probably lies in an indefinite future. Terrain and climate impose severe limitations on Telangana, and the unlucky history of the Kurnool project (below, 680) suggests that a cautious policy may be essential for real progress.

Other Resources; Settlement and Towns

The mineral resources of Telangana are scattered and little exploited. The most important production is probably that of Gondwana coal, mined chiefly at Singareni; in NE Hyderabad are some outliers of the great iron

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda), copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E, and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history—and legend—rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

Population densities are not high—**170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in Hyderabad. Villages are essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.[28]

Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest, and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an important railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial development is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins; old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness—a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

Telangana: Aspect and Prospect

Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own internal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

[28] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

311 President was responsible for keeping : 1. the accounts book, 2. permit bills, 3. permit holder's register, 4. offence register was reported for 10 years, 5. a diary for recording the results of the inspection by the members and the President, and 6. map of the forest.

Whenever any offence was detected all the Forest Panchayatdars and Forest Panchayat Dy. Tahasildars and some Presidents of Forest Panchayats were empowered to compound the offences, when the value of the property damaged or compounded did not exceed Rs. 50/- Penalty should not exceed 3 times the grazing fee rates, in case of felling a tree, not more than 3 times the value of the property involved, and in the matter of forest goat browsing not more than 5 times the rate of sheep grazing fees. In the case of repeated or subsequent offence, the maximum might be exceeded. Minor fuel coups might be worked for meeting the domestic and agricultural needs of the village after the sanction of the Collector. One coup for the year might be marked. This fuel was not to be sold by auction. It was to be cut by the Panchayat through hired labour and to be sold to the villages by the issue of permits at the rates fixed by the Collector. Major fuel coups might be worked for supplying fuel to a town or a factory according to a plan approved by the Collector and the District Forest Officer in consultation with the Forest Panchayat. The coups were sold by public auction by the Deputy Forest Tahsildar with the help of the Panchayat and the proceeds were credited to Government except the incidental expenditure incurred for the cutting of wood which would be credited to the Panchayat.

316 Similarly for quarrying, seignorage rates were fixed in the agreement subject to certain conditions of which one was that any quarrying conducted under this agreement should be confined to the ground vertically beneath the site of the locality covered by the agreement, and no quarrying beyond the area should be permitted. The Forest Panchayat should during the period of the agreement keep the premises in good and substantial repairs excepting the necessary and reasonable damages caused by quarrying.

D. Supervision and Control: The Forest Panchayat Deputy Tahsildars did the initial supervision while over them were the Revenue Divisional Officers and the District Collectors,

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1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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4. Men Making Stakes.

[Facing p. 33]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

the shopkeeper and are willing to pay slightly higher prices. They advance money to the people for buying bullocks and agricultural implements. A mortgage is not insisted upon in all cases, but the rate of compound interest which they charge is often exorbitant. The Komtis also advance seed grain to the people. For this, too, they charge a heavy interest. Loans are often taken by people against the mortgage of land or a part of the crops, depending upon the sum of money which they borrow. In Shamirpet the Komtis seem to be the only caste whose monopoly has been seriously affected by the change of times. To-day Shamirpet has in all thirteen shops. If we do not take into account some of the petty shops, four of these belong to Komtis, two to Muslims, two to Toddy-tappers and one to a goldsmith. Even in the field of advancing cash and seeds for agricultural purposes, the Komtis have to face the competition of some of the comparatively rich Reddi and Muslim cultivators.

564 443 426 [477]

THE KUMMARI

In Shamirpet there are five families of potters, with fourteen people actually working at the wheel. Each family is attached to some agriculturists in the village, and it periodically supplies them with a certain number of earthen pots for domestic use. Every two or three years they also supply the agriculturists with large baked earthen bins for storing grain. For this they do not expect a cash price. At the time of harvesting the potter visits the fields of the family to which he is attached, and is given *bheek-bali*, that is his share of the new crop. The quantity of grain that is given away depends on the size of the land cultivated, and also partly on the owner's financial circumstances. On the occasion of rituals connected with birth, marriage or death a supply of new pots is expected from him. Tradition has prescribed the minimum payment required for these services, although on happy occasions people often give a little more. If he can arrive at an agreement with the other occupational castes, such as the barber, the washerman and the weaver, he will offer them his services in return for their occupational services to his family. The details are fixed by the parties concerned, and often considerable haggling and making of charges and counter-charges against one another go on. Notwithstanding this, the system works quite satisfactorily, for out of forty-four cases of such mutual arrangements studied very

323 564 [465] [476]

323 564 closely at Shamirpet only in six were the relations finally broken off on account of dissatisfaction to either or both parties. Non-agriculturists and such occupational castes as do not have arrangements with the potter buy their requirements from him for a cash price. The Kummari families of Shamirpet have more clients and customers in some of the neighbouring villages which have no potters' families living in them.

THE GOLLA

[361] 233 564 476 The shepherds occupy a block of their own in the village. Some of them cultivate small land-holdings, but the major source of livelihood for all of them is their traditional occupation of keeping herds of goats and sheep. They may keep one or two cows and buffaloes besides these herds which are their livelihood. They have an elaborate lore regarding these animals, and they are experts in caring for quite large herds. They train country dogs to help them in this, and with their aid prevent the goats from going [782] astray when they are taken out for grazing in the forest. By turns the Golla families in the village contribute goats or sheep for sacrifice in the village ceremonies. For this they are not paid. With this exception, they carry on all other transactions with the village people in cash. When people buy goats and sheep, the owner of the animal is always paid in cash. For goat's milk they expect spot payment, but arrangements for weekly or monthly payments may be made in the case of regular buyers. However, in one respect they may also enter into an agreement with the agriculturists which may entitle them to a small share of each harvest. After the harvest, when all the crops have been reaped, the agriculturists ask the Gollas to graze their herds on their fields and keep them penned in during the night. As there is very little fodder in the fields, the shepherds take the goats and sheep out for grazing in the nearby forest, and during the night keep them in the field. [241] The urine and dung of the herd is believed to be good manure, and as such this service is much in demand by the agriculturists. The shepherds often fix days with the agriculturists, and each one has his turn only on a limited number of days. According to the nature of agreement between the cultivators and the shepherds, the payment is either in cash or the latter collect their dues from the fields at the time of harvesting.

or in kind. In the course of a long ceremony, two or three times they may get money, twice or thrice some grain or a few brass or bell-metal utensils, and ultimately a set of new clothes. Like the other castes, the barber and the washerman also work independently outside the system of these traditional arrangements.

OTHER CASTES

Before describing the system of family affiliation between the Madiga untouchables and the agriculturists, brief mention should be made of the other castes in the village.

There is only one family of Katike (Hindu butchers) in the village. In point of social status this family ranks equal to the Kapu group. The head of the family slaughters goats and sheep and sells meat to the villagers. The Muslims slaughter their goats and sheep separately or buy their requirement of beef from the market in the city. Shamirpet is largely a Hindu village, and partly out of regard for the sentiments of the majority community, and partly to avoid trouble, the Muslims do not slaughter cows in the village.

The solitary family of the Darzi (tailor) with an old sewing machine is obviously a new addition to the population of the village. Even by modest city standards the abilities of this tailor in his craft must be regarded as rather crude. Yet he has a fairly good business in the village. Except for the well-to-do people, and a few others who maintain regular contact with the city, all others either buy cheap ready-made clothes, or they get their tailoring done by this man in the village, who also attracts considerable custom from nearby villages.

The families of Vaddars (stone-workers) always have sufficient work, either in Shamirpet itself or in some of the neighbouring villages. Those who can afford a house of a superior type have it built of stone. Use of bricks is very rare in this part of the country and thus practically all substantial houses in the village are of stone. The rocky surroundings of the village provide an ample supply, and the Vaddars, adept in the traditional technique of breaking and shaping stone, turn it into a useful building material. Because of their crude technique the work of the Vaddars is very hard indeed and entails considerable physical exertion. Payment for this work is generally on the basis of piece wages. In the busy agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also on [illegible] wages.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other [212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the [191] ability latterly. No one knows English.

There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about 214 seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

624 *Village administration.*—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

691 For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

167 In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

• 325 Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

in Hyderabad. Payment is generally in cash, and only in exceptional cases may a credit account be maintained.

THE PANCH BRAMHA GROUP

In an earlier chapter mention has already been made of the group of artisan castes who designate themselves as Panch Bramha and maintain a certain degree of exclusiveness from the other Hindu castes. Out of these, two groups, namely, the Wadla (carpenter) and the Kammari (blacksmith), enter into relations of permanent affiliation to the agriculturists. Under this system, they have to supply new agricultural implements periodically, and look after their maintenance and repairs. In return for these services they get a share of the crops which they have to collect from the fields when harvesting is in progress. In addition to this, they practise their own occupation independently. All their services to non-agriculturists, as well as their services of a non-agricultural nature, must be paid for. The carpenter makes the wooden marriage-post required for several of the rites of Hindu weddings. For this he is paid a small fee prescribed by tradition. The blacksmith repairs and periodically supplies new iron agricultural implements, but in this case the agriculturist concerned has to supply the iron, charcoal and a labourer to work the bellows. The other three groups, that is the goldsmiths, workers in bell metal and carvers of images, specialize in fields which have little or almost nothing to do with agriculture; and as such they carry on their crafts independently.

THE SAKALI AND THE MANGALI

The barber and the washerman have no direct contribution to make to the agricultural pursuits of the landowners, but their services are required so often by the agriculturist, especially in their socio-religious ceremonies and rituals connected with birth, marriage and death, that the agriculturists find it more convenient to have families from these castes permanently affiliated to their households. For their normal services all the year round, that is for shaving and hair-cutting, or for washing clothes, they collect their share after each harvest. Other services, especialiy those connected with socio-religious activities, are generally provided for in the rituals themselves, for at several points in their progress these castes have to be given something, either in cash

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564 326 335 THE PANCH BRAMHA GROUP

In an earlier chapter mention has already been made of the group of artisan castes who designate themselves as Panch Bramha and maintain a certain degree of exclusiveness from the other Hindu castes. Out of these, two groups, namely, the Wadla (carpenter) and the Kammari (blacksmith), enter into relations of permanent affiliation to the agriculturists. Under this system, they have to supply new agricultural implements periodically, and look after their maintenance and repairs. In return for these services they get a share of the crops which they have to collect from the fields when harvesting is in progress. In addition to this, they practise their own occupation independently. All their services to non-agriculturists, as well as their services of a non-agricultural nature, must be paid for. The carpenter makes the wooden marriage-post required for several of the rites of Hindu weddings. For this he is paid a small fee prescribed by tradition. The blacksmith repairs and periodically supplies new iron agricultural implements, but in this case the agriculturist concerned has to supply the iron, charcoal and a labourer to work the bellows. The other three groups, that is the goldsmiths, workers in bell metal and carvers of images, specialize in fields which have little or almost nothing to do with agriculture; and as such they carry on their crafts independently.

564 328 532

564 296 305 THE SAKALI AND THE MANGALI

The barber and the washerman have no direct contribution to make to the agricultural pursuits of the landowners, but their services are required so often by the agriculturist, especially in their socio-religious ceremonies and rituals connected with birth, marriage and death, that the agriculturists find it more convenient to have families from these castes permanently affiliated to their households. For their normal services all the year round, that is for shaving and hair-cutting, or for washing clothes, they collect their share after each harvest. Other services, especially those connected with socio-religious activities, are generally provided for in the rituals themselves, for at several points in their progress these castes have to be given something, either in cash

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6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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369 chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the
504 cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots
167 of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

133 The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tiru-
312 patti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

133 Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses
311 and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between
● [339] low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

312 The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

135 Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral
471 wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

631 The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which never-
197 theless is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

364 351 certain rent-free lands. Moreover, every morning the womenfolk of each house sweep and clean that portion of the lane which lies directly in front of their own house, sprinkle it with water or water mixed with cow-dung and often decorate the entrance with designs drawn with millet or rice flour. Notwithstanding this, the lanes are not always very clean. The reasons for this are many. The Yetti Madigas do not sweep the village very regularly; and the women, when they have finished their housework, often throw the refuse [514] into the public thoroughfare. Thirdly, very few people have latrines in their houses, and even those who have them are inclined to make their children ease themselves at the side of the [231] road. However, the pigs kept by the Erkala caste as well as the large number of dogs in the village are good scavengers and help to keep the village clean.

4. THE HOUSES

342 351 The dwellings in Shamirpet can be classified into three main groups: the Bhawanti, the Penkutillu and the Gudse.

The Bhawanti. This is a large house with stone walls and tiled roofs; it generally stands in its own compound, which is surrounded by a wall, and invariably has five to six rooms. The following account of the house of I.R., a woman with considerable local influence and a good-sized agricultural holding, will illustrate this type of house. As we enter the gate in the compound wall we find ourselves in front of an open space which constitutes [372] the courtyard of the house. On one side of this courtyard there is a cattle-shed, the end of which is partitioned off as a store-room for fuel-cakes made of cow-dung. Opposite the gate across the courtyard is a verandah running the whole length of the house; at one end of this verandah there is a small room in which agricultural implements are kept. The main door of the house leads into an [515] inner court which is open to the sky. In the centre is a stone-lined sink, known as *gachhu*, which can be drained and cleaned, and here, sitting on small wooden stools, the women of the house bath. The inner court is surrounded on three sides by rooms; on one side there are two inter-connected rooms, the first being used as a dining-room and the second as a kitchen. Opposite this, running the whole length of the inner court, is a long room, while opposite to the main house door and across the inner court is a door which

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

leads into the room used for the storing of grain and various household goods. At the end is a small room, and here are lodged the gods and deities of the household.

Although small variations are sometimes seen in the internal arrangement of this type of dwelling, the principles of construction are generally everywhere the same. The walls are made of local stone, which is available at very cheap rates; the doors and their frames are fashioned by the local carpenter and are often decorated on the outside with carvings of geometrical designs and occasionally human or animal figures. The walls are plastered with mud and washed with coloured earth. Almost all the rooms have mud floors; the roofs are always tiled. The Bhawanti type of house is the house of the well-to-do cultivator as well as that of the more substantial people belonging to the occupational castes. Although the houses of the Muslims, both cultivators and traders, as well as of Hindus with urban contacts, conform to the general pattern of the Bhawanti, they show certain marks of sophistication which are obviously the result of urban influences. Such houses have whitewashed walls and stone floors, and many, especially those of the Muslims, have pit-latrines in the backyards. The outer walls are often decorated with motifs borrowed from the city.

The furniture in this type of house is very meagre. In some houses there are a few hard wooden chairs, crude benches and stools or perhaps folding chairs with canvas seats. A popular item of furniture is the wooden *takht*, a large, portable wooden platform, rectangular in shape and supported on four legs. It is about two feet high and seats four to eight people. The other common article of furniture met with in the village is the bedstead, on which the meagre bedding is spread. Rich people have a large framed bedstead which is often ornamented. It is known as *palang*. But poorer people use the small-framed *charpoy* or *khat* woven with locally made thin hemp ropes.

It has been pointed out earlier that the average rural house of this type is often embellished with carvings on the doors. Moreover the walls are generally decorated with designs or human or other animal figures. Cheap prints of Hindu gods and goddesses or family photographs taken by street photographers in the city decorate the walls in some of the houses. The more educated people and retired petty officials sometimes possess clocks, but

these are generally out of order and are used rather as decorations than to tell the time.

Household utensils are generally made by the local potter. But shining brassware, including a few large pots for storing water, are a mark of respectability. Food is served on brass, bell-metal or aluminium plates. Water is drunk from metal mugs or brass beakers. In some houses a couple of china cups and saucers and a few glass plates are also to be seen.

The Penkutillu. This type of house is smaller and less ostentatious, and is built by average cultivators with small holdings, who are neither rich nor poor according to village standards. These houses also have a courtyard and possibly a backyard; a verandah and two or three rooms which are used for various purposes. The walls are of stone, the floor of mud and the roof is tiled. The cattle-shed is generally close to the living-room and there is neither latrine nor bathroom in the house.

This type of house is also decorated with carvings on the doors, and designs are painted on the wall. In such houses furniture is regarded as a luxury; there may be a few bedsteads, some small wooden stools and possibly a crude chair or two. People with city contacts decorate the walls of their houses with commercial calendars or coloured magazine covers. The household utensils in this type of house are, except for metal plates used for serving food, of earthenware, even water being stored in clay pots. Yet respectability demands that such a house should have at least some brass utensils. These are greatly coveted by the ambitious housewife.

The Gudse. These are the commonest type of dwellings found in Telangana, and are indeed the most numerous in Shamirpet. The walls of these huts are either made of mud or they are made of wattle-screen and plastered with mud. The roof is always thatched. The hut is built in a small enclosure and has generally only one room, from which the kitchen is partly partitioned. These huts have very little furniture and all household utensils are the wares of the local potter. The few metal utensils which the family possesses are among the most treasured parts of the household property.

All the three types of village dwellings have some features in common. Almost all of them have some open space either at the front or at the back. This is generally enclosed. Here women bath and in times of emergency, such as illness or other incapacity, it may also be used as a latrine. During the rainy season

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it is used for the growing of vegetables, specially fruit-bearing creepers, and throughout the year it is used by the household fowls. Similarly, in most of these houses the cattle-shed is very close to the main living-room. Hardly half a dozen houses in the village have latrines; the majority of the people go out into the fields or behind the rocks for answering the call of nature. Notwithstanding some variety, the decorative designs found on all the houses follow a generally established pattern. The floors are swept twice every day in almost all the houses. The mud floor is periodically smeared with cow-dung mixed with water and the walls are washed annually with lime or coloured earth. Grain and provisions are stored in large receptacles made either by the potter and well burnt to a vermilion red or by the Erkala in their traditional styles of basket-work.

All the houses in Shamirpet can be classed into one of these three types. The Gudse-type huts of the Erkalas are, however, a class by themselves. These small, circular huts, made from sheets of weed-matting, are about twenty feet in diameter and are often only six feet high. The interior is unpartitioned and serves as bedroom, dining-room, living-room and kitchen. Pigs and poultry are housed in similar but smaller round huts built in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling-hut.

From time to time groups of families belonging to the nomadic castes come to the village. These have their low, portable huts, which are mostly made of folding bamboo screens. Almost every month some group belonging to this category makes its appearance in Shamirpet and after a stay of a week or so moves off with its huts, dogs and pigs.

5. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHAMIRPET

The nearness of Shamirpet to the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad has been mentioned. People holding small government posts or having urban relations make periodic visits to the city. Others, especially young men, cycle down to Secundrabad or Hyderabad to visit the cinema or to look at the shops.

In the broad social sense, however, Shamirpet's more intimate ties are with the villages in the neighbourhood. In the events and developments of these villages the people of Shamirpet are very keenly interested. The hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli are

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or in kind. In the course of a long ceremony, two or three times they may get money, twice or thrice some grain or a few brass or bell-metal utensils, and ultimately a set of new clothes. Like the other castes, the barber and the washerman also work independently outside the system of these traditional arrangements.

OTHER CASTES

Before describing the system of family affiliation between the Madiga untouchables and the agriculturists, brief mention should be made of the other castes in the village.

There is only one family of Katike (Hindu butchers) in the village. In point of social status this family ranks equal to the Kapu group. The head of the family slaughters goats and sheep and sells meat to the villagers. The Muslims slaughter their goats and sheep separately or buy their requirement of beef from the market in the city. Shamirpet is largely a Hindu village, and partly out of regard for the sentiments of the majority community, and partly to avoid trouble, the Muslims do not slaughter cows in the village.

The solitary family of the Darzi (tailor) with an old sewing machine is obviously a new addition to the population of the village. Even by modest city standards the abilities of this tailor in his craft must be regarded as rather crude. Yet he has a fairly good business in the village. Except for the well-to-do people, and a few others who maintain regular contact with the city, all others either buy cheap ready-made clothes, or they get their tailoring done by this man in the village, who also attracts considerable custom from nearby villages.

The families of Vaddars (stone-workers) always have sufficient work, either in Shamirpet itself or in some of the neighbouring villages. Those who can afford a house of a superior type have it built of stone. Use of bricks is very rare in this part of the country and thus practically all substantial houses in the village are of stone. The rocky surroundings of the village provide an ample supply, and the Vaddars, adept in the traditional technique of breaking and shaping stone, turn it into a useful building material. Because of their crude technique the work of the Vaddars is very hard indeed and entails considerable physical exertion. Payment for this work is generally on the basis of piece wages. In the busy agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also on extra wages,

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

They mostly hunt small game, and are adept in the use of traps, snares and dogs. At the time of these investigations there were six guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shooting. Similarly, fishing is done by very few people, mostly by some young Muslim men. They do not use fishing nets and traps, and practically the only method employed by them for catching the fish is that of using the rod, hook and bait. The large tank in the vicinity of the village could afford a good supply of fish, but the absence of the fishing caste in the village population leaves this possibility almost unexplored. Fishermen from the neighbouring villages, however, periodically come to the tank.

The surroundings of Shamirpet offer very few opportunities for the collection of wild food. Around the village there are not many fruit-bearing trees. Mango and *jamun* (rose apple, *Eugenia jambolana*) fruits are mostly eaten while they are still unripe by the village boys. Parties of children and young people periodically go to pick wild berries when they are in season. These are mostly eaten on the spot. When wild figs are ripe children collect and eat them. Another item of food eagerly sought by everyone is the *chikur*—tender tamarind leaves. These leaves are curried, as well as pickled and preserved. Honey is collected by some men of lower castes and inferior social status, whenever they can spot a comb. Medicinal herbs, roots, tubers and barks are collected according to need.

Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic organization of the community, the traditional occupations and functions of the different castes have already been described. With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

133 dicates deposition in shallow but not sheltered waters, and the general lie of the E coast may thus be of great antiquity. The change in strike between the Orissa Hills and the Cuddapahs is very closely followed by the coast.

B7 The hills are wooded and the pattern of relief stands out clearly on forest
132 and population maps (Figs. 18, 30); but the forest is thin, rainfall being
523 only about 40 ins. and the rocks porous or fissured. The few inhabitants are mostly Chenchus, an aboriginal tribe living a semi-pastoral existence eked out by the collection of honey, bamboos, fuel for the railways, and other minor forest produce.

311 The valleys, however, though on the whole poor enough, have a fair
312 amount of cultivation, mostly jowar (25–30% TSA), other millets, groundnut (16–20%), with some irrigated paddy. The topography in the longitudinal valleys favours the construction of large tanks by bunding a transverse
[496] tributary gorge. The main (GIP) Madras–Bombay railway strikes diagonally across the S of the region, and is one of the most interesting traverses
133 in India. The hill country is first entered in the Nagaris, which are the last
361 Cuddapah outliers; here Renigunta and Tirupati are little towns controlling at once the route up the Swarnamukhi, the crossings of the river, and
311 the col to the N between the Palkondas and Velikondas. Beyond, in the Razampeta corridor, the contrast between cultivated floor and barren hills is exceedingly sharp. The generally arid aspect is mitigated by groves of
● [342] mangoes around the tanks; houses are stone- or mud-walled, and round beehive huts, striped vertically in white and rusty red, attest the Telugu country. After crossing the wide bed of the Cheyyeru, the line emerges at Cuddapah from grey and arid hills into a greyer plain, a vast ash-coloured expanse largely given over to dry cultivation. The region lies on the margin of the October–December rainfall area of the Madras littoral, and the rivers rise in the dry Mysore Maidan, not in the Wn Ghats as do Kistna and Tungabhadra; hence, even in August, the great streams—Penner itself, Cheyyeru, Papagni, Chitravati—may be spreads of quartzite boulders, shingle, or sand, several hundred yards wide with a line of water a yard across, or even not a drop; while only 90 miles to the N the Ghats-fed rivers are full, great ribbons of muddy water half a mile or more wide.

312 Through the Kunderu valley runs the ill-starred Kurnool Canal, constructed in 1860–76 by a private company which apparently failed to notice the difference in the régimes of Peninsular and extra-Peninsular rivers; the complete, but inefficient, canal had eventually to be taken over by the government in 1882 after two decades of mismanagement. The topographical layout is obviously encouraging, and it is now proposed to recast the whole project, with reservoirs on the Kistna and at Someswaram in the lowest of the Penner watergaps; the project, if carried out in full, would irrigate no less than 3 m. ac., mostly, however, in the coastal plain of Nellore.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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242 The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and [782] accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

Cattle diseases—Kurama.—The ox or cow when it suffers from 232 this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

The village.—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. 342 Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, [276] but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no longer raised. 465

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets manuls called *thripamu* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four puttles; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same manuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 There is a local road which passes by this village running from 489 Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

3k: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

Photo by K. Krishnamurti.

VILLAGE OF THETTUPALLI.

[facing p. 102]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

237 *Manuring.*—Nearly 90 per cent of the cow-dung is used as manure, the rest being used for household purposes.

Almost all the cattle urine is allowed to run to waste except trifling quantities used for household purposes.

241 The green manure chiefly used is the leaf of the Kanaga tree. Generally all kinds of green leaf are held to be good manure. This is obtained chiefly from the surrounding jungle, licences being obtained on payment of a fee to the Maharaja's Government. Sometimes topes are planted for the purpose.

No other kinds of vegetable manure are largely used. In some cases, for instance in the cultivation of sugarcane, the refuse left after the oil has been squeezed out from the fruit of the Kanaga tree is used.

232 Insect-pests and cattle diseases and the method of combating them are the same as in Thettupalli.[1]

361 *The village.*—The village occupies an area of 9·36 acres. The tendency is for the members of one caste to congregate together. For example all the Muhammadans live in one part of the village together. The Komatis live exclusively in one street.

●342 The depressed classes live in dirty and squalid huts of but one room.

There are in the caste village 85 thatched houses, none tiled, 63 terraced; in the Paracheri, only thatched houses 31 in number. There are no gardens adjoining any of the dwellings. The fields lie adjoining and surrounding the village. The most distant field lies about three-quarters of a mile off.

There is a great demand for additional building sites.

435 If land is obtained direct from the Government a fee of ½ anna per square yard is charged, payable on sale. If dry land is acquired for the purpose from pattadars, the value ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre. It is only near this village that the value is so low. Further up the value goes up to nearly Rs. 300 or Rs. 350.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are only two pariahs who weave at all. They use two handlooms.

[281] No hand spinning is practised. Yarn is bought ready made. The other crafts are—

Crafts.	Average time.	Earnings per year.	Remarks.
Blacksmith.	The major part of the day.	About Rs. 300 a year.	He receives customary mamûls. At harvest time gets about 10 puttis of paddy. There are also inams in his name.
Potter ...	The major part of the day and almost throughout the year.	About Rs. 100 a year.	Do.
Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamûls.

438 *Village trade—Purchase of commodities by the village.*—Wood for implements is got from the forests already mentioned. Iron

1 [See category 116, pp. 99-100.—Analyst]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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together on the northern and north-east sides of the village. On the northern side, but apart from the village, crowded together in irregular muddy streets of obnoxious smell are the houses of the washermen (70 houses) and the toddy-drawing class (150 in number). All are thatched with palmyra leaves. It is difficult to go into the midst of these huts because of the bad smell.

There are 271 houses in the caste village according to official information, actually 350; 125 in the paracheri.

The village is rather crowded and there is no space for gardens. There is much demand for building sites. There are extensions on the north and south sides into the fields. Some houses contain even two or three families crowded together. From Rs. 2 to 3 per square yard is paid for house-sites. Some of the cultivated land is distant 5½ miles from the home of the cultivator. A hereditary disposition to hate changes, as well as party feelings, and suspicions of inequalities, prevent the ryots from exchanging to get their land continuous. Field huts are used, but mostly for the working seasons only, and are not permanent.

Subsidiary industries.—At the time of the 1891 census there were 69 weavers; in 1901, 17; in 1911, 12; now there are only three. Foreign yarn of 10, 20 and 40 Nos. is purchased from fairs held at Nidadavolu, four miles off. The cloth woven is a very rough sort, used by the very poor classes; 75 per cent of the people prefer and use foreign goods. The implements are of the ordinary country type and of primitive nature. There is no co-operation among the weavers. They are unable to face the mill competition. As they find little demand for their goods, they are frequently forced to go away as agricultural labourers, and practise weaving only as a hobby for leisure hours. A weaver with five sons, as a rule, sends four of them to agricultural work and only one to his own industry. Till 10 years back 95 per cent of the population used to wear the village cloth. Now 75 per cent prefer and use foreign clothing. Two weaving families recently went to Rajahmundry as factory coolies. Ten years ago, many women of low castes used to practise handspinning. A little cotton was grown in the village up to 1912, but latterly it was sold for higher prices than the spinners could pay.

Economic condition of the village—Rates of wages.—Labourers are employed for the day or for the year. In the latter case Rs. 25 per annum is paid to boys and Rs. 50 per annum to men. For daily labourers the wage is three to four annas to men; 1½ to 2 annas to women; 1 to 1¼ annas to children; this may be paid in grain or money, or half in money and half in grain. The only perquisites are at harvest time. Thus for each crop, the yearly labourer receives 8 or 12 seers; on the whole 1 bag nearly. In festivals, they are given only meals and nothing more.

Current prices—					Rs.	A.	P.
Paddy per bag of 166 lb.	...	...	...	...	5	8	0
Cholam	,,	...	...	...	9	1	6
Gingelly	,,	...	...	...	12	8	0
Red gram	,,	...	...	...	8	6	0
Kambu	,,	...	...	...	9	6	0
Soap nuts	,,	...	...	...	7	8	0
Ghee, per tin...	...	...	...	...	18	0	0

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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ROOFING A HUT WITH PUNTEA LEAVES. Photo by Agricultural College.

[Facing p. 116]

343

343 OUTBUILDINGS--description of domestic nonresidential buildings (e.g., cookhouses, latrines, menstrual lodges, bathhouses, granaries, barns, stables); special characteristics of each; construction; etc. See also:

Stables and stalls 231
Cookhouses 232
Boathouses 504
Latrines 514
Bathhouses 515
Menstrual lodges 841

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

leads into the room used for the storing of grain and various household goods. At the end is a small room, and here are lodged the gods and deities of the household.

Although small variations are sometimes seen in the internal arrangement of this type of dwelling, the principles of construction are generally everywhere the same. The walls are made of local stone, which is available at very cheap rates; the doors and their frames are fashioned by the local carpenter and are often decorated on the outside with carvings of geometrical designs and occasionally human or animal figures. The walls are plastered with mud and washed with coloured earth. Almost all the rooms have mud floors; the roofs are always tiled. The Bhawanti type of house is the house of the well-to-do cultivator as well as that of the more substantial people belonging to the occupational castes. Although the houses of the Muslims, both cultivators and traders, as well as of Hindus with urban contacts, conform to the general pattern of the Bhawanti, they show certain marks of sophistication which are obviously the result of urban influences. Such houses have whitewashed walls and stone floors, and many, especially those of the Muslims, have pit-latrines in the backyards. The outer walls are often decorated with motifs borrowed from the city.

The furniture in this type of house is very meagre. In some houses there are a few hard wooden chairs, crude benches and stools or perhaps folding chairs with canvas seats. A popular item of furniture is the wooden *takht*, a large, portable wooden platform, rectangular in shape and supported on four legs. It is about two feet high and seats four to eight people. The other common article of furniture met with in the village is the bedstead, on which the meagre bedding is spread. Rich people have a large framed bedstead which is often ornamented. It is known as *palang*. But poorer people use the small-framed *charpoy* or *khat* woven with locally made thin hemp ropes.

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it is used for the growing of vegetables, specially fruit-bearing creepers, and throughout the year it is used by the household fowls. Similarly, in most of these houses the cattle-shed is very close to the main living-room. Hardly half a dozen houses in the village have latrines; the majority of the people go out into the fields or behind the rocks for answering the call of nature. Notwithstanding some variety, the decorative designs found on all the houses follow a generally established pattern. The floors are swept twice every day in almost all the houses. The mud floor is periodically smeared with cow-dung mixed with water and the walls are washed annually with lime or coloured earth. Grain and provisions are stored in large receptacles made either by the potter and well burnt to a vermilion red or by the Erkala in their traditional styles of basket-work.

All the houses in Shamirpet can be classed into one of these three types. The Gudse-type huts of the Erkalas are, however, a class by themselves. These small, circular huts, made from sheets of weed-matting, are about twenty feet in diameter and are often only six feet high. The interior is unpartitioned and serves as bedroom, dining-room, living-room and kitchen. Pigs and poultry are housed in similar but smaller round huts built in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling-hut.

From time to time groups of families belonging to the nomadic castes come to the village. These have their low, portable huts, which are mostly made of folding bamboo screens. Almost every month some group belonging to this category makes its appearance in Shamirpet and after a stay of a week or so moves off with its huts, dogs and pigs.

5. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHAMIRPET

The nearness of Shamirpet to the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad has been mentioned. People holding small government posts or having urban relations make periodic visits to the city. Others, especially young men, cycle down to Secundrabad or Hyderabad to visit the cinema or to look at the shops.

In the broad social sense, however, Shamirpet's more intimate ties are with the villages in the neighbourhood. In the events and developments of these villages the people of Shamirpet are very keenly interested. The hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli are

346

346 RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES--description of shrines, temples, churches, libraries, museums, schools, and other religious and educational structures; special characteristics of each; mode of construction; etc. See also:

Administration of schools and colleges 87
Administration of libraries and museums . . . 217
Administration of sacred places 778
Administration and functioning of churches . . 794

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mention in Hindu scriptures. Being the most important river of the Deccan region its significance is very great to the Hindus of this area.

Along with the great gods of all-India Hinduism the people also continue to observe cults associated with regional and local deities and goddesses. The nature and characteristics of these goddesses differ widely in the different culture-areas of the land. Some of the goddesses listed below are commonly found in the Telugu-speaking areas, particularly in the Telangana districts of Hyderabad. Their main characteristics according to the residents of Shamirpet have also been mentioned.

They are:

1. Pochamma—goddess of smallpox.
2. Mutyalamma—goddess of chickenpox.
3. Balamma—goddess of fertility whose wrath causes sterility in women.
4. Mahakalamma—goddess of cholera.
5. Durgamma—goddess presiding over the destinies and welfare of the village.
6. Maisamma—goddess protecting the village boundaries.

Besides the above, certain other goddesses are also worshipped. Important among them are Ellamma (for the cure of boils), Pinamma (when naming a child after one of his deceased grandparents), and minor goddesses of the fields who protect the crops. To these must be added several other named and unnamed deities and goddesses whose worship is confined only to the village of Shamirpet.

All the characteristics of Hinduism having an all-India spread, described above, are in evidence in the religion of the people of Shamirpet. There is a small Shiva temple near the house of the Brahmin; another with several images on a hillock by the side of the Deshmukh's house. There are two platforms in the village on which the monkey god Hanuman[1] is lodged. In many clean caste houses there are images or pictures of some of these gods. Those

[1] Hanuman, the 'Son of the Winds', was one of the monkey helpers of Rama in his search for Sita when she was abducted by the demon Ravana (according to the epic poem *Ramayana*). Modern tradition seeks to interpret the Monkeys and Bears of this story as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Deccan at the turn of the Christian era.

who have images of deities bathe them every day and make offerings of food. They are often described as 'family' or household gods. The pictures are worshipped on the occasions of festivals. In the neighbouring village of Aliyabad there is a temple of Rama. Besides these, there are several shrines of the village goddesses. Eight of these are important. Two shrines are dedicated to Maisamma—the *Gadi Maisamma* protects the house and dependants of the village headman, and the *Katta Maisamma* lodged near the tank protects the village boundaries and presides over the agricultural prosperity of the community. Pochamma too has two shrines—one near the houses of the Vaddars and another between the living quarters of the Madigas and the Erkalas. The shrine of Dugamma near the village post office is also important. There is one shrine each for Mahakalamma, Mutyalamma, and Pinamma.

People eagerly take the opportunities of attending religious fairs, and of going to holy places for a dip in one of the sacred rivers. The major centre of pilgrimage in the Telugu-speaking parts of Hyderabad is Bhadrachalam where there is an old and impressive temple by the side of Godavari. Those who can afford to and have the inclination go to the other places of pilgrimage having country-wide recognition, such as Allahabad (Prayag) and Benares (Kashi).

3. THE RELIGIOUS YEAR

Three major types of religious ceremonies and festivals are observed in the community; family ceremonies, village ceremonies, and caste ceremonies. The Muslim section of the village population has its own family festivals and some communal ceremonies. As pointed out earlier, they participate with their Hindu neighbours in the observance of common village ritual.

HINDU FESTIVALS

Feasts and fasts form an important part of Hindu religious life. Festivals are spread evenly over the whole year. Apart from village ceremonies, agricultural ritual, and special worships organized by some castes individually, there are several festivals which may be observed by most Hindu families, irrespective of their caste

351

351 GROUNDS--house plots and building lots; courtyards; walls, fences, and gates; grading; gardens and ornamental plants; swimming pools; landscape architecture; upkeep of grounds; etc. See also:

Gardening . . . . . 247 Description of fences and gates. 417

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available.

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission.

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village.

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals.

The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; in return for the service, the government grants them the use of certain rent-free lands. 27

364 certain rent-free lands. Moreover, every morning the womenfolk
351 of each house sweep and clean that portion of the lane which lies directly in front of their own house, sprinkle it with water or water mixed with cow-dung and often decorate the entrance with designs drawn with millet or rice flour. Notwithstanding this, the lanes are not always very clean. The reasons for this are many. The Yetti Madigas do not sweep the village very regularly; and the women, when they have finished their housework, often throw the refuse
[514] into the public thoroughfare. Thirdly, very few people have latrines in their houses, and even those who have them are inclined to make their children ease themselves at the side of the
[230] road. However, the pigs kept by the Erkala caste as well as the large number of dogs in the village are good scavengers and help to keep the village clean.

4. THE HOUSES

342 The dwellings in Shamirpet can be classified into three main
351 groups: the Bhawanti, the Penkutillu and the Gudse.

The Bhawanti. This is a large house with stone walls and tiled roofs; it generally stands in its own compound, which is surrounded by a wall, and invariably has five to six rooms. The following account of the house of I.R., a woman with considerable local influence and a good-sized agricultural holding, will illustrate this type of house. As we enter the gate in the compound wall we find ourselves in front of an open space which constitutes
[372] the courtyard of the house. On one side of this courtyard there is a cattle-shed, the end of which is partitioned off as a store-room for fuel-cakes made of cow-dung. Opposite the gate across the courtyard is a verandah running the whole length of the house; at one end of this verandah there is a small room in which agricultural implements are kept. The main door of the house leads into an
515 inner court which is open to the sky. In the centre is a stone-lined sink, known as *gachhu*, which can be drained and cleaned, and here, sitting on small wooden stools, the women of the house bath. The inner court is surrounded on three sides by rooms; on one side there are two inter-connected rooms, the first being used as a dining-room and the second as a kitchen. Opposite this, running the whole length of the inner court, is a long room, while opposite to the main house door and across the inner court is a door which

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

leads into the room used for the storing of grain and various household goods. At the end is a small room, and here are lodged the gods and deities of the household.

Although small variations are sometimes seen in the internal arrangement of this type of dwelling, the principles of construction are generally everywhere the same. The walls are made of local stone, which is available at very cheap rates; the doors and their frames are fashioned by the local carpenter and are often decorated on the outside with carvings of geometrical designs and occasionally human or animal figures. The walls are plastered with mud and washed with coloured earth. Almost all the rooms have mud floors; the roofs are always tiled. The Bhawanti type of house is the house of the well-to-do cultivator as well as that of the more substantial people belonging to the occupational castes. Although the houses of the Muslims, both cultivators and traders, as well as of Hindus with urban contacts, conform to the general pattern of the Bhawanti, they show certain marks of sophistication which are obviously the result of urban influences. Such houses have whitewashed walls and stone floors, and many, especially those of the Muslims, have pit-latrines in the backyards. The outer walls are often decorated with motifs borrowed from the city.

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It has been pointed out earlier that the average rural house of this type is often embellished with carvings on the doors. Moreover the walls are generally decorated with designs or human or other animal figures. Cheap prints of Hindu gods and goddesses or family photographs taken by street photographers in the city decorate the walls in some of the houses. The more educated people and retired petty officials sometimes possess clocks, but

353 these are generally out of order and are used rather as decorations than to tell the time.

415 Household utensils are generally made by the local potter. But
[556] shining brassware, including a few large pots for storing water, are a mark of respectability. Food is served on brass, bell-metal or aluminium plates. Water is drunk from metal mugs or brass beakers. In some houses a couple of china cups and saucers and a few glass plates are also to be seen.

342 *The Penkutillu*. This type of house is smaller and less ostentatious,
● 351 and is built by average cultivators with small holdings, who are neither rich nor poor according to village standards. These houses also have a courtyard and possibly a backyard; a verandah and two or three rooms which are used for various purposes. The walls are of stone, the floor of mud and the roof is tiled. The cattle-shed is generally close to the living-room and there is neither latrine nor bathroom in the house.

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342 *The Gudse*. These are the commonest type of dwellings found in Telangana, and are indeed the most numerous in Shamirpet. The walls of these huts are either made of mud or they are made of wattle-screen and plastered with mud. The roof is always thatched. The hut is built in a small enclosure and has generally only one
352 room, from which the kitchen is partly partitioned. These huts have
415 very little furniture and all household utensils are the wares of the local potter. The few metal utensils which the family possesses are among the most treasured parts of the household property.

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426 Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

435 Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

426 Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

796 *Festivals.*—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gownipalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, [782] wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. [782] The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease 759 people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest [743] hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

• 352 All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

582 No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.

[582] All Muhammadans observe purdah.

313 Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

871 *Education.*—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

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415 regarded as a luxury; there may be a few bedsteads, some small wooden stools and possibly a crude chair or two. People with city contacts decorate the walls of their houses with commercial calendars or coloured magazine covers. The household utensils in this type of house are, except for metal plates used for serving food, of
[556] earthenware, even water being stored in clay pots. Yet respectability demands that such a house should have at least some brass utensils. These are greatly coveted by the ambitious housewife.

342 *The Gudse*. These are the commonest type of dwellings found in Telangana, and are indeed the most numerous in Shamirpet. The walls of these huts are either made of mud or they are made of wattle-screen and plastered with mud. The roof is always thatched. The hut is built in a small enclosure and has generally only one
352 room, from which the kitchen is partly partitioned. These huts have
415 very little furniture and all household utensils are the wares of the local potter. The few metal utensils which the family possesses are among the most treasured parts of the household property.

351 All the three types of village dwellings have some features in
[515] common. Almost all of them have some open space either at the front or at the back. This is generally enclosed. Here women bath and in times of emergency, such as illness or other incapacity, it may also be used as a latrine. During the rainy season

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

it is used for the growing of vegetables, specially fruit-bearing creepers, and throughout the year it is used by the household fowls. Similarly, in most of these houses the cattle-shed is very close to the main living-room. Hardly half a dozen houses in the village have latrines; the majority of the people go out into the fields or behind the rocks for answering the call of nature. Notwithstanding some variety, the decorative designs found on all the houses follow a generally established pattern. The floors are swept twice every day in almost all the houses. The mud floor is periodically smeared with cow-dung mixed with water and the walls are washed annually with lime or coloured earth. Grain and provisions are stored in large receptacles made either by the potter and well burnt to a vermilion red or by the Erkala in their traditional styles of basket-work.

All the houses in Shamirpet can be classed into one of these three types. The Gudse-type huts of the Erkalas are, however, a class by themselves. These small, circular huts, made from sheets of weed-matting, are about twenty feet in diameter and are often only six feet high. The interior is unpartitioned and serves as bedroom, dining-room, living-room and kitchen. Pigs and poultry are housed in similar but smaller round huts built in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling-hut.

From time to time groups of families belonging to the nomadic castes come to the village. These have their low, portable huts, which are mostly made of folding bamboo screens. Almost every month some group belonging to this category makes its appearance in Shamirpet and after a stay of a week or so moves off with its huts, dogs and pigs.

5. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHAMIRPET

The nearness of Shamirpet to the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad has been mentioned. People holding small government posts or having urban relations make periodic visits to the city. Others, especially young men, cycle down to Secundrabad or Hyderabad to visit the cinema or to look at the shops.

In the broad social sense, however, Shamirpet's more intimate ties are with the villages in the neighbourhood. In the events and developments of these villages the people of Shamirpet are very keenly interested. The hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli are

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31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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426 poorer classes, when they find that their debts have overgrown their income, generally hand over their lands to the lenders of money.

167 Emigrants leave the village for two reasons:—(1) indebtedness and (2) want of sufficient work and means of living. As previously stated two families of weavers have gone to Rajahmundry for factory work, and one family of Komatis to the Gōdāvari Agency. Some of the Panchamas and toddy drawers go to Rangoon, Moulmein, Singapore, and formerly went to Natal and the Transvaal. They return at the end of 1½ or 2 years. Some have made a little profit by going out, but not much. One effect of such emigration is to prevent people from lending money freely to all. The poorer classes do not get loans so easily now for want of security.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—There is no malaria. Six years ago there was a heavy attack of cholera, the number of deaths being between 150 and 200. It was impossible to keep any accurate account. Two years ago there was a serious attack of smallpox, when about 160 adults and children together died. It is significant that among Brahmans not a single person was attacked by either of these diseases. Among the Vaisyas the number of deaths was 5 and 3, respectively, among the Sudras it was 50 from cholera, 60 from small-pox. All the rest of the cases were in the lower castes. The death-rate of the children was far greater than that of adults.

165 759 The village statistics show 480 children born in the five years from 1911 to 1915, 321 under 14 years of age dying during these years. The record of births is probably very defective, but the rate of mortality among infants and young children is certainly terribly high. There is no effective medical assistance available. The quack doctors of the village are merely deceitful and ignorant and practice the trade with no schooling or knowledge. Men following various occupations, who do not earn much at their proper calling, are the doctors of the village, who administer red or black powders to the patient one after another, call the fever this and that, starve the patient for 15 or 20 days, keep him in comfortable delusions all the while, and having made up 20 or 30 rupees send him to an untimely grave. The villagers prefer to entrust their lives to these doctors than to risk them in the hands of an English trained doctor. The hospital assistant near by has not won a good name for English medicine.

The wife of the barber is the nurse for all cases of pregnancy, and the general authority on all cases of feminine complaints.

758 For want of education, people do not observe the elementary principles of sanitation. For instance in times of epidemic diseases they do not isolate patients. They spread the disease by cleaning all kinds of cloth in village tanks. They do not reveal the disease immediately after the attack. They keep the patients in crowded houses and move and eat and sleep very close to them. Even for ordinary fevers, the patient is starved for 5 or 6 days, so that he will be weak and useless for work for a number of days afterwards.

511 356 The poorer classes are often subjected to disease for want of healthy and sufficient food, and clean surroundings. Every poor man has two or three cattle at least; and their huts being crowded, with limited space, it happens generally that the cattle are kept

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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very close to the human inmates. Rubbish and cow-dung are stored up in front of the houses, while in rainy seasons the whole becomes a stagnant pool of water, rubbish and cow-dung. 511 356

The houses of the Pariahs are filled with an awful smell of skins, bones and putrid flesh. The insufficiency of food that they suffer from tempts them to fill their bellies with toddy and other stimulants that ultimately ruin their health.

The Sudras are perfectly temperate and simple in habits and food. The "twice-born" castes are bound to marry their girls before twelve. The lower castes are not bound to do so. But the Sudras and lower castes actually marry their girls at a very early age, both to satisfy the anxiety of elders and for fear they may not have the money afterwards. I know a case in which a girl two months old was married to a boy of two years, the boy dying a year later of cholera. They maintain strict widowhood like the Brahmans. There is no purdah. 582

The villagers bathe and wash clothes and also wash their cattle in the same tank as that used for drinking. 515

Education.—There is one school; its accommodation and equipment being a rented house, an atlas, a globe, text books, some pictures of common objects, civics primers, dumb-bells, a black board, a desk, benches for boys to sit upon. 871

Elementary education is given up to the fourth standard, in the vernacular, in history, arithmetic, geography, civics, etc. This education is most unpractical and incomplete and ill-suited to the villagers, who do not proceed to college classes. It does not enable them to read good books in Telugu or to learn even the elementary principles of sanitation. They are never made to feel that they are citizens of a world, or an empire, or a province, outside the narrow bounds of their village.

Attendance—	Boys.	Girls.
1913	19	4
1914	9	3
1915	45	12
1916	54	8
1917	48	6

About 30 per cent of the adults can read the vernacular; two persons can read and talk English. There is a noted musician in the village but no other pandit. Not less than 25 or 30 per cent of those who have passed through the school have lost their capacity to write or cipher after leaving. One boy has proceeded to the Mechanical Engineering course in the Victoria Technical Institute, Bombay; another to the Arts course in the Madras University. [191]

There are 90 to 100 books, of which 70 are owned by Brahmans, made up of novels, dramas, puranas, the Mahabharata and stories. Among the Sudras, a development of literary taste, though in a very small degree, is perceptible. There are many devotional songs and lives of Telugu saints, while stories of the epics rendered into songs and recited by "Bhagavathars" are very frequent. The latest innovation is the introduction of dramas. Novels are still a rarity, as well as histories. No newspaper comes to the village. 538

The village has no temple except that of the village goddess. Her festival is celebrated with much slaughter of cattle and goats given by their owners whenever there is an outbreak of cholera or small-pox; or, failing these, once in four or five years. The cost is 796

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Introduction

I

INDIA is predominantly an agricultural and rural country. An overwhelming majority of her people live in the countryside. In undivided India it was estimated that there were over 700,000 villages within the country. Since partition this number has diminished, but the rural-urban ratio in the population still remains more or less the same. According to various estimates, 70% to 80% of India's population live in villages.

From time immemorial the village has been a basic and important unit in the organization of Indian social polity. It finds prominent mention in the classical texts of the land. For example, according to the *Rig-Veda* (generally dated in the latter half of the 2nd millennium B.C.) society developed in a series of ascending formations, starting from the family (*griha* or *kula*) and gradually extending to the village (*grama*), the clan (*vis*), the people (*jana*) and the country (*rashtra*). The term *grama*, still largely used in India for village, denoted an aggregate of several families sharing the same habitation. Besides mentioning that the village was headed by the *gramini*, chief of the village, the *Rig-Veda* does not give us any details regarding its internal structure or organization or its external affiliations. In post-vedic literature, particularly the epics, we have somewhat more detailed glimpses of the then existing settlements. The *Mahabharata* (*c.* 2nd century B.C.–2nd century A.D.) mentions several types of habitations and settlements, such as cattle farm (*ghosh* or *vraja*), small barbarian hamlets (*palli*), forts to protect surrounding settlements (*durga*), villages developing around the forts (*grama*), town (*kharvata* or *pattan*) and city (*nagara*). Through the *Mahabharata* we get an

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the death of Kemal Yar Jung the property came under the administration of the Court of Wards. In the meantime, vast changes were taking place in Hyderabad. After the Police Action of 1948, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Republic. With the inauguration of the democratic order the Nizam has become a constitutional ruler and the feudal system within the State has been abolished. In consequence Shamirpet now comes under the jurisdiction of the normal district administration.

Shamirpet is situated at a distance of about a furlong from the north-bound road which runs between Hyderabad and Karimnagar. An unmetalled road links the village with the main road, from which some of the houses in the village are clearly visible. Between the road and the village there is a flat and fairly level patch of ground, and in the centre of this ground there is a tree around which the Muslims bury their dead. At the junction of the main road and the diversion leading to the village there is a small shelter for passengers awaiting the buses, built in stone and lime. A little way down to the north stands the Inspection Bungalow of the State Public Works Department. It is intended for the use of touring government officials, and can also be used by occasional visitors, who have to make a small payment for its use. Further north, at a distance of about two and a half furlongs, is the tank, which in its setting of barren rocks and tall trees provides a beautiful landscape. Between the tank and the road now lie the ruins of the 'summer house' which was built on the tank-bund by the last feudal landlord of the village. In his time it was provided with an electric generator, pipe lines and modern sanitary fittings, but after the Nawab's death it was deserted and is now a melancholy but romantic sight.

The village itself is not built according to a definite plan. A wide main street lies in the centre and runs almost parallel to and roughly a furlong away from the main road. As we proceed northwards down this street we find on the right a number of whitewashed stone buildings housing the various government offices, and on the left there are a number of small tea and betel shops. On the right there are also the residential quarters of the sub-inspector of police who is in charge of the police station, a government granary, living quarters of the police constables, the village dispensary, the school and the post office. Lanes branch off both right and left from the street, and on either side of these lanes are

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

built the residential houses of the people belonging to the clean castes or to the Muslim community. The house of the Deshmukh, or the village headman, is the very first house and stands a little to the right of the unmetalled road that joins the main road to the village. It has a very high compound wall made of locally available stone and looks more like a small fort than a dwelling-house. In the main section of the village that sprawls to both sides of the main road it is difficult to discern any clear and systematic caste 'quarters' in which only members of one caste live. There is an unmistakable tendency among some castes, as for instance the Sakali (washermen), the Vaddar (stone-workers), the Golla (shepherds) and the Kummari (potters), to occupy houses in compact blocks on contiguous patches of land, but in close proximity are situated the houses of people belonging to other communities. In no sense can the individual clean castes be said to live in separate colonies, nor is any one caste in exclusive possession of any clearly marked out area. In many cases people live outside their own caste 'blocks'. The houses of the clean castes are built so close together that it is clear that considerations of caste distinction do not materially affect their choice of sites for the construction of houses. A Hindu may live in the immediate neighbourhood of Muslims, and often people belonging to quite different castes are one another's neighbours. It is probable that in the beginning the different castes marked out different blocks for themselves on the proposed site for the settlement. People coming later to the village either found a place to construct their houses in their caste block or had to choose a plot elsewhere. However, there are some communities which live in separate colonies or *wada*. To the east, a narrow strip of land separates the main settlement from the *Mala-wada*, or the colony of the Mala untouchables. Further east, and separated from the houses of the Malas by another narrow strip of land, is the colony of the Madigas. Distinct from both these groups, and situated to the north-east of the main village, there is a small colony of Erkala hunters, whose small circular huts stand out in marked contrast to the houses in the rest of the village.

It has already been pointed out that there is a school, a dispensary, a post office and a police station in the village. The school is at present ill-housed; it has five classes meeting in two small rooms and only two masters, who teach both Urdu and Telugu as well as the other subjects of the primary school curriculum.

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361

3*a*. Shamirpet from a hill outside.

312

3*b*. The Village Well.

[Facing p. 32]

621 in fact entered as parts of the village of Shamirpet in government records, and in a sense they are; nevertheless, on a restricted scale
623 they enjoy considerable autonomy. The elders of the hamlets try, as far as possible, to decide the hamlet's minor disputes without referring them either to the headman or to the village council of Shamirpet. They say, 'We are poor inhabitants of a small hamlet. Our resources are limited. The people of Shamirpet are prosperous; they have adopted the ways of the city. If we refer our cases to them, they will impose such fines that our necks will break.' Yet there are many cases in which one of the disputing parties, dissatisfied with the judgement of the elders and possessing the necessary financial resources or influential support, will refer the case to the Shamirpet village council. In all such cases one or two elders and influential people from the hamlet in question are summoned to attend the proceedings of the village council at Shamirpet. Similarly, for all the ceremonies organized jointly by the people of Shamirpet as a whole it is customary to send invitations to Babugura and Upparpalli and it is expected that they will be represented by at least some of the village elders.
[631] When the people of the village as a whole are summoned on government business to the district or subdivisional headquarters, the residents of the two hamlets have also to accompany the people of Shamirpet, for all the three settlements are, according to government records, component units of one village. However, the distance between Shamirpet and the two hamlets is an effective barrier to the pursuance of a common social life. And from this point of view the two hamlets are as independent as two self-contained small villages.

361 The area surrounding Shamirpet is quite densely populated. It
574 is not unusual to find a village or a small hamlet every three to six miles, and Shamirpet is surrounded by a number of villages, some large and others small. With most of these, Shamirpet, as a village, has very little to do. However, individual residents remain in constant touch with friends and relations in the surrounding villages. Ceremonies connected with the major crises of life, i.e. birth, marriage and death, often take people out of Shamirpet to the neighbouring villages, or bring people from there
564 into Shamirpet. For a more or less well-defined block of villages the different castes have their respective caste councils, to which matters concerning the caste only are taken.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

THE SETTING

361 Three miles to the north on the Hyderabad–Karimnagar road
312 there is another village, about as large as Shamirpet. It is called
578 Aliyabad. It has some rich and influential Muslim and Hindu agriculturists among its residents who share with those of Shamirpet the waters of the Shamirpet tank for irrigation purposes. This system is not very satisfactory and the two villages have numerous complaints against each other. There is a keen rivalry between the two, and every two or three years the tension and passions of the people rise to such an extent that there is danger of a breach of peace and of rioting. The residents of Shamirpet do not think much of the people of Aliyabad, and the latter heartily reciprocate their dislike.

571 People living in different villages have very few occasions on which to meet each other as a whole. There are no common ceremonies and functions in which several villages participate. To a certain extent caste ceremonies provide opportunities for inter-village meetings; but the most common meeting-places for people belonging to the nearby villages of the same area are the markets and fairs.

323 564 closely at Shamirpet only in six were the relations finally broken off on account of dissatisfaction to either or both parties. Non-agriculturists and such occupational castes as do not have arrangements with the potter buy their requirements from him for a cash price. The Kummari families of Shamirpet have more clients and customers in some of the neighbouring villages which have no potters' families living in them.

THE GOLLA

[361] 233 564 476 The shepherds occupy a block of their own in the village. Some of them cultivate small land-holdings, but the major source of livelihood for all of them is their traditional occupation of keeping herds of goats and sheep. They may keep one or two cows and buffaloes besides these herds which are their livelihood. They have an elaborate lore regarding these animals, and they are experts in caring for quite large herds. They train country dogs to help them in this, and with their aid prevent the goats from going [782] astray when they are taken out for grazing in the forest. By turns the Golla families in the village contribute goats or sheep for sacrifice in the village ceremonies. For this they are not paid. With this exception, they carry on all other transactions with the village people in cash. When people buy goats and sheep, the owner of the animal is always paid in cash. For goat's milk they expect spot payment, but arrangements for weekly or monthly payments may be made in the case of regular buyers. However, in one respect they may also enter into an agreement with the agriculturists which may entitle them to a small share of each harvest. After the harvest, when all the crops have been reaped, the agriculturists ask the Gollas to graze their herds on their fields and keep them penned in during the night. As there is very little fodder in the fields, the shepherds take the goats and sheep out for grazing in the nearby forest, and during the night keep them in the field. [241] The urine and dung of the herd is believed to be good manure, and as such this service is much in demand by the agriculturists. The shepherds often fix days with the agriculturists, and each one has his turn only on a limited number of days. According to the nature of agreement between the cultivators and the shepherds, the payment is either in cash or the latter collect their dues from the fields at the time of harvesting.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Telugu AWI?

zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda), copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E, and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history—and legend—rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

Population densities are not high—**170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in Hyderabad. Villages are essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.[28]

Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest, and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an important railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial development is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins; old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness—a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

Telangana: Aspect and Prospect

Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own internal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

[28] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

312 Tungabhadra scheme; but the history of large-scale irrigation here is discouraging, though of course much experience has been gained since the 377 Kurnool failure. With the development of hydro-electricity there may come 491 decentralised industrial development on the Mysore model; but Mysore 433 had a more solid backing in at least some industry, sericulture and Bhadravati iron for instance, to give a base. Telangana is not without resources such as oilseeds and fibres (including sheep and goat wool), and in view of *India's* shortages in non-ferrous metals development of the poor communication net might lead to at least some exploitation of the scattered minerals. But when all is said, it seems likely that Telangana will remain, if not a backward, at least a poor country.

The Anantapur-Chittoor Basins

133 Between the bold scarp of the Palkonda Range and the higher Mysore levels are a series of basins around the middle courses of the Penner tributaries—Chitravati, Papagni, Punchu/Cheyyeru, the last two with a remarkable confluence-gorge in the Palkondas. To the SE the sub-region breaks down to the Nellore/Coromandel plains through the little intermont basins of the Nagari Hills (up to 2800 ft) and through the broader Swarnamukhi valley, which may occupy a fault-trough under the Palkondas. The whole area is crossed by N/S or NE/SW trap dykes, which may also have some influence on the remarkable drainage-pattern.

311 The area is isolated and poor, except in the extreme SE—the Nagari valleys, culturally transitional to Tamilnad. Only 20% of Chittoor Dt is cultivated—less than any other Madras District except the Nilgiris—but the density is **304**, intermediate between the Ceded Districts (*c.* **185**) and the coastal plains (**450–650**). Millets account for over 40% of the cropped area, followed by rice and groundnuts (24 and 14%).

491 There is no urban or industrial development worth mentioning. The 311 Nagari basins are better cultivated than those of the plateau, but even they 133 are not very impressive agriculturally: their flattish floors are broken by patches of sandy soil, almost bare but for a thin grass/acacia cover, and by naked rock exfoliation surfaces, looking like *roches moutonnées* and often used as threshing floors. Around the plain a lateritic piedmont slope fringes the craggy hills, with boulders as big as a small house on the talus slopes. ●[361] Below the lateritic apron is a better-watered and more fertile piedmont strip, which is in places a solid belt of paddy, the zone of bush and trees along the laterite margin being a favoured settlement-line. It is a strange landscape: fantastic hills, stacked and pinnacled, long ridges capped by massive quartzites, reflected in the still waters of the big tanks with their borders of toddy palms; an eerily attractive picture under iron-blue or grey skies.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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133 dicates deposition in shallow but not sheltered waters, and the general lie of the E coast may thus be of great antiquity. The change in strike between the Orissa Hills and the Cuddapahs is very closely followed by the coast.

137 The hills are wooded and the pattern of relief stands out clearly on forest
132 and population maps (Figs. 18, 30); but the forest is thin, rainfall being
523 only about 40 ins. and the rocks porous or fissured. The few inhabitants are mostly Chenchus, an aboriginal tribe living a semi-pastoral existence eked out by the collection of honey, bamboos, fuel for the railways, and other minor forest produce.

311 The valleys, however, though on the whole poor enough, have a fair
312 amount of cultivation, mostly jowar (25–30% TSA), other millets, groundnut (16–20%), with some irrigated paddy. The topography in the longitudinal valleys favours the construction of large tanks by bunding a transverse
[496] tributary gorge. The main (GIP) Madras–Bombay railway strikes diagonally across the S of the region, and is one of the most interesting traverses
133 in India. The hill country is first entered in the Nagaris, which are the last
● 361 Cuddapah outliers; here Renigunta and Tirupati are little towns controlling at once the route up the Swarnamukhi, the crossings of the river, and
311 the col to the N between the Palkondas and Velikondas. Beyond, in the Razampeta corridor, the contrast between cultivated floor and barren hills is exceedingly sharp. The generally arid aspect is mitigated by groves of
[342] mangoes around the tanks; houses are stone- or mud-walled, and round beehive huts, striped vertically in white and rusty red, attest the Telugu country. After crossing the wide bed of the Cheyyeru, the line emerges at Cuddapah from grey and arid hills into a greyer plain, a vast ash-coloured expanse largely given over to dry cultivation. The region lies on the margin of the October–December rainfall area of the Madras littoral, and the rivers rise in the dry Mysore Maidan, not in the Wn Ghats as do Kistna and Tungabhadra; hence, even in August, the great streams—Penner itself, Cheyyeru, Papagni, Chitravati—may be spreads of quartzite boulders, shingle, or sand, several hundred yards wide with a line of water a yard across, or even not a drop; while only 90 miles to the N the Ghats-fed rivers are full, great ribbons of muddy water half a mile or more wide.

312 Through the Kunderu valley runs the ill-starred Kurnool Canal, constructed in 1860–76 by a private company which apparently failed to notice the difference in the régimes of Peninsular and extra-Peninsular rivers; the complete, but inefficient, canal had eventually to be taken over by the government in 1882 after two decades of mismanagement. The topographical layout is obviously encouraging, and it is now proposed to recast the whole project, with reservoirs on the Kistna and at Someswaram in the lowest of the Penner watergaps; the project, if carried out in full, would irrigate no less than 3 m. ac., mostly, however, in the coastal plain of Nellore.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India Telug AW17

dead, especially since the cessation of coolie emigration to Burma and Malaya.

(b) *The Deltas*

These, like N Kanara on the W coast, form an 'overlap' region, the breaching of the En Hills by the Godavari and the Kistna leaving the limits in the hinterland indeterminate where the hills virtually disappear for about 100 miles. There is of course a marked break of grade where the rivers cross the line of the hills—the Kistna, as we have seen, is actually superimposed across the Nn end of the Cuddapah Ranges, and here the gradient is 3½ ft or more to the mile, against 7–9 ins. near the sea. Their discharge is of course irregular; it has been estimated that in high flood the Kistna carries enough silt "to cover daily an area of 5 sq mls to a depth of one foot".[1]

[1] *Madras Gaz.* (1908), I. 167.

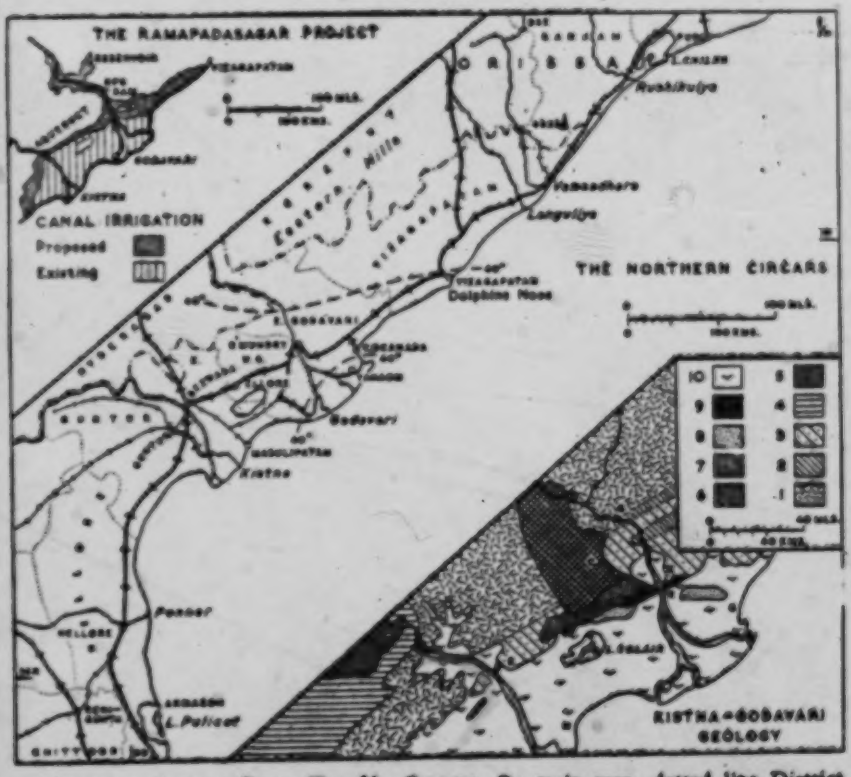

Fig. 140.—ANDHRA DESA: THE NN CIRCARS. On main map, dotted line District boundaries—K, Kistna, WG, W Godavari Dts; all railways ST, BG (thick line) or metre. *Geology*: 1, Archaean gneisses; 2, Chartsockites; 3, Khondalites; 4, Cuddapah; 5, Vindhyan; 6, Lower, 7, Upper, Gondwana; 8, Tertiary; 9, Deccan Lava outlier; 10, alluvium. G, graphite; K, kaolin; C, coal (doubtful value); other initials towns, as on main map.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWN

CHITTOOR DISTRICT.

THETTUPALLI.

[*By E. Krishnamurthi, Christian College, Madras.*]

Preliminary.—Thettupalli, belonging to the Punganūr Zamindari in the Chittoor district, is situated in a valley, surrounded by some rocky, and some gently sloping hills on three sides within a radius of 1½ miles, and on the north by hills more distant. The hills are not cultivated. Some have grass, some scrub jungle, some thick forest, about ten miles away there is dense jungle with tigers. It is on the same level as the Mysore plateau, about 2,000 feet above sea-level.

The total population of the caste village is 149—men 43, women 43, children 63 (36 males, 27 females).

Castes 11.—Brahman, Komati (Vaisya), Kapu (cultivators), Balija (cultivators), Dhoby, Karamala (Blacksmith), Boya (cultivating low caste), Yekili (low caste Muhammadan), Kummara (Potter), Muhammadan, Dommara. The Dommaras are travelling pedlars who also cultivate and manufacture country carts.

Caste.		Brahman.	Komati.	Kapu.	Balija.	Dhoby.	Karamala.	Boya.	Yekili.	Kummara.	Muhammadan.	Dommara.
Number of families		2	2	4	4	2	1	8	1	1	2	2
Individuals ...	Males.	1	2	6	4	4	1	13	1	2	3	4
	Females	2	1	4	7	4	3	11	2	2	2	4
	Children under 12.	3	5	8	6	9	1	12	4	3	7	4
	Total ...	6	8	18	17	17	5	36	7	7	12	12
Children living under 12 ...		3	5	8	6	9	1	12	4	3	7	4
Dead		...	...	2	6*	4	...	8	2	...	4	3

* All the six belong to one family. Seven were born, of whom 6 died and the remaining one is a baby 3 months old.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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242 [782] The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

232 *Cattle diseases—Kurama.*—The ox or cow when it suffers from this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

342 *The village.*—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

463 [286] 465 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no longer raised.

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets mamuls called *thiripanna* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four puttles; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same mamuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 489 There is a local road which passes by this village running from Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

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station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

Economic condition.—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee	
Ragi	...	...	...	10	" "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10	" "
Cholam	...	...	...	9	" "
Tamarind		...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*	
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6	"
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8	"

The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

Expenditure on religious festivals.—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

Sanitary condition.—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¼ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzalu or cholam about 1¾ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

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MYSORE.

GOWNIPALLE.

[*By E. Krishnamurti, Christian College, Madras.*]

361 *Preliminary.*—Gownipalle, Srinivaspur taluk, Kolar district, Mysore, is situated in a low marshy district.

133 It has no forests or even jungle—only thick under-growth. No big rivers—only a stream about a furlong from the outskirts of the village. No hills near by. But about nine miles off there is a very big hill clothed with forest and abounding in good game.

162 *Population.*—Total population of caste village 417—men 119, women 133, boys 77, girls 88; homesteads 116.

[564] *Castes.*—Brahman, Komati (traders), Dhobis, Kammala (blacksmith), Bōya and Yekili (agricultural labourers), Kummara (potters), Muhammadan, Barber, Besta (labourers), Edigi-Gandla (oil-mongers), Sāthāni (non-Brahman temple servants).

Number of families and individuals in each caste—

Caste.	Brahmans.	Komati.	Dhobi.	Bōya.	Yekili.	Kummara.	Barbers.	Besta.	Kammara.	Edigi-Gandla.	Sāthāni.	Muhammadans.
Number of families.	11	...	..	14	1	1	5	6	1	1	2	30
Males ..	16	6	6	10	...	1	6	6	1	1	2	44
Females ...	24	10	6	13	1	2	7	6	1	3	1	45
Children. { Boys ...	13	6	2	9	..	3	3	8	1	3	1	23
Children. { Girls ..	15	7	4	8	...	1	4	7	2	2	3	25
Total ...	68	29	18	40	1	7	22	27	5	9	6	137

Paracheri—Population.—Total 126—men 41, women 40, boys 20, girls 25. Number of families 31.

Statistics of births and deaths—

Year.	Population.				Total.	Births.	Deaths.				Total.
	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.			Adult males.	Adult females.	Children. Males.	Children. Females.	
1912	212	210	135	122	669	22	2	5	4	..	11
1913	192	201	111	120	624	24	25	13	6	6	50
1914	180	193	107	106	586	14	10	6	3	3	22
1915	160	174	97	113	544	26	2	2	4	1	9

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231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

237 *Manuring.*—Nearly 90 per cent of the cow-dung is used as manure, the rest being used for household purposes.

Almost all the cattle urine is allowed to run to waste except trifling quantities used for household purposes.

241 The green manure chiefly used is the leaf of the Kanaga tree. Generally all kinds of green leaf are held to be good manure. This is obtained chiefly from the surrounding jungle, licences being obtained on payment of a fee to the Maharaja's Government. Sometimes topes are planted for the purpose.

No other kinds of vegetable manure are largely used. In some cases, for instance in the cultivation of sugarcane, the refuse left after the oil has been squeezed out from the fruit of the Kanaga tree is used.

232 Insect-pests and cattle diseases and the method of combating them are the same as in Thettupalli.[1]

361 *The village.*—The village occupies an area of 9·36 acres. The tendency is for the members of one caste to congregate together. For example all the Muhammadans live in one part of the village together. The Komatis live exclusively in one street.

342 The depressed classes live in dirty and squalid huts of but one room.

There are in the caste village 85 thatched houses, none tiled, 63 terraced; in the Paracheri, only thatched houses 31 in number. There are no gardens adjoining any of the dwellings. The fields lie adjoining and surrounding the village. The most distant field lies about three-quarters of a mile off.

There is a great demand for additional building sites.

435 If land is obtained direct from the Government a fee of ½ anna per square yard is charged, payable on sale. If dry land is acquired for the purpose from pattadars, the value ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre. It is only near this village that the value is so low. Further up the value goes up to nearly Rs. 300 or Rs. 350.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are only two pariahs who weave at all. They use two handlooms.

[281] No hand spinning is practised. Yarn is bought ready made. The other crafts are—

Crafts.	Average time.	Earnings per year.	Remarks.
Blacksmith.	The major part of the day.	About Rs. 300 a year.	He receives customary mamûls. At harvest time gets about 10 puttis of paddy. There are also inams in his name.
Potter ...	The major part of the day and almost throughout the year.	About Rs. 100 a year.	Do.
Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamûls.

438 *Village trade—Purchase of commodities by the village.*—Wood for implements is got from the forests already mentioned. Iron

1 [See category 116, pp. 99-100.—Analyst]

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implements are bought chiefly in Chintamani, about 18 miles off, and also at Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off. 438

Articles of consumption are bought at the weekly fair held here on Tuesdays, also in Chintamani, Kothakota and some other places.

Sale of village produce.—The quantities produced here are: paddy 500 puttis,* ragi 200, † sugarcane to the value of about Rs. 1,500, other millets and pulses to the value of about Rs. 1,000. 433 [804]

Out of this whatever is required for household purposes is retained. The rest, more than 50 per cent, is sold away. The nearest market is Chintamani. Sometimes the grain is transported to Bangalore also.

There are about three local roads, one from Gownipalle to Addegal, a village 4 miles off, one from the village to Manchinillakota, a village 6 miles off, and the other up to Todigol, 6 miles off. Another short road running for three miles runs up to the Mysore frontier. On the other side is British territory and there is no road further up. The local road to Tadigol connects with the Bangalore-Cuddapah road. The nearest commercial centres are Chintamani and Bangalore, accessible by the said road. The nearest railway station is Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off, reached by road. 491 361 [498]

The fair that takes place here every week is a big affair. People from very different parts come here. The fair is nominally held on Tuesday, but it generally extends from Monday to Wednesday. The chief business is carried on in stock, especially sheep and goats. Business in these is carried on to the extent of Rs. 4,000. They are chiefly sent to the Kolar Goldfields for slaughter and consumption. 543 438

Economic condition of village.—The customary rates of wages, in money, are from 2 to 3 annas per day, for a man; and 1½ annas for a woman; in kind, 2 seers of ragi, or 3 seers of paddy to a man, 1½ seers of ragi or 2 seers of paddy to a woman. 465

The current prices of staple foods are— 435

Rice	...	..	...	8 Mysore seers for a rupee.
Ragi	...	...	...	28 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	20 " "
Cholam	...	...	...	14 " "
Tamarind	...	...	...	Re. 1 for a maund.
Jaggery	...	...	...	Rs. 2 "
Chillis	...	...	...	Rs. 4-8-0 "
Dhôll	...	...	...	8 seers for a rupee.

About four or five families have made savings to the extent of Rs. 5,000, but on the other hand others have contracted debts to the extent of Rs. 10,000. Owing to scarcity of rains and failure of crops the people have been obliged to borrow heavily to meet current and occasional expenses. 454 426

There are practically no families who have liberated themselves from debt. While paying off old scores they borrow in new places.

There is a co-operative credit society. The capital is subscribed in shares of Rs. 10 each payable in twenty monthly instalments. 453

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* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 43 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

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KISTNA DISTRICT.

VUNAGATLA.

[*By K. S. Narayana Murti, Christian College, Madras.*]

361 Vunagatla, in the Yernagudem taluk of the Kistna district, is an upland village, four miles distant from Nidadavolu, an important centre of railway and river traffic. On one side it is bounded by the high road from Nidadavolu to the Godāvari Agency, on the other by a great sandy tract filled with palmyra trees. The 132 climate is extreme, the unbearable heat of summer being followed by the excessive rains of the rainy season, and the extreme cold of winter. It is a purely dry village, depending entirely on the annual rains.

161 *Population.*—The population has been increasing steadily since the first census.

Census.	Population.	Census.	Population.
1871	1,237	1901	2,150
1881	1,567	1911	2,519
1891	2,017		

Brahmans and Vaisyas are increasing, and so are the Sudras, who are temperate and simple and hardy in habits. The rate of mortality is high among the Pariahs and washermen and other low castes.

163 The official figures of births and deaths cannot be entirely relied on. They are, for 1911—15, as follows:—

Births.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1911	33	52	85
1912	55	49	104
1913	49	49	98
1914	48	52	100
1915	41	52	93
	226	254	

165 *Deaths.*

Year.	Cholera.	Small-pox.	Fevers.	Respiratory diseases.	Other causes.	Men.	Women.	Children under 14.	Total.
1911	226	...	42	...	28	71	88	137	296
1912	...	...	48	...	47	30	24	41	95
1913	...	...	62	3	2	18	20	29	87
1914	6	8	62	4	18	33	40	25	98
1915	...	112	41	17	13	53	49	81	183

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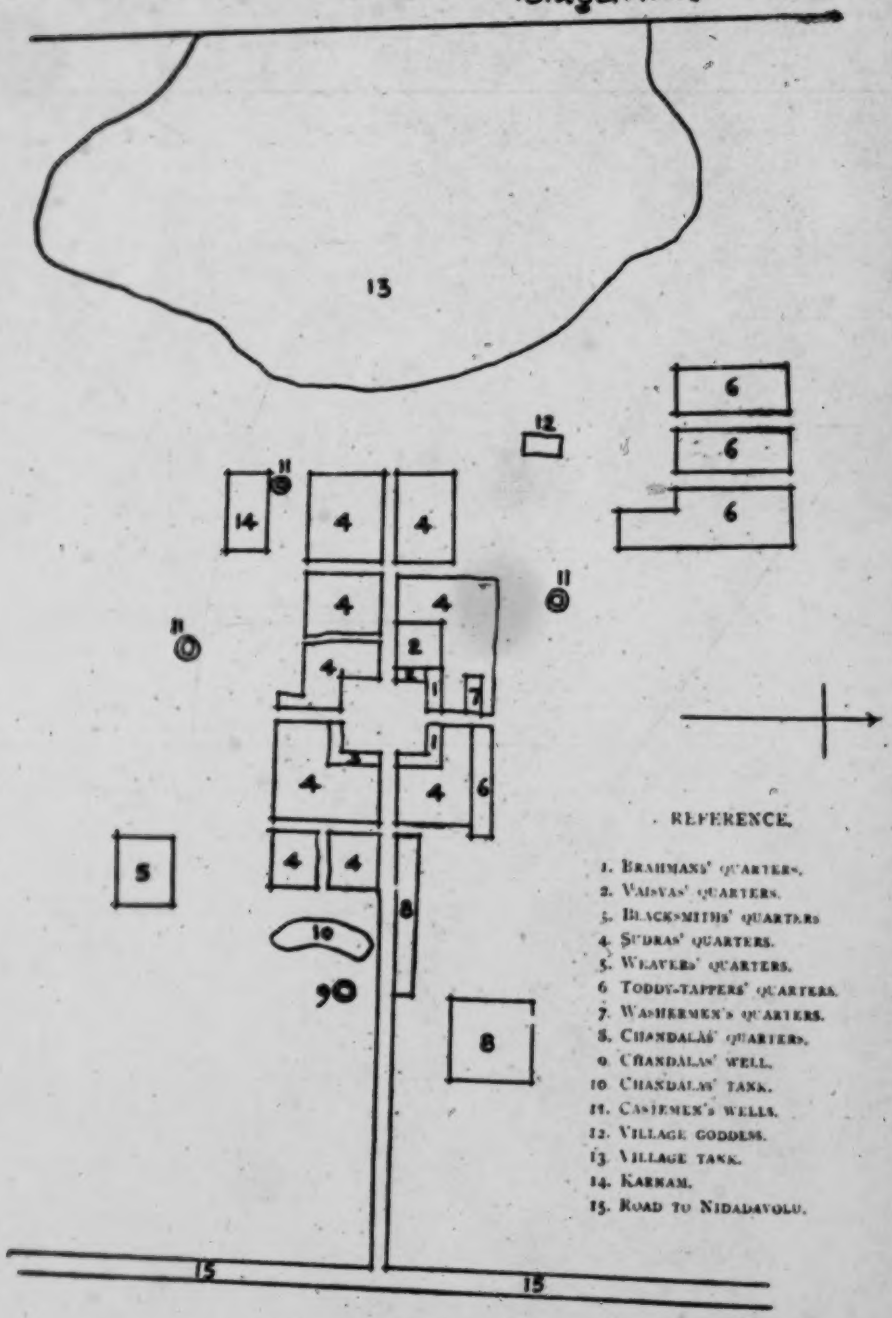
361



REFERENCE.

1. Brahmans' quarters.
2. Vaisyas' quarters.
3. Blacksmiths' quarters.
4. Sudras' quarters.
5. Weavers' quarters.
6. Toddy-tappers' quarters.
7. Washermen's quarters.
8. Chandalas' quarters.
9. Chandalas' well.
10. Chandalas' tank.
11. Casteless's wells.
12. Village goddess.
13. Village tank.
14. Karnam.
15. Road to Nidadavolu.

MAP OF VUNAGATLA.

[facing p. 111]

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241 435 No exact accounts are possible, for the ryots do not keep any record of them.

Items.	Rs.	A.	P.
2 Bullocks, for keep... ... ... (The figures given by the four ryots were Rs. 75, 80, 90, 80; two cows also are maintained out of this.)	80	0	0
2 annual servants (Rs. 50 and Rs. 25 respectively)	75	0	0
1 plough, its necessary implements	2	0	0
" charges for making it	2	0	0
Seed for two crops	28	0	0
Coolies to weed two crops	40	0	0
Coolies to harvest it (some say even Rs. 20) ...	15	0	0
Government tax at Rs. 1-12-0 per acre	17	8	0
Rent, if the land is leased, at least	100	0	0
Perquisites at harvest time—			
to the head servant one bag	7	0	0
to the second servant half a bag	3	8	0
to the village barber three or four seers (at 8 seers per rupee)	0	8	0
to the washerman...	0	8	0
to the shoemaker, 16 or 20 seers	2	8	0
to three village servants, 2 seers each	0	12	0
To manure the fields in summer with rented flocks of sheep and goats, as is the custom, for eight or ten days at an acre a day; the tenant takes three-fourths of the milk on such days ...	35	0	0
Other agricultural implements (even higher) ...	5	0	0
Other repairs of the field, such as digging up the soil, etc.	5	0	0
Total expenses for ten acres ...	424	4	0

[132] During the last two years there were excessive rains; crops failed badly; there was double the expenditure for useless plants; the cultivators had to sow three times, so that the average expenditure for seed was trebled. Such extraordinary expenditures are frequent. But assuming the season is favourable the utmost that the cultivator can get is—

	Rs.	A.	P.
40 bags of paddy at Rs. 4½ per bag	170	0	0
20 bags of gingelly at Rs. 7½ per bag	150	0	0
30 bags of cholam at Rs. 6¼ per bag	187	8	0
20 bags of Bengal gram at Rs. 8-5-4 per bag ...	175	0	0
20 bags of red gram at Rs. 7½ per bag	150	0	0
Black gram	8	0	0
Total ...	840	8	0

The average crop is Rs. 560 or Rs. 600 per annum. The cultivator can moreover earn in summer 90 or 100 rupees by letting out his cart to convey jaggery.

361 The area of the village-site is 33 acres 32 cents. The dwellings of the depressed castes, about 125 in number, are crowded

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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together on the northern and north-east sides of the village. On the northern side, but apart from the village, crowded together in irregular muddy streets of obnoxious smell are the houses of the washermen (70 houses) and the toddy-drawing class (150 in number). All are thatched with palmyra leaves. It is difficult to go into the midst of these huts because of the bad smell. 361 [342]

There are 271 houses in the caste village according to official information, actually 350; 125 in the paracheri.

The village is rather crowded and there is no space for gardens. There is much demand for building sites. There are extensions on the north and south sides into the fields. Some houses contain even two or three families crowded together. From Rs. 2 to 3 per square yard is paid for house-sites. Some of the cultivated land is distant 5½ miles from the home of the cultivator. A hereditary disposition to hate changes, as well as party feelings, and suspicions of inequalities, prevent the ryots from exchanging to get their land continuous. Field huts are used, but mostly for the working seasons only, and are not permanent. [578]

Subsidiary industries.—At the time of the 1891 census there were 69 weavers; in 1901, 17; in 1911, 12; now there are only three. Foreign yarn of 10, 20 and 40 Nos. is purchased from fairs held at Nidadavolu, four miles off. The cloth woven is a very rough sort, used by the very poor classes; 75 per cent of the people prefer and use foreign goods. The implements are of the ordinary country type and of primitive nature. There is no co-operation among the weavers. They are unable to face the mill competition. As they find little demand for their goods, they are frequently forced to go away as agricultural labourers, and practise weaving only as a hobby for leisure hours. A weaver with five sons, as a rule, sends four of them to agricultural work and only one to his own industry. Till 10 years back 95 per cent of the population used to wear the village cloth. Now 75 per cent prefer and use foreign clothing. Two weaving families recently went to Rajahmundry as factory coolies. Ten years ago, many women of low castes used to practise handspinning. A little cotton was grown in the village up to 1912, but latterly it was sold for higher prices than the spinners could pay. 286

Economic condition of the village—Rates of wages.—Labourers are employed for the day or for the year. In the latter case Rs. 25 per annum is paid to boys and Rs. 50 per annum to men. For daily labourers the wage is three to four annas to men; 1½ to 2 annas to women; 1 to 1¼ annas to children; this may be paid in grain or money, or half in money and half in grain. The only perquisites are at harvest time. Thus for each crop, the yearly labourer receives 8 or 12 seers; on the whole 1 bag nearly. In festivals, they are given only meals and nothing more. 465

Current prices— 435

	Rs.	A.	P.
Paddy per bag of 166 lb.	5	8	0
Cholam "	9	1	6
Gingelly "	12	8	0
Red gram "	8	6	0
Kambu "	9	6	0
Soap nuts "	7	8	0
Ghee, per tin...	18	0	0

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available.

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission.

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village.

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals.

The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; in return for the service, the government grants them the use of certain rent-free lands. 27

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

certain rent-free lands. Moreover, every morning the womenfolk of each house sweep and clean that portion of the lane which lies directly in front of their own house, sprinkle it with water or water mixed with cow-dung and often decorate the entrance with designs drawn with millet or rice flour. Notwithstanding this, the lanes are not always very clean. The reasons for this are many. The Yetti Madigas do not sweep the village very regularly; and the women, when they have finished their housework, often throw the refuse into the public thoroughfare. Thirdly, very few people have latrines in their houses, and even those who have them are inclined to make their children ease themselves at the side of the road. However, the pigs kept by the Erkala caste as well as the large number of dogs in the village are good scavengers and help to keep the village clean.

4. THE HOUSES

The dwellings in Shamirpet can be classified into three main groups: the Bhawanti, the Penkutillu and the Gudse.

The Bhawanti. This is a large house with stone walls and tiled roofs; it generally stands in its own compound, which is surrounded by a wall, and invariably has five to six rooms. The following account of the house of I.R., a woman with considerable local influence and a good-sized agricultural holding, will illustrate this type of house. As we enter the gate in the compound wall we find ourselves in front of an open space which constitutes the courtyard of the house. On one side of this courtyard there is a cattle-shed, the end of which is partitioned off as a store-room for fuel-cakes made of cow-dung. Opposite the gate across the courtyard is a verandah running the whole length of the house; at one end of this verandah there is a small room in which agricultural implements are kept. The main door of the house leads into an inner court which is open to the sky. In the centre is a stone-lined sink, known as *gachhu*, which can be drained and cleaned, and here, sitting on small wooden stools, the women of the house bath. The inner court is surrounded on three sides by rooms; on one side there are two inter-connected rooms, the first being used as a dining-room and the second as a kitchen. Opposite this, running the whole length of the inner court, is a long room, while opposite to the main house door and across the inner court is a door which

312 In Tuni for instance, there were 25 fresh water wells and 18 blackish water wells. In summer 5 pot ring wells were usually provided to safeguard against insufficiency. It badly required supply of fresh water. There were tank watchers to look after the safe keeping of the water and to guard against attempts to pollute it. In Anantpur there was great water scarcity. Guntakal was another notorious instance of this type. There were only two draw wells for the whole of the Panchayat area and the water scarcity was very acute. The Government had sanctioned a scheme of one lakh of rupees, wherein the Government was to share ⅔rd and the people ⅓rd, but this did not yet come into force. Ramchandrapuram had a protected water supply scheme to meet the requirements of the local area. Mandapeta Panchayat had 5 tanks and 20 public wells, beside separate wells for Harijans. Panchayats in Kistna District again were not equally fortunate in having good water facilities. For instance, Vuyyuru had 16 public wells, out of which some were good water wells. Water had to be purchased at a heavy cost by the public. In Jaggayapeta, there were four draw wells, and six step wells but water scarcity was rampant.

Anantpur, it was said, was notorious for the water scarcity. To add to it, village factions as in the case of Dharamvaram Panchayat led to the stopping of an excellent scheme of protected water supply that was in force. A big tank and a public well served the needs of the water supply there, besides 28 draw wells and 4 step wells. In Kadiri, water supply was purely dependent on draw wells. The tank in the temple had fresh water all the year round, but no efforts were ever made to prevent people from bathing and washing therein.

The problem of water scarcity was most common in the villages in the Ceded Districts. Except Kampli Panchayat near Tungabhadra in Bellary District, Panchayats either big or small like Betumcherla, Veldurti, Kallur, etc. had great water scarcity.

364 **Sanitation and Conservancy**: Sweeping of roads, cleaning of gutters, removing of the rubbish and sewage water were some of the functions which the sanitary department of the Panchayats was expected to take up. The efficiency with which this obligation was met depended upon the staff; the Panchayat was usually capable of appointing according to its ability to pay for these services and this again was indirectly controlled by the local taxation policy. Some of the major Panchayats had their own sanitary inspectors, sanitary mistries, lady and male vaccinators, compounders and mid-wives to look to the local sanitary needs besides the usual squads of sanitary and conservancy staff like the Thotties, the male and female sweepers, gutter-cleaners,

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and maintained their own sewage and rubbish carts; provided dust-bins, besides arranging for checking up of frauds under the Food Adulteration Act. Cleaning of public and private latrines, compost and removal of night-soil and sewage water were also some of the important obligations which the major Panchayats had been undertaking.

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The table below indicates the strength of the sanitary staff, the registrar of births and deaths and other sanitary and conservancy staff provided in some of the sample Panchayats.

Name of the Village	Sanitary Inspector	Sanitary Mistry	Mid-wife	Registrar	Sweepers	Sewage Cleaners	Rubbish Cartmen	Women Labour	Latrines	Scavengers
Bhimavaram	1	2	...	2	20	2	2	20	508	72
Narsapur	1	3	...	1	20	...	...	...	...	20
Guntakal	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	39
Tanuku	1	3	1	1	...	...	...	12	400	40
Mandapeta	1	3	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	8
Ramchandrapuram	1	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nuzvid	1	1	1	1	16	1	1	4	120	20
Jaggayapeta	1	1	1	1	20	1	1	6	100	14
Dharmavaram	1	1	1	...	40	...	...	10	100	12
Kadiri	1	1	1	1	20	...	...	10	120	10
Rayadrug	1	3	1	...	...	.	...	1	223	14
Kampli	1	1	1	...	20	...	...	16	88	12
Ganapavaram	1	1	1	1	16	...	...	16	50	4
Peatapadu	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	4	...	...
Undi	1	1	1	...	12	...	...	11	88	6
Achanta	1	1	1	...	16	...	...	6	50	18
Velpur	1	3	1	...	20	...	...	55	285	20
Attili	1	3	1	1	16	2	2	60	100	115
Pamaru	1	1	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Kantaram	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pedana	1	1	1	...	40	...	...	20	40	...
Vuyyuru	1	1	1	...	20	...	...	2	500	20
Parvatipuram	1	1	1	1	20	2	4	20	500	39
Salur	1	3	4	1	40	2	4	...	200	10
Madugula	1	1	1	1	12	...	...	...	100	20
Kasimkot	1	1	1	1	20	...	4	12	200	30
Yellamanchilli	...	1	1	1	10	2	1	1	500	54
Gooty	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	10	300	20
Penukonda	1	1	1	1	30	2	2	...	...	...
Bukkapatnam	1	2	...	1	12	...	...	...	100	...
Nandikotkur	1	1	1	...	35	2	2	2	100	20
Pattikonda	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	10	200	20

● 864 Most of the major Panchayats with a few exceptions had their own sanitary staff, for the cleaning of private latrines and for the checking of the Food Adulteration. The roads were daily swept once and sometimes even twice. The Panchayats owned all the necessary contingencies and conservancy needs of the village. The Panchayats themselves appointed the Thotties, the sewage water and rubbish cart-men and paid them from the Panchayat funds. Cleaning of public latrines was also the Panchayat responsibility wherever they were provided either for the males or females. They extended the scavenging service to the private latrines by charging them at fixed rates. There were also instances where the scavengers were quite independent of Panchayats as in some villages like Bobbili, Parvaripuram, etc. in Vizagapatam where the private citizens engaged them exclusively, as scavengers refused to work under the Panchayats for one reason or other.

The sanitary inspectors, mistries and vaccinators helped the Panchayat in its local sanitary functions. They looked to the prevention of infectious diseases, inoculation, provision of dust-bins, chlorination of wells and tanks, drain and gutter clearance, etc. Registration of births and deaths was another obligation that was often looked after by these authorities.

But as the sanitary and conservancy staff was very poorly paid, a very satisfactory state of affairs could not naturally exist.

The Panchayats were not able to pay them more as even their existing salary bills tended to be burdensome to them.

As shown in the above table, most of the major Panchayats provided themselves with sanitary inspectors or mistries or vaccinators or the lady welfare attendants, but these did not go far enough to lift the village from its present morass. The observance of the D.N.O. licenses and checking up of food adulteration itself did not lead to much significant results.

231 **Slaughter Houses:** Construction of slaughter houses in the Panchayat areas for the sale of meat and flesh was also one of the obligatory duties of the Panchayats. Though the majority of the major Panchayats had provided this facility, still there were many Panchayats which had not done anything towards this obligation, while among the minor Panchayats, those that were undertaking this function were the exception rather than the rule, as in Kothapeta. Some of the major

661 Even the major Panchayats with overseers and mistries, either
653 left the budgeted plans unfinished, neglecting the roads on the plea that plans were not approved by the District Board or executed them in a haphazard piecemeal way by reducing all the estimates to an amount below Rs. 250/- which they could undertake. Some Panchayat budgets showed expenditure on roads, which were never laid but, when caught, sought to plead that they were spoiled by the time the inspecting authority could visit them. There were frauds in preparing the estimates, in the execution of contracts and in the accounts of the amounts shown as paid in the Panchayat budgets. These shady deals go unpunished for want of positive proof. Minor Panchayats portrayed better enthusiasm in the execution of their public works by the use of communal labour. However, to avoid much wastage of public money by the Panchayats more competent, honest and sincere supervising staff to look to their estimates and execution is essential. Corruption, delay and dilatory tactics should seriously be dealt with. Starting of Government Central Depots for storing and selling raw materials like lime, stone, tar, keel and other materials required for public works under Local Boards would mitigate to some extent the present evil of embezzlements of public funds. A close laison between the District Board and the Public Works Department to tighten up the supervision may also improve the position.

312 Though there is no acute water scarcity in the Circars as in the Ceded Districts there is need for providing protected water supply in Panchayats where there are no fresh water wells or to dig more wells where they are inadequate. While the Panchayats have not got resources to undertake this task, the District Boards and the State Government should take more interest.

744 Only some major Panchayats appointed sanitary inspectors,
364 vaccinators, mid-wives and compounders to look after public health, scavengers and thotties to clean the roads, drains, gutters and latrines private and public. The sanitary inspectors looked to the enforcement of the Food Adulteration Act, supervision of the slaughter houses, prevention of infectious diseases, maintenance of the public health, sweeping of the roads, etc. with the assistance of the sanitary staff. But many Panchayats were not in a position to undertake most of these functions due to the lack of funds or difficulties in recruiting scavengers and thotties as in the case of Vizagapatam due to the low salaries paid.

231 Slaughter houses were found mostly in the minor and major Panchayats where even the right of collecting the receipts was

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361 station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commer-
489 cial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

465 *Economic condition.*—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—
[804] three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*
Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

435 Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee	
Ragi	...	...	...	10	" "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10	" "
Cholam	...	...	...	9	" "
Tamarind		...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*	
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6	"
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8	"

426 The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.
There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†
There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.
[452] There is no Co-operative Credit Society.
435 Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.
796 *Expenditure on religious festivals.*—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.
164 *Sanitary condition.*—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-
[759] pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves
[743] treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.
562 Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.
●364 Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.
312 For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¼ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzalu or cholam about 1½ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

271 rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

[191] The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

[213] There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

623 *Village administration.*—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

624 There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

364 *Sanitary administration.*—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

625 There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

624 The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

674 *Crime.*—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

691 No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops.
426 The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

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796 from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150, largely spent on drink. The priests of the goddess are low caste people, chiefly the washerman caste. They get new cloths as presents. The whole celebration is barbarous and repulsive.

The village administration.—There is no panchayat in the village. 624 The village officers consist of a karnam, a munsif, and three servants. The karnam keeps the village accounts, while the munsif collects the revenue and attends to small criminal cases. The munsif does not generally care to try civil cases even within his province; they all go to the District Munsif's court.

• 364 Nobody attends to the village sanitation, though the munsif is expected to do so. The villagers too do not care to help him in his work. The Sanitary Inspector comes once in a year, and quietly goes away with satisfactory remarks from the easy chair in his note book. He being the one officer for two or three taluks, cannot pay much attention to one taluk in particular; besides he also has engineering work.

625 The police station is seven miles away. When crimes of extraordinary nature take place, the munsif reports the same to the police, who come and conduct enquiries. Most of the crimes are hushed up. Police enquiry is a sham. So is the night patrolling, which is the duty of the village servants.

692 The munsif is expected to hear petty crimes; but many cases that might have been decided here go to the Magistrate's court.

696 Many crimes have been left undetected, and the criminals unpunished, crimes which were horrible and plainly proved. As locally interpreted, the effect of the Evidence Act is such as to render the most proved case null and void for "want of proper evidence." When a murderer once escapes easily from punishment, another is at once encouraged. All the villagers know that it is these considerations that encouraged a man engaged in litigation to murder another who was about to give evidence against him. That case went unpunished. Such is the case with most murders. In fact, most men engaged in important litigation are afraid for their 674 lives in this village. In three years there have been four murders in the neighbourhood of the village, two killed in connection with litigation and two in connection with robbery from the person.

691 There is much litigation. About 45 cases are filed every year. Of these twenty to twenty-five will be for non-clearance of debts, and fifteen to twenty for land disputes. The villagers do not seem to show any hesitation or fear in resorting to the courts. The half educated Brahman in the village, acting as an agent for a vakil, with no other profession, tries to earn his livelihood by creating enmity and disputes among ignorant families and dragging them to the courts. Thus several families which were once considered very rich have been ruined. One family of Komatis, for example, with a property of about Rs. 20,000, was sued by some relations for a partition of the estate. The Vaisya refused all compromise in the earlier courts, pursued the case at enormous expense through the three courts, till he finally lost the whole estate in the High Court. In the end, the family of twelve children, with not an inch of land for support, and no means of liquidating the debts contracted for the court expenses, have sold their big house and gone away to the Agency tracts as beggars to fill their bellies. There are many families in the village similarly ruined.

443 where they could sit and deal in their goods. The anxiety of Panchayats to auction their market receipts to the highest bidder would never go further enough to make them realise their concomittant responsibilities for this fruitful source of income and those who contributed to it. The sheds were provided for in Attili and Akividu in West Godavari, Razole in East Godavari, and Dharmavaram in Anantapur. These were only rare exceptions rather than the rule in each and every district. If that was the situation in major Panchayats, the minor Panchayats could not naturally do more.

764 **Burning and Burial Grounds—Construction and Maintenance :** Practically very few Panchayats seemed to be doing anything towards this obligation. Except in a few places like, Tanuku and Bhimavaram in West Godavari, and Amalapuram in East Godavari, most of the other Panchayats did not reveal recurrent attention or expenditure on this item which was one of their obligatory duties.

While informal enquiries made in Panchayats visited, revealed an abiding interest in this matter, there was no regular expenditure incurred on this item. None of the Panchayats usually provided pendals or some erections to give shade to those who had to go there. Neither the Panchayats nor their supervisory staff ever seemed to have insisted on the careful observance of this obligation.

365 **Night Lighting in Streets :** Provision of lights for the convenience of the passers-by in the streets in villages was done in most of the Panchayats. They were either kerosene or petromax, gas or electric lights. Where there was no electricity, the number of lights compared to pre-war times had been less. Except in some places where either the Panchayat was superseded or the Panchayat was in no way able to meet this obligation, the lighting facilities were always provided either it was a 1st, 2nd or 3rd grade Panchayat. The situation in the minor Panchayats was a bit different and most of them were not able to provide this facility, not so much because they could not afford it, but beacuse there was no effective power to enforce this obligation.

The following table gives the numbet of lights now used and existed prior to the rationing of kerosene oil.

365

Name of the Village	Pre-war		Post-war		Electric Lights
	Kerosene Oil Lights	Petro-max Lights	Kerosene Oil Lights	Petro-max Lights	
1st Grade:					
Tuni	280	16	160	...	...
Narsapur	182	...	82	17	...
Guntakal	...	...	170	12	...
Bhimavaram	86	...	50	13	...
2nd Grade:					
Mandapeta	...	...	81	...	46
Ramchandrapuram	...	...	...	...	60
Nuzvid	...	...	...	...	186
Jaggayapeta	...	...	46	6	...
3rd Grade:					
Dharmavaram	...	...	117	6	...
Kadiri	...	...	101	12	...
Razole	...	...	60	9	...
Akividu	87	...	40	12	...
Yellamanchili	...	...	...	...	...
Gooty	...	...	120	13	...
Dhone	...	...	56	...	...
Bukkapatnam	...	...	31	8	...
Minor Panchayats:					
Kapileswarapuram	20	...	...	...	...
Kothapeta	...	...	52	7	...
Vasadi	...	...	10	...	...
Gorantala	...	...	24	4	...
Kandavilli	...	...	15	...	...
Veldurti	...	...	10	...	...

An examination of the resources of the Panchayats in most instances revealed that they were capable of improving upon the existing number of lights they were providing and the sooner they were made to do this the better.

Again, a word about the way in which this obligation was met with was essential. Some Panchayats enstrusted the work of street-lighting to contractors after calling tenders and many times they made a fiasco of this obligation by never providing proper lighting facilities to the village streets, the lights hardly burned or very often

366 they were off soon after they were lit. Sometimes there was a partial contract by which the kerosene oil lights were provided by Panchayats while the petromax lights were provided by the contractor or vice versa, and the same evils were revealed to be pregnant in this practice too.

217 **Provision of Libraries and Newspapers**: Libraries and reading rooms were provided by Panchayats in a large number of places. Though most of the 1st grade Panchayats had no such provision except in Tuni, 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats showed greater interest in the matter. The inquiry showed that almost all the 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats and a large number of minor Panchayats too were providing this facility to the public. The charges varied from Re. 0-4-0 to Re. 1 depending on the number of books and periodicals in the library.

Very few Panchayats like Amalapuram had big libraries with a separate manager-clerk and office-boys while the libraries in other Panchayats were managed either by a separate clerk or by the executive of the Panchayat itself. In a few places, individual subscriptions were also collected at the rate of as. 4 and as. 8 according to the nature of facilities given to the subscribers.

The library grants by the Government were few and far between and most of the libraries were not receiving them.

543 **Management of Fairs and Festivals**: Management of fairs and festivals and provision of amenities for the pilgrims — erecting of barracks, stalls, urinals and sheds and other public health amenities—belonged to the domain of Panchayats whenever important celebrations were held within their confines. The money that was to be spent on conveniences was either collected by way of subscriptions or obtained as a grant from the Government or spent from the funds of the Panchayat.

Hardly any of the 1st grade Panchayats had this obligation, while a few in the 2nd and 3rd grades and some of the minor Panchayats seemed to be undertaking this work. Ramchandrapuram, and Tanuku in East Godavari and Bhimavaram in the West Godavari discharged this obligation. In Anantapur, Kadiri Panchayat had to manage every year the Car-festival of Narsinhaswamy. An illustration of a typical expenditure as in Kadiri would indicate the nature of expenditure incurred by Panchayats on such occasions :

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 967

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sale. 443

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

Management of fairs and festivals was done by a few minor or major Panchayats, but, without exploiting their privileged position by means of a pilgrim tax or a tax on the vendors. 543

Optional functions like plantation of trees, provision of cart and bus stands, radio sets for listeners, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, etc. were done only by very few Panchayats. 623

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Panchayats were superseded and special officers were appointed to administer them for a year or two, when Panchayats could not work properly either due to local factions or opposition to taxation or any other undesirable features. Fresh Panchayat was ushered in only after the prevailing irregularities were removed and when the prospects of its smooth working were tolerably certain. 687 623

Panchayats surveyed had two slaughter houses each, one for sheep and the other for cattle and in a large number of cases, they were auctioned out rather than managed by Panchayat itself. 231

A significant irregularity in this instance was the twofold practice i. e. departmental management versus leasing out to private bidders. While the authorities of Local Boards desired departmental management of collection of receipts and supervision, some Panchayats had been evading this method for long by handing it over to private auctioneers with impunity and the Local Board Officials did nothing to check this growing practice especially more prevalent in the Ceded Districts than in the Northern Circars. Similarly they did nothing to enforce this obligation in many Panchayats which did nothing beyond the provision for construction of slaughter houses and passing resolutions to that effect in their meetings.

Parks: Parks were intended to cater to the recreation facilities of the public in the area of the Panchayat as it was one of its obligatory duties. 367 207

But the survey revealed no enthusiastic observance of this obligation even in the best and economically capable Panchayats. Most of the major Panchayats were practically negligent about it though a few 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats and occasionally a minor Panchayat here and there had taken up this matter seriously. In East Godavari, Razole Panchayat had beautiful park with radio for listeners, while Panchayats like Nidadavol and Tanuku in West Godavari had only radios with loud speakers for listeners' convenience. In the Ceded Districts, Dharmavaram in Anantpur, Kampli in Bellary, Maddikera in Kurnool, and Yellamanchili in Vizagapatam District had nice parks while the majority of other major Panchayats had only radio sets. Most of the Minor Panchayats had no parks, except in stray cases as Achanta in East Godavari.

Public Markets: Construction of public markets was another of the obligatory duties of the Panchayats and was observed more in the breach than in practice. Though almost every major and minor Panchayat got a regular revenue from the vendors who got their goods for offering for sale, they were left to the mercies of sun and rain without the Panchayats ever bothering about providing them with any sort of regular permanent or semi-permanent sheds 443

Table of Expenditure in Kadiri on Car Festival. 543

1	Removal of rank vegetation in the tank ...	Rs.	10	0	0
2	Cost of 15 buckets and 20 ropes ...	„	65	0	0
3	Cost of water pendals ...	„	16	0	0
4	Cost of pots and tumblers ...	„	62	0	0
5	Cost of public latrines ...	„	260	0	0
6	Isolation shed ...	„	20	0	0
7	Street watering by coolies for 6 days ...	„	30	0	0
8	Temporary menials for 14 days ...	„	72	0	0
	„ „ 8 for 5 days ...	„	40	0	0
	„ „ 6 „ 14 days ...	„	106	0	0
	„ „ 8 „ 5 days ...	„	50	0	0
9	Sanitary peons 2 for 15 days ...	„	48	0	0
10	Drain cleaners 2 for 5 days ...	„	30	0	0
11	Sanitary peons 2 for 5 days ...	„	15	0	0
12	Disinfection coolies 2 for 10 days ...	„	30	0	0
13	Baskets ...	„	25	0	0
14	Sand ...	„	30	0	0
15	Entrance, Lights, etc. ...	„	40	0	0
16	Miscellaneous ...	„	60	0	0
		Rs.	1062	0	0

In West Godavari, Velpur, Attili and Achanta Panchayats; in Kistna, Vuyyuru; in Vizagapatam Madugula and Bobbili; in Anantapur, Gooty, Madakasira, Bukkapatnam and Pamidi; and in Kurnool, along with Chembur, Gudur, Koilkuntla, Kadumunur, Markapur, Maddikera and Nandikotkur were some of the major Panchayats which were m[illegible] fairs and festivals in their areas.

Optional Duties of the Panchayats: Plantation of trees, maintenance of cart and bus stands, providing radio, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, collecting donations and catering to welfare activities were among the optional duties of Panchayats in Madras. 623

Plantation of Trees: While most of the major Panchayats in every district were paying some attention to this function, the 3rd grade and minor Panchayats needed greater stimulus. While Razole Panchayat in East Godavari had not done anything, Velpur, Achanta, Ganapavaram, and Tadepalligudam in West Godavari; Parvatipuram, Bobbili and Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, and Maddikera in Kurnool were the solitary instances of the 3rd grade Panchayats which had undertaken this function. 367

367 In the Godavari Districts again, some of the minor Panchayats appeared to be paying heed to this as in Yeditha and Kapileswarapuram but none of the minor Panchayats in other districts showed any interest.

207 **Radio**: This had become more or less a universal feature in most of the Panchayats both major and minor and provided recreation to the listening public.

485 **Provision of Bus Stands and Cart Stands**: This was a practice that was gradually growing but was not yet prevalent on a wide scale. Some of the major Panchayats had this facility within their areas as Razole in East Godavari, Tadepalligudam, Kovvur, Undi, Velpur, Akividu and Peatapadu in West Godavari, Vuyyuru in Kistna, Parvatipuram, Bobbili, Salur and Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Dharmavaram and Gooty in Anantpur, and Nandikotkur, Dhone and Pattikonda in Kurnool.

744 **Help in Case of Epidemics**: This obligation was met with varying degrees of success in the several Panchayats. The Panchayats in the 1st grade were giving every possible attention, while the Panchayats in the 2nd and 3rd grades were not always able to do much though they too appeared to be very enthusiastic. For instance, the 2nd grade Panchayats like Vuyyuru and Jaggayapeta in Kistna and 3rd grade Panchayats like Razole in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Bobbili, Salur and Parvatipuram in Vizagapatam, Markapur, Maddikera, Kadiri and Nandikotkur in Kurnool, Yeditha, Gooty and Penu Konda in Anantpur and Kosgi, Harpanhalli, Kudligi, etc. in Bellary were assisting the villagers in times of infection, by providing additional sanitary help and vaccinators.

743 **Dispensaries and Medical Help**: A few Panchayats began to contemplate of late to undertake this obligation. Panchayats like Amalapuram in East Godavari spent nearly Rs. 2,000 per year on this [232] item. Bhimavaram in West Godavari had constructed a veterinary hospital at a cost of Rs. 4,000 and also gave an annual donation of Rs. 2,500 to it. Tanuku and Ramchandrapuram Panchayats in East Godavari intended opening medical centres. They were found to be making the necessary preparations. Tadepalligudam, another 3rd Grade Panchayat in West Godavari was able to gather about Rs. 2,000 with a view to start a veterinary dispensary of its own. Mukkamala, a minor Panchayat in East Godavari was the first Panchayat in the Presidency to have a medical dispensary of its own since the last twenty years. In Vuyyuru and Bobbili, the

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 367

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sale. 443

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

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built the residential houses of the people belonging to the clean castes or to the Muslim community. The house of the Deshmukh, or the village headman, is the very first house and stands a little to the right of the unmetalled road that joins the main road to the village. It has a very high compound wall made of locally available stone and looks more like a small fort than a dwelling-house. In the main section of the village that sprawls to both sides of the main road it is difficult to discern any clear and systematic caste 'quarters' in which only members of one caste live. There is an unmistakable tendency among some castes, as for instance the Sakali (washermen), the Vaddar (stone-workers), the Golla (shepherds) and the Kummari (potters), to occupy houses in compact blocks on contiguous patches of land, but in close proximity are situated the houses of people belonging to other communities. In no sense can the individual clean castes be said to live in separate colonies, nor is any one caste in exclusive possession of any clearly marked out area. In many cases people live outside their own caste 'blocks'. The houses of the clean castes are built so close together that it is clear that considerations of caste distinction do not materially affect their choice of sites for the construction of houses. A Hindu may live in the immediate neighbourhood of Muslims, and often people belonging to quite different castes are one another's neighbours. It is probable that in the beginning the different castes marked out different blocks for themselves on the proposed site for the settlement. People coming later to the village either found a place to construct their houses in their caste block or had to choose a plot elsewhere. However, there are some communities which live in separate colonies or *wada*. To the east, a narrow strip of land separates the main settlement from the *Mala-wada*, or the colony of the Mala untouchables. Further east, and separated from the houses of the Malas by another narrow strip of land, is the colony of the Madigas. Distinct from both these groups, and situated to the north-east of the main village, there is a small colony of Erkala hunters, whose small circular huts stand out in marked contrast to the houses in the rest of the village.

It has already been pointed out that there is a school, a dispensary, a post office and a police station in the village. The school is at present ill-housed; it has five classes meeting in two small rooms and only two masters, who teach both Urdu and Telugu as well as the other subjects of the primary school curriculum.

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621 631 184 some parts of the country, and effective steps have been taken in very few areas to abolish village landlordism. On the other hand, with a view to reviving village self-government, some State governments are establishing village councils with recognized legal powers, the members of which are appointed by the government. Locus of power in the community is another criterion in respect of which Indian villages often present very different pictures.

369 621 184 Nearness to or isolation from large administrative or industrial centres also has a bearing on the nature of the organization of a village and of its view of the world. Availability of or nearness to modern means of transport and communications also modifies the setting and fabric of a village, and in its classification it is necessary to take into account these vital factors.

621 184 Lastly, village settlements are governed by certain traditions—regional and local. The dress, speech and manners, as well as the lay-out of the village and construction of the houses, follow the prescribed patterns of the culture-area. Thus in the different areas we can naturally look forward to a certain degree of diversity in village organization. But apart from these regional variations villages have a corporate unity, and each one possesses an individuality of its own. Some villages are regarded as 'peaceful', others as 'difficult'. Some have a reputation for generosity and fair play, while others are notorious for their meanness. Some are known for being 'upright and strict'; others are criticized for their laxity. Love of litigation is a characteristic feature of some villages; ostentation and display of others; while still others may be very sensitive about their good name. Again, co-operativeness or its absence may characterize some villages. These attributes and qualities may have their roots in strong local traditions or in a combination of factors working at a particular time. But they do give a distinctive character to the village, and a study of the social ways, processes and motivations in such villages will not be without considerable sociological and psychological interest.

In view of the operation of factors delineated above, it is difficult to regard any one village as typical or representative of rural India as a whole. In fact, I would go a step further to say that such a village could hardly be regarded as representative even of its culture-area, except in a very general way. The problem before the social anthropologist and the sociologist is therefore a complex one, and what we need to-day is a series of studies of village com-

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other factors, particularly her caste, landownership and wealth, age, distinctive personality traits, and relationship to persons holding a government or village office. But within the same caste, income-group and age-group, the position of a woman will definitely be inferior to that of a man.

Education is now regarded as important, because it provides 'the key to' the understanding of the 'wide world' and equips one better to assert one's rights and claim one's due from officials and the cunning townspeople. It is easier for educated people to get government jobs. It is generally believed that they can contact and influence government officers much better than their illiterate counterparts in the village. However, most of the 'educated' people in the village had just four years of schooling in village schools. No one has so far had any higher education. At the time of our investigations four boys from the village were studying in secondary schools in the city, and they are the first people in the village to learn the English language. Economic benefits and gain in social prestige derived through modern education have made it a mark of respectability, and it is expected that in the near future a larger number of village boys will attend secondary schools in Secundrabad and Hyderabad.

Although there is considerable prejudice and scepticism among the village people regarding city ways and other urban traits of culture, in general it may be said that the village-folk acknowledge the importance and superiority of the townspeople. Those who have urban contacts seek to distinguish themselves from the ordinary village folk in their dress, manner of speech, food and recreations. Imitation of urban ways in the last decade and a half has come to be recognized as a distinguishing feature of respectable elements of the village population.

Introduction of democratic government in Hyderabad after the Police Action, has brought about a sudden burst of activity by a multitude of political parties in the rural areas of the State. Politics and elections appear to the people to be a sort of game, and they have not yet realized their deeper and wider implications. Affiliation with political parties provides an outlet to those who are ambitious and seek recognition of their importance.

Social status conferred on an individual by the caste system must be classified as 'ascribed status'. It is still a vital factor of status differentiation in the community, but the other factors leave

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villagers are simple, superstitious and stupid. They believe anyone. Conditions in the village will never improve so long as they dominate the scene.' 'Without education a man is like a beast.' 'As you goad a bullock, you can goad an uneducated villager.' 'Why do petty government officers harass us so much? Only because we are illiterate.'

It may be pointed out here that so far the educated section consists only of people who have attended primary or secondary village schools for four to six years. The number of these people does not exceed eighty, and from among them also many have virtually relapsed into illiteracy. With the exception of some government officials who are not a permanent part of the village population, none has so far had the advantage of modern scientific education in one of the better schools of the city, although at the time of our investigations some half a dozen boys from the village were attending higher schools. It is interesting to note that persons having education in rural vernacular schools have the same fear, suspicion and general sentiments regarding those who have modern or 'English education', as the illiterate section of the population has about those who have a background of village education. Notwithstanding the popular prejudice against education of both types, its economic advantages as well as prestige value are now generally recognized. With the gradual improvement in the standards and practices of the schools more parents are now anxious to enrol their children there. Fears still persist, however, and people urge that, besides imparting literacy, the school should also equip them better for earning their livelihood.

[555]

URBAN VERSUS RURAL

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The general pattern of comment regarding urban and urbanized people is the same as that of the comment of the uneducated about the educated. In the context of urbanization, or even in that of the adoption of some urban traits, supplementary opinions are often added. 'We villagers are simple-hearted; but the town people are crafty, calculating and self-centred.' 'When the relations from the city come to stay with us we receive them well, and give them the choicest share in everything. But when we happen to go to them they have difficulty even in recognizing us. And they treat us as if we were an unwelcome burden on them.' 'Never trust a town-dweller, for he never distinguishes between

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truth and untruth. He is sweet when he wants us to do something for him; and coarse when the work is over.' 'The ways of city people are strange. They will go to bed even with their cousins and aunts.' 'The villager who has lived in the city for some years learns all the ways of the townspeople. He may be an insignificant menial in the city, but when he returns to the village he behaves like a big lord.'

The people with urban contacts, on the other hand, regard the village-folk as rustic and crude; and consider themselves more forward and civilized. They have an unmistakable tendency to look down upon 'these simple and uncomprehending people', make fun of their ways and occasionally exploit them by exerting undue pressure. 'These people are timid and foolish. They are afraid of anyone who can make some show of authority, and yield very easily to the pressure of officials', said a village youth when he was asked to give his opinion about his fellow villagers, who had not had the benefit of contacts with city ways.

Those who have some urban contacts are gradually coming to the fore in village leadership. They are often criticized and commented upon, but nevertheless their opinions are valued and in general the community looks to them for guidance in all situations 'where it has to face the outside world'.

2. CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND OLD AGE

This section is devoted to a brief study of the three most significant stages of life—childhood, youth and old age. While family, kin-group and caste are important units of social structure which influence the course of an individual's life-cycle, from the point of view of socialization and social control the significance of the village as a unit cannot be minimized. Apart from the family and the caste, people spend most of their time in their respective age-groups, and through this process of growing-up together, common play and participation in youth activity the people tend to have a common value—orientation and certain common basic attitudes towards life.

For the first two or three months of a child's life the mother remains almost in sole charge of it. A young mother is invariably instructed in the technique of mothercraft by an elderly female relative, but at this stage it is her responsibility to look after the

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127 In some respects the factors of social change operating at these two stages and the resultant trends are complementary, while in others they stand out in marked contrast. It will be useful first to analyse the changes that came about in the life and ways of the people in the last fifty years of the feudal period, and then to follow it up by an examination of some of the more recent changes brought about by the Police Action.

It is difficult to present a systematic account of the different stages of the slow and gradual transition of the village from its pre- and early-Jagir days to the conditions that it presented in the later part of the feudal period. Any attempt to do so would necessitate placing excessive reliance on oral tradition about the near past. In order to be able to compare the conditions in the two periods and to determine the main lines of variation, reconstruction of a picture of the first stage is necessary. This could be done on the basis of:

(*a*) Factual information regarding comparable, but remote villages of the region, which because of their comparative isolation and lack of urban contacts present to-day, in a broad sense, conditions that Shamirpet would have presented in the pre- and early-Jagir period. Cautious and limited use of this method of translating space into time is useful in providing us with a starting point.

(*b*) Oral traditions and memories of the people, in so far as they do not concern themes pertaining to family glory and personal pride, or those involving subjective idealization.

(*c*) Fragmentary evidence from documentary and historical sources reflecting conditions of life and living in that period. Police, revenue and other semi-legal records obtainable have been used in this connection.

The contrasting picture of the village representing the last phase of the feudal period can be drawn from actual ethnographic observation and record.

178 The major factors which influenced the course of developments
369 in the village have been mentioned earlier. However, they need some further elaboration. In the pre- and early-Jagir period the contacts between the village people and State administration were on a very limited scale, and were confined mostly to payment of land revenue and settlement of land disputes. Occasionally, criminal offences and civil suits of a serious nature were tried in

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the law courts in the city. Now and then State officials visited the village on tour. In the second half of the Jagir period these administrative contacts increased very considerably. At the same time the urban contacts of a section of the village population also grew gradually. These included visiting relations and friends in the city, receiving relations and friends from the city, occasional excursions for shopping in the large city stores and markets as well as for sight-seeing, temporary stay of a short or long duration for work in the city, and finally being in everyday touch with officials resident in the village, who were regarded as an urban element in the village population. Increased contacts with the towns and cities were greatly facilitated by the construction of the metalled road joining Hyderabad with the district headquarters of Karimnagar in the interior of the State. This road touches Shamirpet. With the introduction of bicycles and buses frequent and regular contacts with the urban areas were made possible. The progress of education has been rather slow. In the early-Jagir days only a few children belonging to the higher castes, and also to the upper level families, received any schooling. Even this was confined to a bare acquaintance with three R's. With the opening of a school in the village education was placed within the reach of a much larger section and even some untouchable children started attending the school. Some ambitious parents sent their children to the higher schools in the city where they could learn English. Books, periodicals and newspapers which occasionally found their way into the village conveyed to the people 'strange truths regarding the wide world through the medium of the printed word'. The State administration initiated some of its welfare and nation-building activities in the countryside. Agriculture, Veterinary and Animal Husbandry, Medical and Public Health, and Co-operation and Rural Development departments of the State started functioning in the rural areas. Their representatives and propagandists brought some new ideas and techniques to the village. The villagers saw their demonstrations, heard their talks, and were at times even coaxed into doing things in the new ways. This was indeed novel to them. In the earlier period government had only collected land revenue, heard some of their disputes, tried cases arising out of breaches of law, and occasionally forced them to provide practically free labour and 'presents' for touring government officials, but had never interfered with their agricultural

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THE CHANGING SCENE

In the organization of the family the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement, and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger people, especially among those who have had some education or urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an increasing scale. In making records of the biographies and general attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two steps of people emerged clearly. While the elderly and the middle-aged, mostly illiterate, complained about the inconveniences of village life, they still regarded it as the only way of life possible for *them*. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal their contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs there; and on the other it has generated disharmony and dissensions within the family causing considerable dislocation in the established principles according to which priorities and concessions went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies is not more than 10% or 15% of the total in their age-group.

The caste system in the community presents only slight variations in some directions. As before, caste still retains its endogamous character. Similarly, caste continues to be a part of, and is sanctioned by, the traditional religion. However, its occupational character has undergone some change. People are now taking to new occupations. A goldsmith has opened a tea shop. Washermen and similar other castes are accepting menial jobs in the city. These are not their traditional occupations. Besides Muslims some non-Komti Hindus have set up general shops in the village; in the traditional system only Komtis could do so. Thus people are either giving up their traditional occupations, or they are taking to occupations which by tradition belong to some other castes.

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not without hesitation, misgivings, doubts and an initial resistance. The unfortunate class of people who are semi-rural and semi-urbanized find themselves rejected by both sides: they are held suspect by their fellow-villagers as demeaned by urban associations, and are looked down upon by their urban associates for their rustic ways. Petty government servants and town-returned village-folk are not expressly recognized as leaders of the community, but all the same they set the wheels of the community in motion in the direction of social change. It is through this class of people that urban items of regional culture, and several items of the national and Western cultures are brought into the community and hesitatingly absorbed into its life. Their selection or rejection naturally depends upon their need, utility, prestige-value and conformity with or opposition to the prevailing set of values in the community.

The village people have always idealized their traditional life-ways, and have shown unmistakable suspicion for those of the city, but have generally followed the lead of the élite, which formed the dominant social group, though sometimes with their own modifications and adaptations. The gradual adoption of Sanskritic ritual by the rural communities was the first major triumph of this group in the past. The process still continues, but now 'progressive' and 'modern' elements are gradually filtering in through the semi-urbanized village-folk.

To conclude, a few remarks may be made about the influence of these new trends on the ethos and world-view of the people.

The episodic, topical and complete life-histories recorded in the course of our investigations, supplemented by observation and records of conflicts and co-operative activities in Shamirpet, provide the material for these observations on the villagers' world-view. It is necessary to point out that so far no depth-psychology studies have been done in this area nor has there been any systematic attempt to study the cultural aspects of personality. In the absence of such studies, only an outline of the dominant attitudes and goals which are characteristic of the society can be attempted. In this context, following John Gillin, 'Ethos is taken to mean the constellation of acquired drives or motivations which are characteristic of a culture, plus the goals which are both explicit and implicit, towards which

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zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda), copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E, and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history—and legend—rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

Population densities are not high—**170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in Hyderabad. Villages are essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.[28]

Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest, and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an important railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial development is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins; old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness—a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

Telangana: Aspect and Prospect

Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own internal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

[28] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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135 The mineral wealth of the region is probably considerable in the aggregate, but scattered and not very accessible. It includes unworked copper and antimony; in asbestos and barytes the region produces practically all India's output, but the amounts are only *c.* 1200 cwt. and 1800 tons p.a. ● 369 respectively. Cuddapah, with a little industry, is the only town of any 631 significance; or was until the selection in 1953 of Kurnool on the Tungabhadra for the capital of the new Andhra State, to consist of the Ceded Districts and the Northern Circars. This selection, against the claims of say Bezwada (below, 691) makes sense only if it is intended eventually to bring in the Telugu portions of Hyderabad. Kurnool has only about 13,000 people; it is perhaps significant that strong opposition came from the left-wing parties. The motivation was perhaps a desire to give the Ceded Districts some token that they would not be neglected.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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(a) *The North*: *Ganjam and Vizagapatam* (*Vizakhapatnam*)

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471 Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

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[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Sathapathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *IGJ* XXIV (1949), 26–51.

[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

For the purely delta taluks, of course, the rice proportion would be higher. Tobacco covers some 200,000 ac. in all, the best being grown on temporary sand-islands in the larger streams. Some sugar is grown, but this tall and long-standing crop must be protected from cyclones by expensive fencing with bamboos.

Again mineral potentialities are slight and development slighter. There are two tiny unworked coalfields, of dubious value, in the Gondwanas along the Godavari; graphite and kaolin are worked in a small way, mainly for Rajahmundry paper mills (which use paddy straw as well as bamboo from the hills) and for the small crucible industry at the same town. Salt evaporation at Cocanada might lead to a chemical industry. Industry itself, though very small-scale, is interesting; as well as the Rajahmundry works just mentioned, and the rice and tobacco trades to be expected, there are cement, silk, fruit canning, and vegetable ghee works. Most of these are congregated along the Kistna below Bezwada and between Rajahmundry and Cocanada. Varied as it is, the total is not impressive: the crucible industry has 150 skilled workers, the paper mill a capacity of 3000 tons p.a.; the 77 rice mills in E Godavari employ only 1800 workers, the three silk factories 122; and the total industrial population of this District is only 7200—0·39% of total population, and at that not much below the figure for Madras State (0·42%). Such as it is, this industrial development has yet led to an ominous, if incipient, competition for land in a few tracts between tobacco and paddy; fortunately the region, except for Guntur, has a sizeable rice surplus (about 400,000 tons less 110,000 tons deficit in Guntur); and counting all foodgrains Guntur also has a surplus.[1]

The industrial, and to some extent the agricultural, future of the region will depend on whether or not the great Ramapadasagar multi-purpose scheme is executed; at present financial difficulties stand in the way. The proposed dam, 428 ft high with foundations 190 ft below the river bed, and 1½ miles long, would impound 15·6 m. ac.-ft of water, irrigate for paddy some 2·35 m. ac. of un- or under-developed land, improve the supply to 2 m. ac. already irrigated, and develop at least 100,000 kW; it might also, and less beneficially, trap the silt.

There are a fair number of minor towns. The site-significances of Bezwada (161,198) and Rajahmundry (105,276) are plain; Guntur (125,255) and Ellore (64,911) are trading centres with a little industry. The ports of Cocanada (75,140) and Masulipatam (59,146) are of little use. At Masulipatam large ships must lie 5 miles offshore (weather permitting!) and the half-dozen wharves are three miles up a winding creek; yet in early European days it was a place of great importance, famous for carpets and

[1] This discussion is based on (i) Dr. V. L. S. P. Rao's interesting summary of his doctoral dissertation, "Industrial Problems, Development, and Planning [in] . . . the Lower Godavari Region" (*IGJ* XXIII (1948), 1–15); (ii) V. V. Ramanadham and V. L. S. P. Rao, *Economic Atlas of Andhra Desa* (Calcutta, 1949).

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India Telugu AW17

chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tirupatti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which nevertheless is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

364 certain rent-free lands. Moreover, every morning the womenfolk
351 of each house sweep and clean that portion of the lane which lies directly in front of their own house, sprinkle it with water or water mixed with cow-dung and often decorate the entrance with designs drawn with millet or rice flour. Notwithstanding this, the lanes are not always very clean. The reasons for this are many. The Yetti Madigas do not sweep the village very regularly; and the women, when they have finished their housework, often throw the refuse
[514] into the public thoroughfare. Thirdly, very few people have latrines in their houses, and even those who have them are inclined to make their children ease themselves at the side of the
[231] road. However, the pigs kept by the Erkala caste as well as the large number of dogs in the village are good scavengers and help to keep the village clean.

4. THE HOUSES

342 The dwellings in Shamirpet can be classified into three main
351 groups: the Bhawanti, the Penkutillu and the Gudse.

The Bhawanti. This is a large house with stone walls and tiled roofs; it generally stands in its own compound, which is surrounded by a wall, and invariably has five to six rooms. The following account of the house of I.R., a woman with considerable local influence and a good-sized agricultural holding, will illustrate this type of house. As we enter the gate in the compound wall we find ourselves in front of an open space which constitutes
[372] the courtyard of the house. On one side of this courtyard there is a cattle-shed, the end of which is partitioned off as a store-room for fuel-cakes made of cow-dung. Opposite the gate across the courtyard is a verandah running the whole length of the house; at one end of this verandah there is a small room in which agricultural implements are kept. The main door of the house leads into an
[515] inner court which is open to the sky. In the centre is a stone-lined sink, known as *gachhu*, which can be drained and cleaned, and here, sitting on small wooden stools, the women of the house bath. The inner court is surrounded on three sides by rooms; on one side there are two inter-connected rooms, the first being used as a dining-room and the second as a kitchen. Opposite this, running the whole length of the inner court, is a long room, while opposite to the main house door and across the inner court is a door which

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Telugu AWI

Tungabhadra scheme; but the history of large-scale irrigation here is discouraging, though of course much experience has been gained since the Kurnool failure. With the development of hydro-electricity there may come decentralised industrial development on the Mysore model; but Mysore had a more solid backing in at least some industry, sericulture and Bhadravati iron for instance, to give a base. Telangana is not without resources such as oilseeds and fibres (including sheep and goat wool), and in view of *India's* shortages in non-ferrous metals development of the poor communication net might lead to at least some exploitation of the scattered minerals. But when all is said, it seems likely that Telangana will remain, if not a backward, at least a poor country.

The Anantapur-Chittoor Basins

Between the bold scarp of the Palkonda Range and the higher Mysore levels are a series of basins around the middle courses of the Penner tributaries—Chitravati, Papagni, Punchu/Cheyyeru, the last two with a remarkable confluence-gorge in the Palkondas. To the SE the sub-region breaks down to the Nellore/Coromandel plains through the little intermont basins of the Nagari Hills (up to 2800 ft) and through the broader Swarnamukhi valley, which may occupy a fault-trough under the Palkondas. The whole area is crossed by N/S or NE/SW trap dykes, which may also have some influence on the remarkable drainage-pattern.

The area is isolated and poor, except in the extreme SE—the Nagari valleys, culturally transitional to Tamilnad. Only 20% of Chittoor Dt is cultivated—less than any other Madras District except the Nilgiris—but the density is **304**, intermediate between the Ceded Districts (*c.* **185**) and the coastal plains (**450–650**). Millets account for over 40% of the cropped area, followed by rice and groundnuts (24 and 14%).

There is no urban or industrial development worth mentioning. The Nagari basins are better cultivated than those of the plateau, but even they are not very impressive agriculturally: their flattish floors are broken by patches of sandy soil, almost bare but for a thin grass/acacia cover, and by naked rock exfoliation surfaces, looking like *roches moutonnées* and often used as threshing floors. Around the plain a lateritic piedmont slope fringes the craggy hills, with boulders as big as a small house on the talus slopes. Below the lateritic apron is a better-watered and more fertile piedmont strip, which is in places a solid belt of paddy, the zone of bush and trees along the laterite margin being a favoured settlement-line. It is a strange landscape: fantastic hills, stacked and pinnacled, long ridges capped by massive quartzites, reflected in the still waters of the big tanks with their borders of toddy palms; an eerily attractive picture under iron-blue or grey skies.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu

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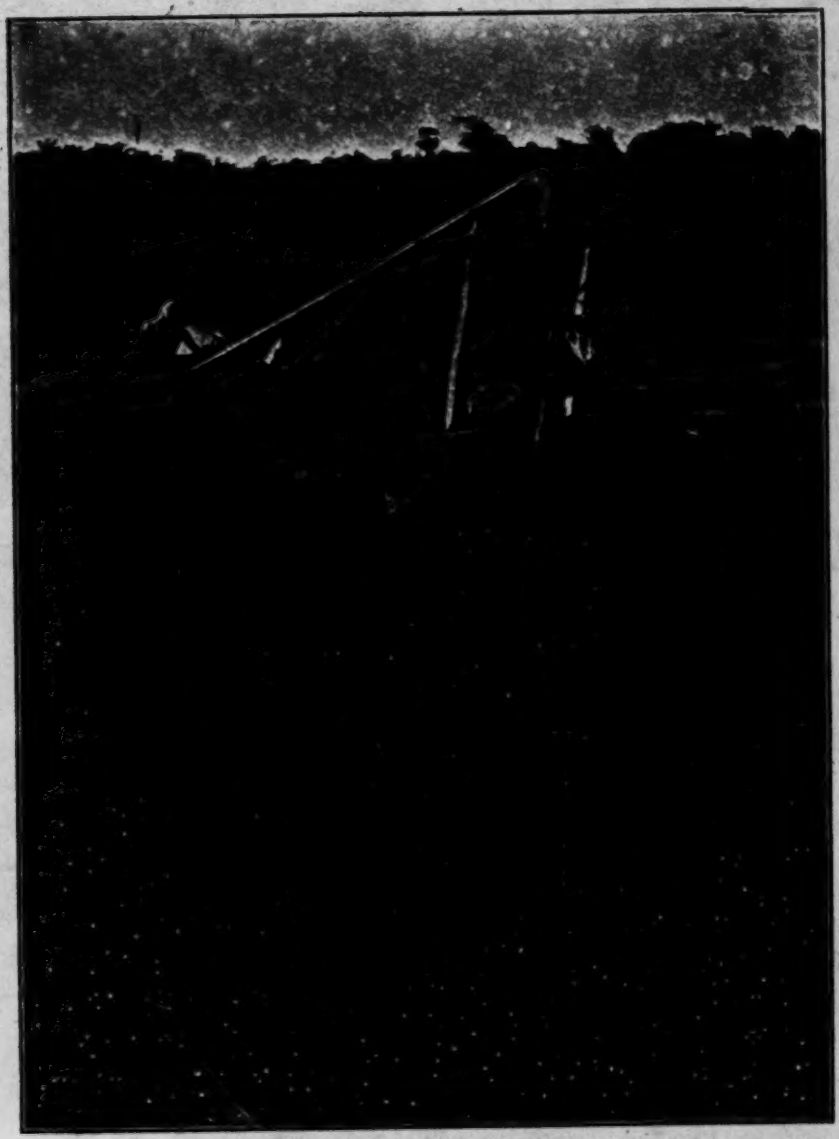
1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

medicines and injections. The old beliefs and practices survive, partly because of the non-availability of quick and efficient modern treatment, and partly also because of its prohibitive cost. Besides the two systems do not conflict, and in order to be doubly sure, most people continue magico-religious practices along with modern medicinal treatment. Adoption of several new tools and instruments for occupational work, as well as of several other items of Western technology, such as buses, railways, razors, and electric torches, introduced in the comparatively recent times is due to their efficiency and utility. In the matter of dress and ornament other factors must also be taken into account. Mill-made cloth was not regarded only as cheap and more durable; it came to be looked upon as more respectable also. The coarse handloom cloth was regarded as rustic, the finer mill-cloth, on the other hand, was more refined and dignified. Further, mill-made cloth allowed a wider range of choice in the matter of colours, designs and patterns. The style of dress was influenced by a variety of factors. Under Muslim rule the style of dress of the rulers became fashionable. With Congress in power there was a sudden switch from the Muslim court-dress to Congress-patronized national dress. Modern Indian—as well as Western-style clothes—cigarettes, sun-glasses and tea are not only popular because of their utility, they possess a great prestige value as well.

Influence of the city has brought about adjustment and modification in several spheres, but the need of balancing different extremes in the organization of the community has so far prevented any drastic structural change in village communities. Under the impact of the new socio-economic factors the family ties have weakened, the kin-group has lost some of its characteristic strength and in the system of status evaluation achieved-status is competing with traditionally ascribed status; but the society still continues to be caste-structured as caste plays a vital role in its social, economic and ritual organization. Democracy has brought in its wake party organization and elections which demand group formation and group allegiance: in several rural areas no new groups have emerged, the loyalties of the people have only been re-affirmed to the pre-existing caste groups. While no important social or economic projects and reforms have so far been put into operation, the first major political change—the

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AW17



KABALAI AT WORK, THETTUPALLI VILLAGE.

Photo by E. Krishnamurti.

[facing p. 96]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

"KABIM", WATER-LIFT USED IN GODAVARI DELTA. Photo by Agricultural College.

[facing p. 220]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

407

[Facing p. 100]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

241

Agriculture.—Area under each of the principal crops :—

	ACRES.		ACRES.
Paddy	123·17	Ragi	171·9
Sugarcane	4·21	Cholam (for cattle) ...	4·27
Coconut topes ...	2·11	Sazzulu	0·27
Other fruit trees and scattered shade trees	11·21	Chamulu	6·36
		Gram	8·30
		Dholl	6·31
Betel gardens ...	1·4	Groundnut	12·15
Plantain	4·22	Castor seeds	2·4
Mango	1·0	Other crops	18·10

Out of the dry land, nearly 250 acres yield only one crop per annum, about 60 acres two crops. Almost all of the wet land yields two crops. There is no land yielding three crops per annum.

The methods of cultivation are the same as in Thettupalli in the Chittoor district of the Madras Presidency.

407 ●

Implements.—In one house only an iron plough * is used. The rest use the country plough made of wood.

412

Other agricultural implements used are yoke, picottah, *yethambana*, hoe, *guntaka*, *donthi*, *pandluminu*, *gorru*, *palikiguntaka*, *mamoti*, scythe and other minor implements.

The *gorru* is a seed-drill, with a bowl to put the seed in, and bamboo tubes to distribute it. The *guntaka* is a six-bladed harrow, the *palikiguntaka* a twelve-bladed harrow. The *donthi* is a log of wood with twenty wooden teeth, each 5 inches long and half an inch thick, with a curved contrivance at the end of the handle which the driver holds against his stomach. It is used for powdering the soil. The *pandluminu* is a variety of the same.

231

Stock—

Oxen	144	
Cows	111	
Male-buffaloes	...	
Cow-buffaloes	5	(These do not thrive well here).
Young stock of above species.	103	
Horses	4	
Donkeys	15	
Mules	...	
Sheep	27	
Goats	14	
Pigs	4	

In the mornings cows are fed with grass, gram well pounded with the addition of water and rice bran. Then they are let out to graze in the fields. In the evening they receive the same as in the morning and oil-cake. They are also fed with rice straw and ragi straw. Sometimes cholam also is used and its stalks.

Bulls receive almost the same as cows, but are given less of green grass. Gram is fried and made into flour and then used; also Bengal gram and oil cake.

[* The Mysore State Department of Agriculture manufactures and sells cheap and handy iron ploughs. The general use of these would be of immense advantage on dry land.—Ed.]

154

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

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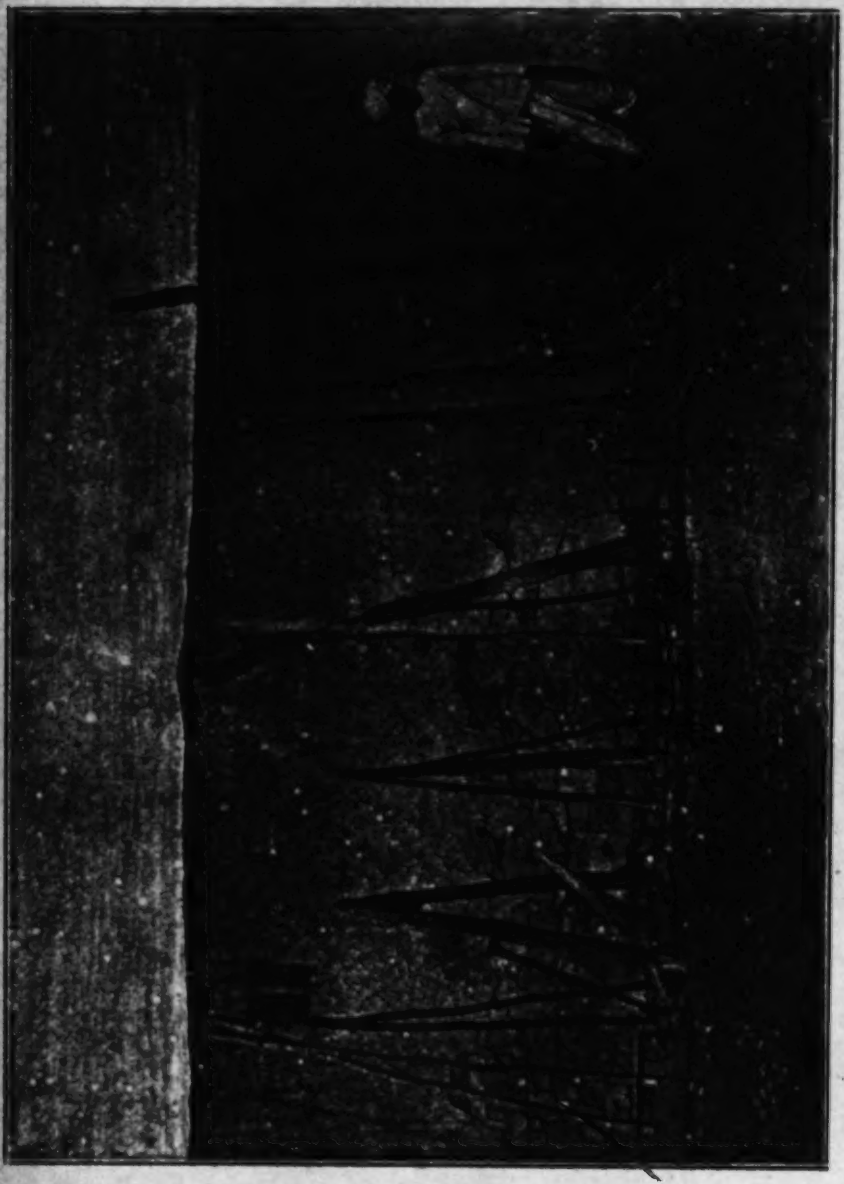

Photo by Agricultural College.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN GODAVARI DISTRICT.

[facing p. 218]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

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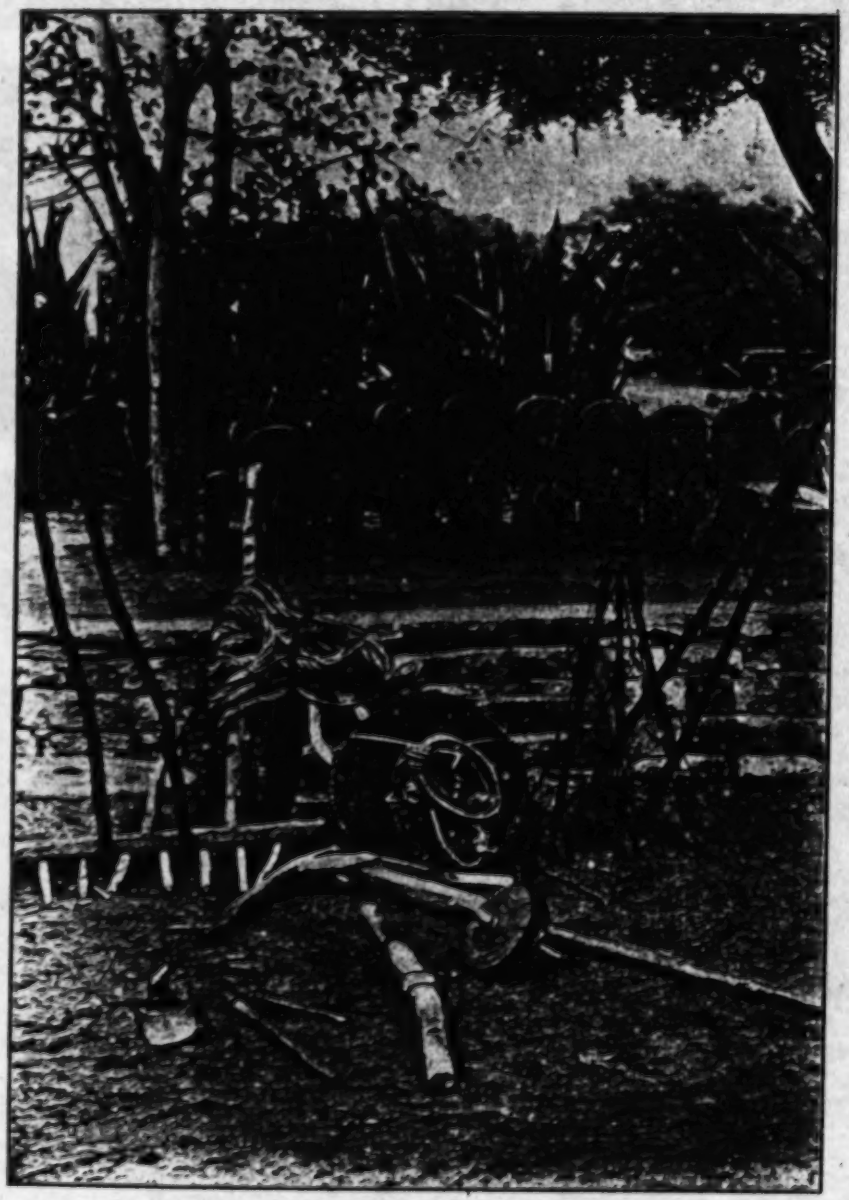

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS USED IN THETTUPALLI.

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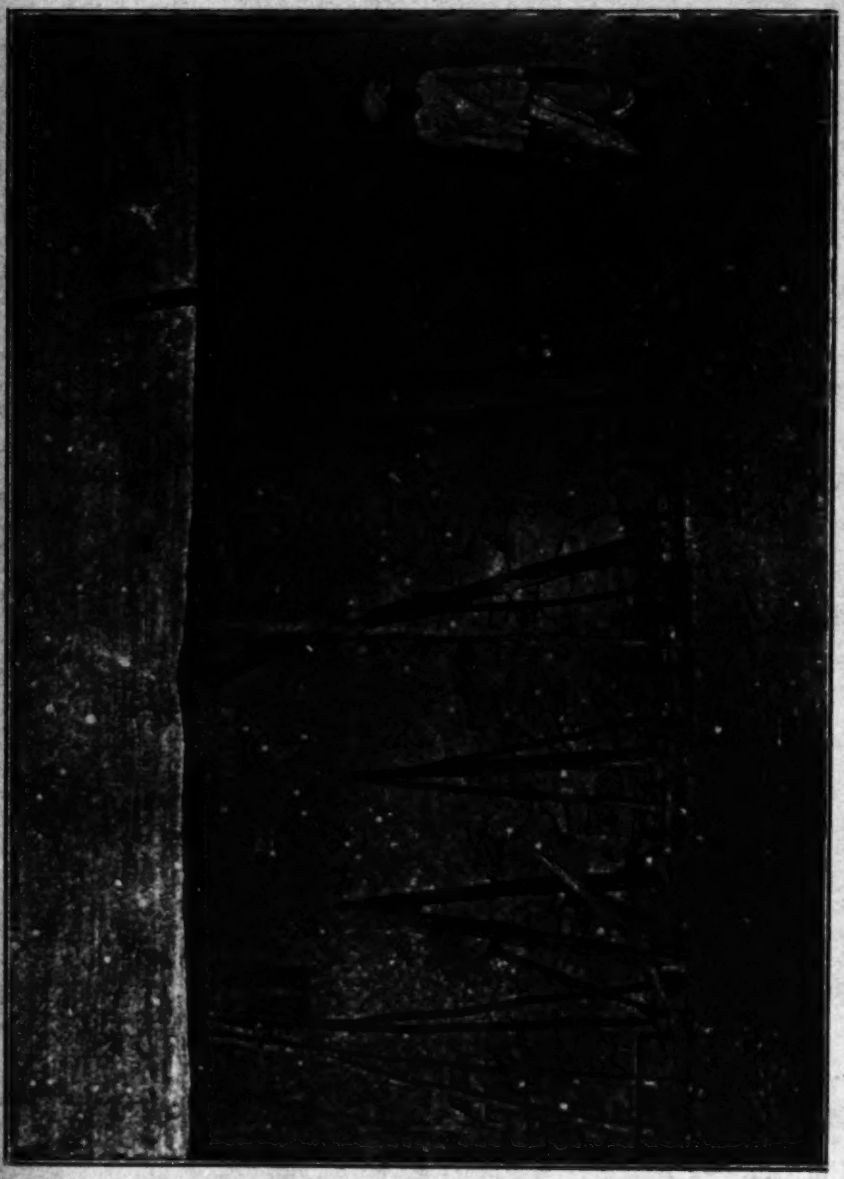

Photo by Agricultural College.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN GODAVARI DISTRICT.

[facing p. 218]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

THE CHANGING SCENE

Changes in tools and technical processes are also important. Barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths are now using factory-made tools and instruments. The village tailor has a sewing machine. It is significant that there has been no mentionable change in agricultural tools. In farming methods, however, some changes have taken place. Improved seeds are being used by many cultivators. The value of green manure is realized by an increasing number of agriculturists. Oil cakes, castor, ammonium sulphate, and a special concoction of chemical fertilizers known as 'paddy mixture' are now being used. More attention is given to growing vegetables. A greater percentage of cultivators is now growing 'cash crops'.

Communications too have now improved. Many persons take advantage of the bus service. There are six private bicycles in the village. A shop-keeper has four more which can be hired. The headman of the village has recently bought a 1928 model Ford. The traditional bullock carts are still largely used for transportation of goods, and also for travel.

The opening of a small dispensary in the village, and the availability of excellent facilities of modern medical treatment in the city have considerably changed the attitude of the people towards diseases and their treatment. Although people still believe that smallpox and cholera are the result of the wrath of two goddesses and annually organize ceremonies in their honour on behalf of the village, the old fear of vaccination and inoculation has now practically disappeared. People no longer run away from the village on the appearance of the vaccinator, nor do they offer him bribes or threats for being spared the cruelty of vaccination. Divination, protective magic, chants and spells are all still employed to ward off disease and difficulty, but at the same time increasing use is being made of modern medicine. Age-old prescriptions of indigenous herbs are generally used for fevers and other common ailments. But when the disease takes a serious turn the patient may even be removed to a hospital in the city. Injections which were greatly feared a few decades ago are now eagerly sought as they are believed to give quick and sure relief from all ailments. Some people keep a limited stock of some of the popular and cheap patent medicines. Medicines for virility and strength prominently advertised in newspapers are obtained by post.

The social structure of the community is basically the same,

353 these are generally out of order and are used rather as decorations than to tell the time.

415 Household utensils are generally made by the local potter. But
[556] shining brassware, including a few large pots for storing water, are a mark of respectability. Food is served on brass, bell-metal or aluminium plates. Water is drunk from metal mugs or brass beakers. In some houses a couple of china cups and saucers and a few glass plates are also to be seen.

342 *The Penkutillu.* This type of house is smaller and less ostentatious,
351 and is built by average cultivators with small holdings, who are neither rich nor poor according to village standards. These houses also have a courtyard and possibly a backyard; a verandah and two or three rooms which are used for various purposes. The walls are of stone, the floor of mud and the roof is tiled. The cattle-shed is generally close to the living-room and there is neither latrine nor bathroom in the house.

352 This type of house is also decorated with carvings on the doors,
353 and designs are painted on the wall. In such houses furniture is
415 regarded as a luxury; there may be a few bedsteads, some small wooden stools and possibly a crude chair or two. People with city contacts decorate the walls of their houses with commercial calendars or coloured magazine covers. The household utensils in this type of house are, except for metal plates used for serving food, of
[556] earthenware, even water being stored in clay pots. Yet respectability demands that such a house should have at least some brass utensils. These are greatly coveted by the ambitious housewife.

342 *The Gudse.* These are the commonest type of dwellings found in Telangana, and are indeed the most numerous in Shamirpet. The walls of these huts are either made of mud or they are made of wattle-screen and plastered with mud. The roof is always thatched. The hut is built in a small enclosure and has generally only one
352 room, from which the kitchen is partly partitioned. These huts have
415 very little furniture and all household utensils are the wares of the local potter. The few metal utensils which the family possesses are among the most treasured parts of the household property.

351 All the three types of village dwellings have some features in
[515] common. Almost all of them have some open space either at the front or at the back. This is generally enclosed. Here women bath and in times of emergency, such as illness or other incapacity, it may also be used as a latrine. During the rainy season

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

husband is alive must wear, were formerly made by one of the local castes from indigenous materials. Now factory-made glass bangles have captured the market almost completely. Children's dresses are now generally of Western style. Frocks, rompers, shirts and shorts are bought for them from the local market or from the shops in the city. Among other items of everyday wear Western-style shoes with laces are now being used alongside country shoes and sandals.

To the list of articles of daily requirement there have been several significant additions. Aluminium and 'German silver' utensils became very popular with the poorer sections of the population on account of their low prices. Glasses, as well as china cups and saucers, could be seen in several homes. Besides the public buildings five private homes now possess wall or alarm clocks. Kerosene lanterns can be seen in several homes, and there are five kerosene pressure lamps in the village. Some old people use reading glasses, and more then half a dozen young men from the village have bought sun glasses. Several people in the village use safety razors and torches. Cheap fountain-pens are also very fashionable.

In the food habits of the people there has not been much change. Sweets and other dainty eatables are bought from the shops in the city or from the bazaar. Five small stores in the village sell, among other things, lozenges, fruit-drops and biscuits made in Hyderabad. Tea and coffee are also very popular. Even those who do not drink these beverages regularly at home, occasionally have them in the village shop ostentatiously known as the 'hotel'. Aerated waters enjoy an amazing popularity as they are believed to provide relief from many stomach disorders. The cigarette factories at Hyderabad have been producing and popularizing cheap brands of cigarettes, which have been progressively replacing the country cigarettes in which tobacco is rolled in dried leaves. Along with fermented palm-juice, some people now drink other liquors supplied by distilleries in Hyderabad.

Side by side with the traditional recreations of gossip, loafing and playing indigenous games, several new varieties of entertainments are now available to the village people. The village has three gramophones. In the tea shop there is a crystal radio. Some young men in the village play volley-ball. Many people patronize the circus and cinema in the city.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

it generally has a federal type of organization, in that each culture group within this settlement is semi-autonomous, and a common village authority drawn from all these groups has overriding powers for the community as a whole. In areas where there are intense or even pronounced inter-caste rivalries and tensions, the caste composition of the village will largely determine its patterns of inter-group adjustment.

It goes without saying that in a primarily agricultural country land must be greatly prized; and, with the great pressure of population and the conditions of private ownership, possession of land has not only an economic but a social and prestige value as well. Where all the land belongs to a landlord or is held by two or more landlords—as in the case of 'joint-villages'—the organization of the village is sure to be very different from that of a village inhabited by proprietary tenants. The general ratio of land distribution between two or more castes, between certain families or between one big landowner and the rest of the community may have a vital influence on the nature of village organization and problems.

No village in India is completely autonomous and independent, for it is always one unit in a wider social system and is a part of an organized political society. An individual is not the member of a village community alone; he also belongs to a caste, religious group or tribe which has a wider territorial spread and comprises several villages. These units have their own organization, authority and sanctions. Politically the villages are under the legislative, executive and judicial authority of the Indian Union and one of its constituent States. For administrative convenience these States are divided into districts, the latter being subdivided into *tehsils* or *taluquas*. In day-to-day administration the villages come into contact with the authorities and officials of this subdivision and of the district, although the laws of the State and the Union are binding on them. The village thus has independence and autonomy only in its domestic affairs. But who exercises the authority in this field? Is there a petty feudal landlord who has some administrative and judicial powers as well? Is there a government-recognized landlord who has arrogated to himself administrative powers? Or, has the village a *panchayat* (village council) constituted on the basis of local tradition? All the feudal states have been abolished in Republican India; but petty feudal estates still continue in

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241 Out of a total of 3,765 acres of land under cultivation, the residents of Shamirpet are cultivating approximately 3,000 acres.

TABLE II

463

Craft or profession	*Total number of families*	*Total number of persons*	*Men*	*Women*	*Children*	*Number of people actually working*
1. Potters	5	21	6	7	8	14
2. Carpenters	4	15	5	5	5	5
3. Blacksmiths	4	28	8	11	9	8
4. Washermen	7	31	7	8	16	18
5. Toddy-tappers	16	99	29	34	36	53
6. Shepherds	21	108	31	42	35	69
7. Barbers	2	11	2	4	5	8
8. Goldsmiths	2	13	4	6	3	4
9. Stone-breakers	3	16	5	5	6	10
10. Erkala hunters	5	16	6	6	4	11
11. Traders and Shop-keepers	13	81	22	22	37	27
12. Government servants	46	211	70	60	81	90
13. Others	7	33	10	12	11	14

● 423 An analysis of the pattern of land-ownership in the village reveals the following:

i. A fourth of the land is owned by 1 family having 800 acres.
ii. A fourth of the land is owned by 8 families having 100 acres each.
iii. A fourth of the land is owned by 20 families having 40 acres each.
iv. A fourth of the land is owned by 160 families having 5 acres each.

The headman of the village is the biggest single land-owner. He belongs to the Reddi caste which is the dominant section of the group of agricultural castes in this area. The second category includes, besides the Reddis, two Muslims—one of whom is the Patwari of the village. Even in the third category approximately 40% of the land is held by the Reddis; the rest being shared by

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other castes, especially the Brahmins, the Komtis, the toddy-tappers and the shepherds, as well as the Muslims. This category also includes two Malas and a Madiga—all three belonging to untouchable castes. The land in the fourth group belongs to several different castes. However, many of these families possess only small fragments of dry land which are quite inadequate for their needs and can in no sense be described as 'economic holdings'.

The above figures have been taken from government records. While the possession of land sold to persons outside the kin-group is given after the completion of the necessary legal formalities, the division of shares from the family land does not necessitate this and in consequence we find that the land shown in the name of one person in the official records may actually be in the possession of several families. This may be illustrated by two examples. E. D. R. has four acres of dry land and six acres of wet land recorded in his name in government registers. The dry land and three acres of wet land are under his exclusive possession. This land is cultivated by him; and the entire harvest belongs to him. But the other three acres of wet land are divided into four pieces. One of these fragments is cultivated by E. D. R. himself, one by his cousin S. R. who is E. D. R.'s father's elder brother's son. The other two fragments are cultivated by E. R. and N. R. whose position is a little unusual. In the life-time of E. D. R.'s grandfather they 'came to his house' for suitor service. After serving the family for a stipulated number of years they were married to the daughters of the family, but continued to live there to assist the old man in his cultivation. After the death of E. D. R.'s grandfather they established separate houses of their own, and are now in exclusive possession of these fragments of land which belonged to E. D. R.'s family. From the above it is clear that although the land records show the land as being in the possession of E. D. R. alone, it is in fact possessed by four different families. The Madiga untouchables were given two acres of land as a reward for the services which they render to residents of the village and touring government officials. Official records show this land as being in the possession of one family: in point of fact, it is shared by as many as seven families.

Seceding members of a family get a share of the family's ancestral land. Fragmentation follows this division of ancestral

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

428 property. For many years, however, the land continues to be in
423 the name of only one member of the extended family in the government records. The division of land, cattle and effects takes place under the supervision (and with the advice) of some of the village elders, and the terms and conditions agreed upon at this time are generally respected by the seceding units of the family. In the course of our investigations only three cases came to our notice in which inconvenience was experienced in the working of arrangements thus made. This necessitated the entry of the divi-
423 sion into legally valid documents and government records. Thus, it is clear that while government records show only 189 families as owning land, actually the number of those who possess their own fields is larger. If we do not take into account the houses in the two neighbouring hamlets, Shamirpet proper has 380 houses. Each house represents a family, elementary or joint. Out of these, 240 families have some land of their own, although from among them 60 families possess only tiny fragments. Among the other families some have only dry land, some have very little wet land, while some have highly fragmented land which often lies in many different corners of the village. This still leaves nearly 140 landless families. From these we can eliminate about 20 government officials who are not a part of the permanent population of the village; and about 10 others who have an occupation or calling which gives them a sufficient income to maintain a reasonably comfortable life according to prevailing rural standards. Eliminating these, we have some 110 families that are landless. These are in addition to an equal number of families who have insufficient or uneconomic holdings.

427 Those who have no land, as well as those who have very little land, are left with the alternatives of either working as whole-time agricultural labourers or of cultivating land taken on lease (*kaul*). Persons choosing the second alternative, either pay the owner of the land a fixed sum of money every year, or they give him a quarter or one-third of the produce. Absentee landlordism is almost negligible in Shamirpet, and those who own the greater part of the village land themselves want to cultivate their best fields. Thus only inferior quality land can generally be had on
425 lease. With hard work and financial investment this land can be
427 improved, but unfortunately this is impeded by several factors. If the same person continues to hold the lease for certain fields for

their separation by death or selling causes so much sorrow among the peasants.

Land is indeed the most precious and coveted possession of the village people. With the exception of women's ornaments, land and cattle are almost the only property they have. With the overall increase in general price levels in recent years, the price of land has also risen. The following table will give an idea of the average prices of different grades of land in 1939 and in 1950.

TABLE III

Prices of Land in 1939 and 1950

Type of land	*Price per acre in rupees*					
	1939 *Grades of land*			1950 *Grades of land*		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
1. Dry land	60	40	18	220	170	75
2. Wet land	250	150	90	1,200	800	480
3. Garden land	300	240	110	1,500	1,200	550

I propose to examine the standards of living, and relative earnings and expenditure of the different levels of the population in a subsequent chapter. But a consideration of the economics of agriculture will not be out of place here.

The two major crops grown by the people of Shamirpet are rice and millet. Table IV gives the averages per acre of gross income, total cost and net income, in the cultivation of millet, particularly *jawar*. Tables V and VI give similar figures for paddy, for single crop and double crop lands respectively. The figures have been worked out from a survey of a 50% sample of village families cultivating the three different categories of land. Figures are given to the nearest whole number.

TABLE IV

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Millet

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 140	Rs. 64	Rs. 76
B	" 82	" 40	" 42
C	" 62	" 30	" 32

THE CHANGING SCENE

000 well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

178 621 The Police Action undertaken by the Indian Union in 1948 changed the fortune and status of the State of Hyderabad. The most significant outcome was that political power changed hands —from an extremist communal party to the people of the State. It had a profound effect on the rural areas. However, sufficient time must elapse before we can evaluate its total influence on the life of the community. But it has set in motion certain trends which are not without interest to the student of social change in peasant communities.

178 578 621 The first definite change is that Muslims who occupied a privileged position during the former régime now no longer do so. On account of some of their un-neighbourly acts of terrorism during the last phase of extremist Muslim rule in the State some of them had become very unpopular. Fearing retaliation by the Hindus they ran away from the village temporarily. Now they have all returned. For some time they were jeered at and ridiculed, but at the time of our study cordiality had returned to the Hindu and Muslim sections of the population.

178 651 661 The second noticeable change is that under the administrative reforms initiated by the new administration forced labour and forced extraction of hospitality by government officials have been prohibited. In practice they still continue on a restricted scale. Government's decision to take determined steps against bribery and corruption has been announced; but firm action still remains to be taken in this direction.

423 178 Thirdly, the abolition of feudal estates has been a big step in the direction of land reform. With the end of the Jagirdari system Shamirpet has once again come under normal district administration. Further reforms ensuring a more equitable distribution of land, fixing a maximum limit on land holding and ending the evils of absentee landlordism are under contemplation. When these plans materialize substantial changes can be expected.

178 704 654 Fourthly, the government has intensified its welfare and nation-building activities. The village is to have a better school in the near future. The Public Health Department is already more active. The Agriculture and Veterinary departments are making a better planned and organized effort towards the introduction

of more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

As regards the minor Panchayats, they were not in a position to undertake this work at all. If the Food Adulteration Act was enforced in all the major Panchayats, it would no doubt prove to be a good source of income to the Panchayats. 651 744

Fines on Encroachments: Most of the Panchayat areas were not surveyed and as such they had only the right of fining the encroachments and not of removing them altogether. However, this system of penalysing them yielded a good source of income to the Panchayats, where-ever it existed. (Column 29.) 651 423

Among the major Panchayats, some of the 1st grade Panchayats like Tuni, Bhimavaram, Guntakal were punishing encroachments. Out of the 1052 encroachments booked in Tuni, about 213 were District Board encroachments. Amalapuram had not the courage to take up the problem of encroachments though there were many. In the West Godavari, Bhimavaram was booking offences of encroachments and the scale of fines was as follows:—

Licence Fees on Encroachments in Bhimavaram Panchayat

Type of Encroachment	Rate	Area	Period
	Rs. as. p.	Per sq.	Per
1. Sunshades.	0-2-0	yard.	half-year
2. Balcony.	0-8-0	do.	do.
3. Verandah or part of house.	1-0-0	do.	do.
4. All kinds of pendals.	0-0-6	do.	day.
5. Box shops and the like.	0-0-6	do.	day

For the grounds to be let temporarily for the purposes which came under the Public Resort Act, 1888, and under Section 160 (i), (ii) (iii) of the Madras Local Boards Act as amended for protection of public roads vested in Bhimavaram Panchayat Board, the rates were as below:—

Area	Rate
	Rs. as. p.
Upto an extent of 3000 sq. ft.	0-0-6 per sq. yard per day
For every 1000 sq. ft. or part thereof over 3000 sq. ft.	0-0-3 do.

651 423 In Kistna District the rates for encroachments in Vuyyuru Panchayat area were as follows :—

Type of Encroachment	Rate	Per
	Rs. as. p.	
1. Steps	0-1-0	sq. yard per day.
2. For drain coverings on public streets	0-1-0	do.
3. For culverts	0-1-0	do.
4. For erection of temporary pendals	0-0-3	do. per 7 days
5. Sun shades with zinc sheets	0-0-6	do. per 7 days

There were only some instances of Panchayats where fines for encroachments were being collected. In Vizagapatam, as in other districts, the Panchayat could not take effective action against encroachments as the villages were not surveyed. In several Panchayats like Salur, Bobbili, Yellamanchili and Parvatipuram, where some of the glaring instances of public encroachments were noticed no action appeared to have been taken by the Panchayats. They excused themselves on the ground that the villages were not surveyed. The same was the case of Panchayats in West Godavari, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur Districts.

651 **Fees under Public Resort Act:** This again was a rare source of income which only a few Panchayats were collecting at present, and which many more could collect. The rates were found to vary from Panchayat to Panchayat, but it was not possible to obtain schedule of rates in many Panchayats except in 1 or 2 instances as Bhimavaram.

Rate of Fees Under Public Resort Act in Bhimavaram Panchayat in 1946-47.

Details	with application	without application
	Rs. as. ps.	Rs. as. p.
1. Erection of Pendals per sq. yard perday	0—0—6	0—1—6
" " " " " " per month	0-12—0	1—8—0
" " " " " " per annum	6—0—0	12—0—0
2. Bunks of 3 yds. × 2 yds. per annum	9—0—0	18—0—0
3. General purpose per sq. yard per annum	12—0—0	24—0—0

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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427 zamindari tenant supplies two pairs of bulls, one-eighth goes to
241 the cultivator.

In the case of sugarcane, the cultivator gets 1½ shares and the zamindari tenant only one. If the sub-tenant cultivates on contract, the cultivator must give two maunds of jaggery for every 2½ cents of land planted with sugarcane.*

Of the agricultural families, all the males cultivate some land and also work for hire. There are two females, however, who do not cultivate, of whom one lives on charity and the other by working as a coolie.

[423] Of the lands which are called "Sirkar" there is only one kind of ownership and holders of such land are called pattadars.

As regards lands designated "inam" lands there are slight differences. The inamdars pay, instead of the full rent, what are called quit-rents and road-cess.

463 There are five villagers who combine agriculture with other occupations. One is a blacksmith, the other a potter, the third prepares combs, and two others are dhobis. The sub-tenants mentioned above also do the work of coolies between harvest and sowing time.

243 *Agriculture.*—All dry lands yield only one crop per annum. Wet lands yield two crops. No land yields three crops.

For millets and pulses, the land is ploughed after a shower of rain when it is soft. Generally June or July is seed time. After a time when the plants sprout up the fields are weeded. After that four or five good showers of rain are needed. Then when the corn is ripe, it is cut and piled in bundles. The bundles are trod upon by bulls and the corn drops out.

For paddy the harvest time is November for the first crop, for which seed is sown in June or July; April and May for the second crop, for which seed is sown in December or January. When there is sufficient water the paddy fields are flooded with water and then ploughed till they become miry. Afterwards, green leaf manure (generally kanaga leaves) and animal manure are spread and well trodden in. Before planting paddy is steeped in cow-dung water in pots, which water is renewed every day. After four or five days the plants sprout up and then they are removed from the pots and placed in the prepared fields. After they are thus planted the fields are again flooded with water. But the water is allowed to remain for a day only. The next day it is let out and the fields are allowed to dry for three days when the plants are of some size. From that time onwards till the corn is ripe water is allowed to flow freely on the fields. When it is ripe it is harvested. Then it is cut, heaped in bundles, struck against a bed of rock when the grain falls out which is all collected and taken home.

249 *Sugarcane.*—The land is well ploughed, but unlike paddy is not made miry at first. Long trenches of comparatively little depth are made by means of the ploughshare. Then the field is well manured, and water is let in till it becomes miry. The sugarcane already cut in small pieces is planted in these trenches. No water is let in on that day. After an interval of three days water

[804] *[This must be taken to mean, not the Railway or Bengal maund of 82 lb., but a local maund of 26 lb. very nearly. The rent in jaggery is therefore nearly one ton per acre, worth about Rs. 150.—Ed.]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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311 *Land*—

	ACS.
Wet land	141·30
Dry land	304·29
Land watered by wells	52·19
Common waste	451·35
Pastures other than waste ... ... }	898·14
Woods and forests ... ... }	

312 There are two tanks, *Kodipalli cheruvu* and *Varadarajulu kunta*. The first is sufficiently deep though not extensive, and the water stored in the tank is sufficient for two crops. The surplus water is allowed to collect in another small pond. There are fourteen wells, all built round with stone; and one stream when in flood affords an additional water-supply.

311 *Classification of lands—According to assessment*—

651

Wet lands.		Dry lands.	
Rates.	Acres.	Rates.	Acres.
Rs. 4-0-0	18·38	Re. 1	304·29
Rs. 5, Rs. 5-8-0	32·38	... ..	...
Rs. 6-0-0	21·24	.....	...
Rs. 7-0-0	20·35	.....	...
Rs. 8-0-0	7·37	.....	...
Rs. 9-0-0	1·10	.....	...

311 *Occupation of land.*—Of the dry land 109·02 acres, of the wet land 31·50 acres are cultivated by the landowners, the remainder, viz., 32·28 acres of wet land, and 272·79 acres of dry land are sublet and cultivated by tenants.

423 There are about 25 non-cultivating landowners. Some hold Government posts, about 12 are engaged in trade; there are between 30 and 40 tenants who own no land, and the agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land number men 113, women 47.

There are two kinds of ownership, inam and patta. All sirkar lands are held by pattadars. The area of holdings of inam ownership is 127·38 acres. The rest of the cultivable land is held by pattadars. Inamdars pay only quit-rent and road-cess.

There are only about half a dozen pattadars. One family alone owns 97·15 acres of wet and 143·14 acres of dry land.

427 *Rents.*—There are no cultivators who pay a money rent. Everything is paid in kind. The usual arrangement is that the cultivator himself supplies all that is necessary for cultivation, and out of the produce one-half goes to the landowner and the other to the cultivator. There are no other conditions of contract. But when sugarcane is cultivated the landowner gets only one-fourth of the produce.

The whole land revenue comes to Rs. 1,034-7-0, out of which the revenue from the inam lands alone amounts to Rs. 154-3-0.

463 Some of the villagers are engaged in trade side by side with agriculture. Others are potters, dhobis, in addition to being cultivators. Some hold Government posts. Some are contractors.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India Tamil AW18 Telugu AW17

Ta 691 consent. The case was decided in the High Court in favour of the plaintiff. A similar dispute is in progress now.

Ta 556 About half of the Brahmans are well-to-do. Most of them have no children. They adopt children. The wealth of the father and of the adoptive father goes to the son. Thus the properties of two persons go to one. Being well-to-do, they do not engage in work; but spent their time in idleness and gossip. Some engage in money-lending at usurious interest.

POTHAVARAM, RAZOLE TALUK, GODAVARI DISTRICT.

[*By B. Lakshminarayana Sastri, Christian College, Madras.*]

Te 162 *Population.*—Brahmans, 8 families, 53 individuals; Sudras, 191 families, 948 individuals; Muhammadans, 5 families, 28 individuals. Birth-rate 44 per thousand; death-rate 35 per thousand.

Te ●423 "The Brahmans used to monopolize the land till recently and cultivate it through non-Brahman (Pariah) servants. But being far away from their land their property was not safe with the uneducated Pariahs. A sect of non-Brahmans called Kapus are now buying lands through their economy and industry and low standard of life. The Brahman having to maintain a high standard is slowly incurring debts. There is a chance of the non-Brahman Kapu sect in the village gaining the lands if they maintain their low standard of life and economical and industrious habits. Te [793] While the non-Brahman always remains in the field or garden the Brahman stays for a major part of the day in the main village as he has to perform his daily religious ceremonies and social functions. The Brahman cannot live in such an isolation as the non-Brahmans. He cannot do hand labour and his supervision is inefficient.

Te 454 "People buy land as a secure form of investment. The educated classes after saving money buy lands with it though they never cultivate it. It is the only form of secure investment with which they are familiar being ignorant of other safe investments. Moreover, land investment pays a man better and gives him some Te 167 status among his neighbours. The emigration from this village is slow. Some are leaving for neighbouring towns for their sons' 871 education while a few are emigrating to Burma for labour. The former rarely return except during vacations while the latter return after four or five years. This emigration once started catches fire, education is simply being undergone for appointments, there being a sort of respect and awe attached to this sort of life. Every average villager now eagerly wants to educate his son in spite of heavy debts and great inconveniences. Economically it is a loss though intellectually it may be a gain. Socially it is removing some of the superstitions of the villagers. The mixing with the educated villagers is removing many deep-rooted superstitions. The emigration to Burma of coolies is to a small extent an economic gain; but at the expense of family life and social intercourse. The husband has to part from his wife and friends for a very long time. He does not even become intellectually advanced and his earnings are spent on drink."

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

other castes, especially the Brahmins, the Komtis, the toddy-tappers and the shepherds, as well as the Muslims. This category also includes two Malas and a Madiga—all three belonging to untouchable castes. The land in the fourth group belongs to several different castes. However, many of these families possess only small fragments of dry land which are quite inadequate for their needs and can in no sense be described as 'economic holdings'.

The above figures have been taken from government records. While the possession of land sold to persons outside the kin-group is given after the completion of the necessary legal formalities, the division of shares from the family land does not necessitate this and in consequence we find that the land shown in the name of one person in the official records may actually be in the possession of several families. This may be illustrated by two examples. E. D. R. has four acres of dry land and six acres of wet land recorded in his name in government registers. The dry land and three acres of wet land are under his exclusive possession. This land is cultivated by him; and the entire harvest belongs to him. But the other three acres of wet land are divided into four pieces. One of these fragments is cultivated by E. D. R. himself, one by his cousin S. R. who is E. D. R.'s father's elder brother's son. The other two fragments are cultivated by E. R. and N. R. whose position is a little unusual. In the life-time of E. D. R.'s grandfather they 'came to his house' for suitor service. After serving the family for a stipulated number of years they were married to the daughters of the family, but continued to live there to assist the old man in his cultivation. After the death of E. D. R.'s grandfather they established separate houses of their own, and are now in exclusive possession of these fragments of land which belonged to E. D. R.'s family. From the above it is clear that although the land records show the land as being in the possession of E. D. R. alone, it is in fact possessed by four different families. The Madiga untouchables were given two acres of land as a reward for the services which they render to residents of the village and touring government officials. Official records show this land as being in the possession of one family: in point of fact, it is shared by as many as seven families.

Seceding members of a family get a share of the family's ancestral land. Fragmentation follows this division of ancestral

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428 property. For many years, however, the land continues to be in
423 the name of only one member of the extended family in the government records. The division of land, cattle and effects takes place under the supervision (and with the advice) of some of the village elders, and the terms and conditions agreed upon at this time are generally respected by the seceding units of the family. In the course of our investigations only three cases came to our notice in which inconvenience was experienced in the working of arrangements thus made. This necessitated the entry of the divi-
423 sion into legally valid documents and government records. Thus, it is clear that while government records show only 189 families as owning land, actually the number of those who possess their own fields is larger. If we do not take into account the houses in the two neighbouring hamlets, Shamirpet proper has 380 houses. Each house represents a family, elementary or joint. Out of these, 240 families have some land of their own, although from among them 60 families possess only tiny fragments. Among the other families some have only dry land, some have very little wet land, while some have highly fragmented land which often lies in many different corners of the village. This still leaves nearly 140 landless families. From these we can eliminate about 20 government officials who are not a part of the permanent population of the village; and about 10 others who have an occupation or calling which gives them a sufficient income to maintain a reasonably comfortable life according to prevailing rural standards. Eliminating these, we have some 110 families that are landless. These are in addition to an equal number of families who have insufficient or uneconomic holdings.

427 Those who have no land, as well as those who have very little land, are left with the alternatives of either working as whole-time agricultural labourers or of cultivating land taken on lease (*kaul*). Persons choosing the second alternative, either pay the owner of the land a fixed sum of money every year, or they give him a quarter or one-third of the produce. Absentee landlordism is almost negligible in Shamirpet, and those who own the greater part of the village land themselves want to cultivate their best fields. Thus only inferior quality land can generally be had on
● 425 lease. With hard work and financial investment this land can be
427 improved, but unfortunately this is impeded by several factors. If the same person continues to hold the lease for certain fields for

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a number of years, according to law he acquires semi-proprietary rights over them. The landlord does not want this to happen, and so with a view to safeguarding his own interests he leases out his land to different persons in different years. A short-term lease is naturally not conducive to land improvement, for the person cultivating the land does not risk any investment in it. If he does improve it, in one of the following years the landlord may lease it out to someone else who offers to pay more than the person who improved the land. Secondly, those who hold most of the agricultural land in the village are interested in maintaining a supply of cheap agricultural labour, without which it would be impossible for them to cultivate their extensive fields. They benefit more by cultivating their land with the help of this labour, than by leasing out their land. If they leased out all their surplus land the cheap labour supply would appreciably diminish, and for want of competition wages of those who were still available would rise. To avoid this they choose to leave some of their land uncultivated, and thus we have the paradox of having in the same village many land-hungry families and several hundred acres of uncultivated land.

The land belongs to the family, and normally the head of the family exercises control over it. On the death of the father, the land and other agricultural property—such as tools, implements and livestock—are distributed equally among the brothers. Provision is made for the marriage of unmarried daughters as well as for the maintenance of the minor sons of the deceased. In very special cases, with the consent of all the brothers, a widowed sister is also given a small share. But this is a gratuity rather than a rightful share.

The agriculturists have considerable sentiment for their land and cattle. If adversity compels them to sell some of their fields or cattle, the day when this is done becomes a day of semi-mourning for the household. The hour of transfer is indeed a sad one, and the farmer will complete the necessary formalities with a heavy heart. For several days the family atmosphere remains overcast with gloom. The womenfolk may even wail and shed tears of real grief. In the sentiments of an Indian peasant, the Earth occupies a mother's position and parting with a fragment of it is nearly tantamount to separation from the mother. It is surprising how cattle become almost members of the agriculturist's family, and how

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425 their separation by death or selling causes so much sorrow among the peasants.

423 435 Land is indeed the most precious and coveted possession of the village people. With the exception of women's ornaments, land and cattle are almost the only property they have. With the overall increase in general price levels in recent years, the price of land has also risen. The following table will give an idea of the average prices of different grades of land in 1939 and in 1950.

TABLE III

Prices of Land in 1939 and 1950

Type of land	*Price per acre in rupees*					
	1939 *Grades of land*			1950 *Grades of land*		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
1. Dry land	60	40	18	220	170	75
2. Wet land	250	150	90	1,200	800	480
3. Garden land	300	240	110	1,500	1,200	550

243 434 I propose to examine the standards of living, and relative earnings and expenditure of the different levels of the population in a subsequent chapter. But a consideration of the economics of agriculture will not be out of place here.

The two major crops grown by the people of Shamirpet are rice and millet. Table IV gives the averages per acre of gross income, total cost and net income, in the cultivation of millet, particularly *jawar*. Tables V and VI give similar figures for paddy, for single crop and double crop lands respectively. The figures have been worked out from a survey of a 50% sample of village families cultivating the three different categories of land. Figures are given to the nearest whole number.

TABLE IV

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Millet

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 140	Rs. 64	Rs. 76
B	„ 82	„ 40	„ 42
C	„ 62	„ 30	„ 32

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the shopkeeper and are willing to pay slightly higher prices. They advance money to the people for buying bullocks and agricultural implements. A mortgage is not insisted upon in all cases, but the rate of compound interest which they charge is often exorbitant. The Komtis also advance seed grain to the people. For this, too, they charge a heavy interest. Loans are often taken by people against the mortgage of land or a part of the crops, depending upon the sum of money which they borrow. In Shamirpet the Komtis seem to be the only caste whose monopoly has been seriously affected by the change of times. To-day Shamirpet has in all thirteen shops. If we do not take into account some of the petty shops, four of these belong to Komtis, two to Muslims, two to Toddy-tappers and one to a goldsmith. Even in the field of advancing cash and seeds for agricultural purposes, the Komtis have to face the competition of some of the comparatively rich Reddi and Muslim cultivators.

564 443 426 [477]

THE KUMMARI

In Shamirpet there are five families of potters, with fourteen people actually working at the wheel. Each family is attached to some agriculturists in the village, and it periodically supplies them with a certain number of earthen pots for domestic use. Every two or three years they also supply the agriculturists with large baked earthen bins for storing grain. For this they do not expect a cash price. At the time of harvesting the potter visits the fields of the family to which he is attached, and is given *bheek-bali*, that is his share of the new crop. The quantity of grain that is given away depends on the size of the land cultivated, and also partly on the owner's financial circumstances. On the occasion of rituals connected with birth, marriage or death a supply of new pots is expected from him. Tradition has prescribed the minimum payment required for these services, although on happy occasions people often give a little more. If he can arrive at an agreement with the other occupational castes, such as the barber, the washerman and the weaver, he will offer them his services in return for their occupational services to his family. The details are fixed by the parties concerned, and often considerable haggling and making of charges and counter-charges against one another go on. Notwithstanding this, the system works quite satisfactorily, for out of forty-four cases of such mutual arrangements studied very

323 564 [465] [476]

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THE BRAHMIN

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There is only one Brahmin family in the village. The head of this family enjoys considerable local prestige owing to the fact of his birth, and also because he is a substantial landowner. He is the local priest as well as an astrologer. People consult him regarding the suitability of proposed marriages, and when negotiations are completed they seek his astrological calculations regarding an auspicious date and time for the wedding itself. He officiates at the marriage ceremony among the higher castes. On childbirth he is consulted about the planetary position at the actual time of the baby's birth, and its astrological implications for the child as well as for the parents and the other members of the family. If the reading indicates any difficulty, the Brahmin is often commissioned to offer special worship and perform the necessary rituals to ward off the evil. Similarly, after a death the Brahmin is consulted. If it is found that the time of death was inauspicious the members of the household may be asked to leave the residence temporarily, for a period of three to six months, according to the advice of the Brahmin. These consultations on the occasions of birth and death are generally sought only by the people of higher castes and by those who are well-to-do. Prescribed fees have to be paid to the Brahmin in cash for these consultations. Indirectly, the Brahmin contributes also to the agricultural activities of the community. He advises the agriculturists on when to start sowing at the beginning of the agricultural year. He is also consulted regarding the auspicious dates for starting weeding and harvesting. The date of the New Eating ceremony for the different families in the village is fixed by him. For these consultations no one pays him in cash. He visits the houses of his agriculturist clients fortnightly or once a month, especially in the harvesting season, and is customarily given a certain quantity of grain by each family.

THE KOMTI

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The Komtis are traders. They also function as village moneylenders. They keep a permanent small shop at some central point in the village, and also attend the weekly markets in the neighbouring villages. They generally sell provisions for cash, although things may also be bought on credit by those who are known to

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511 Analysis of the family budgets of the agriculturists in the village
● 426 revealed that 10% of them were surplus, 24% were balanced and the rest were deficit budgets. Exact figures regarding the extent of indebtedness could not be obtained as the people invariably sought to conceal information on this subject. According to our rough estimate, 55% to 60% of the families are indebted. As relatively few persons can get agricultural or land improvement loans from the government at a reasonable rate of interest, and as there is no co-operative society in the village, most people have to take recourse to the money-lenders either in the village or, preferably, in a neighbouring one. Petty loans may be obtained from well-to-do shopkeepers and peasants. The rate of interest varies greatly. For large loans a mortgage is generally insisted upon, and anything between 6% and 12% compound interest is charged. For petty loans interest is charged at the rate of 2 annas per rupee per month. If ornaments or other valuables are pawned, the rate of interest is reduced even for the smaller loans. Borrowing in kind also takes place. Seeds are often obtained on loan, and are returned after the harvest with 25% interest. In several cases the indebtedness of the family could be attributed to over-spending in socio-religious ceremonies and litigation rather than to agricultural needs.

241 The organization of agricultural pursuits rests mainly on the
432 head of the family, although grown-up sons—if they are living with the parents—are also consulted. When buying or selling land the advice of the elders of the extended family is always obtained. This has to be done before mortgaging family property against loans. The scope for individual initiative and innovations is very limited, for the system of agriculture still largely follows the traditional patterns and is governed to a great extent by the agricultural lore passed from generation to generation through oral tradition.

241 Most agriculturists can manage the cultivation of their fields
465 with the help of family labour. The traditional system on inter-caste relations secures for them the specialized services of the occupational castes. The more well-to-do landowners have Madiga families attached to them. However, the migration of some Madiga families and concentration of considerable areas of land in the possession of a few families make it almost essential for many agriculturists to employ additional labour. In the busy season even

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361 489 station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

465 [804] *Economic condition.*—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

435 Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee
Ragi	...	...	...	10 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10 " "
Cholam	...	...	...	9 " "
Tamarind			...	As. 2–6 per viss.*
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6 "
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8 "

426 The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

[462] There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

435 Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

796 *Expenditure on religious festivals.*—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

164 [759] [743] *Sanitary condition.*—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

562 Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

364 Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

312 For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¼ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzulu or cholam about 1¾ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

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implements are bought chiefly in Chintamani, about 18 miles off, and also at Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off. 438

Articles of consumption are bought at the weekly fair held here on Tuesdays, also in Chintamani, Kothakota and some other places.

Sale of village produce.—The quantities produced here are: paddy 500 puttis,* ragi 200, † sugarcane to the value of about Rs. 1,500, other millets and pulses to the value of about Rs. 1,000. 433 [804]

Out of this whatever is required for household purposes is retained. The rest, more than 50 per cent, is sold away. The nearest market is Chintamani. Sometimes the grain is transported to Bangalore also.

There are about three local roads, one from Gownipalle to Addegal, a village 4 miles off, one from the village to Manchinillakota, a village 6 miles off, and the other up to Todigol, 6 miles off. Another short road running for three miles runs up to the Mysore frontier. On the other side is British territory and there is no road further up. The local road to Tadigol connects with the Bangalore-Cuddapah road. The nearest commercial centres are Chintamani and Bangalore, accessible by the said road. The nearest railway station is Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off, reached by road. 491 361 [498]

The fair that takes place here every week is a big affair. People from very different parts come here. The fair is nominally held on Tuesday, but it generally extends from Monday to Wednesday. The chief business is carried on in stock, especially sheep and goats. Business in these is carried on to the extent of Rs. 4,000. They are chiefly sent to the Kolar Goldfields for slaughter and consumption. 543 438

Economic condition of village.—The customary rates of wages, in money, are from 2 to 3 annas per day, for a man; and 1½ annas for a woman; in kind, 2 seers of ragi, or 3 seers of paddy to a man, 1½ seers of ragi or 2 seers of paddy to a woman. 465

The current prices of staple foods are— 435

Rice	...	..	...	8 Mysore seers for a rupee.
Ragi	...	...	...	28 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	20 " "
Cholam	...	...	...	14 " "
Tamarind	...	...	...	Re. 1 for a maund.
Jaggery	...	...	...	Rs. 2 "
Chillis	...	...	...	Rs. 4-8-0 "
Dhôll	...	...	...	8 seers for a rupee.

About four or five families have made savings to the extent of Rs. 5,000, but on the other hand others have contracted debts to the extent of Rs. 10,000. Owing to scarcity of rains and failure of crops the people have been obliged to borrow heavily to meet current and occasional expenses. 454 426

There are practically no families who have liberated themselves from debt. While paying off old scores they borrow in new places.

There is a co-operative credit society. The capital is subscribed in shares of Rs. 10 each payable in twenty monthly instalments. 453

* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 48 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

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Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

Festivals.—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gownipalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

Sanitary condition.—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.

All Muhammadans observe purdah.

Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

Education.—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

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271 rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

[191] The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

[213] There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

623 *Village administration.*—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

624 There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

364 *Sanitary administration.*—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

625 There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

624 The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

674 *Crime.*—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

691 No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops.

426 The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

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426 allowed by the Government for waste lands. An economic enquiry is held by the village officers every year and a report is sent to the Government.

311 There is scope for improvement on a large scale if only ryots are prepared to start with a large capital and adopt modern methods of agriculture. There does not seem to be any possibility of extending the irrigated lands. Almost all available land has been used up, and brought under cultivation.

312 The condition of tanks and wells has been improved of late. More wells could be sunk with advantage, but are not sunk owing to lack of funds.

733 The barbers, dhobis and others are tending to lose their lands
426 owing to their pernicious habit of drinking. People sell land in order to pay off old debts. Loans are given only on mortgage of lands. The chief purchasers are money-lenders.

167 There has been no emigration. But two Muhammadans are at
702 the front as sepoys. About a hundred belonging to this particular taluk are in the army and most of them are at the field of operations.

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426 *Rural indebtedness.*—One of the greatest curses that an Indian village suffers from is the indebtedness of its inhabitants. Almost every family in our village has some family debt or other, whether it has property or not. Capitalism and money-lending are the chief occupations of the rich, the result being wealth heaped on wealth on the one hand, and poverty heaped on poverty on the other. I can count six families that were once financial magnates of the village, now reduced to absolute poverty.

The chief causes of indebtedness are—

(1) Expenses for the bare maintenance of the family. Many of the poorer classes contract debts simply because they must live and they must eat.

(2) Expenses for marriages, etc. Such ceremonies are performed only when crops are good. It is not however an exaggeration to say that ryots overstep the limits of their resources and contract debts on such occasions.

(3) Emergency expenditure such as sickness of long duration, which is of frequent occurrence and costly in character.

(4) Agricultural expenses.

(5) Expenses of litigation. Such debts run to even Rs. 9,000 or Rs. 12,000. Seven or eight families have left the village, because of such debts, going to the Gōdāvari Agency to earn a living.

(6) The accumulation of smaller debts already contracted, by means of compound interest, into very large amounts, finally ending in mortgaging and then selling off of any hereditary property.

(7) The underlying cause is that most people depend every year on the yearly crops; when the crops fail or when an emergency expenditure comes up, they borrow.

The most common forms of debt are—

(1) Promissory notes executed on good security at a fair rate of interest, as Re. 1-8-0 or Rs. 2 per cent per month. These are not many in number.

(2) Mortgages of land and other property.

(3) *Jettis*, i.e., debts contracted mostly for agricultural purposes to be paid back in the shape of grain when harvested. The creditor in this case pays at the rate of Rs. 40 or 45 per candy, while the market rate will be Rs. 75 or 80. This kind of debt is common in agricultural seasons; and four or five months is the duration of the loan.

(4) A poor man will borrow, say one rupee, and promise to pay it back three months hence. He will have to pay back one rupee plus one *kuncham*, i.e., 4 seers of grain (i.e., 6 annas). If he fails then (as they generally do), he will have to pay Re. 1 plus 8 seers of the next crop and one quarter anna, and so on.

(5) *Paddus.*—The money-lender lends money at Re. 1-8-0 per month per cent to a poor peasant, and says "If you do not return it by the Pongal, I will charge compound interest." In most cases they defer the payment to three or four years, and in some five or six years, owing to failure of crops, or, in some cases, mere neglect.

A ryot having five children and 12 acres of land borrowed Rs. 150 at Re. 1-8-0 per cent five years ago, to marry his eldest son. Two months ago, he handed over his 12 acres of land to the merchant, because he found it impossible to repay the debt. This is a common case.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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426 The result is that many families that were once rich are now reduced to absolute poverty. The rich few are becoming richer. But 65 to 75 per cent of the population are in debt. Of these 25 to 30 per cent have hopes of clearing it off in three or four years by mortgaging their lands. The rest, 35 to 40 per cent, are not able to escape easily out of debt. The pity is that these classes do not hesitate to contract debts at first, and then they are not in a hurry to return them soon, and small sums accumulate into large amounts.

434 543 433 *Trade.*—The villagers purchase commodities for industrial and agricultural purposes from weekly fairs held at Nidadavolu and from Rajahmundry; for consumption, partly from weekly fairs at Nidadavolu and partly from the local traders. The amount of village produce sold was approximately as follows:—

	1916-17.	1915-16.
Soap nuts	250 bags.	500 bags.
Horsegram	200 (or 250) bags.	400 „
Gingelly	220 bags.	850 „
Red gram (this is mostly retained for local use).	50-60 „	100 „
Bengal gram	25-30 „	100 „
Ghee	50 60 tins.	50-60 tins.
Cholam (this is retained for local use; no crop this year).	...	50 bags.
Black gram	20 bags.	12 „

249 439 *Jaggery trade.*—The most noteworthy feature of the village is the jaggery trade, carried on during the summer season. Nearly half the field area of the village consists of dry sand, filled with palmyra trees. These trees are rented out to the toddy tappers, who have to pay from Rs. 15 to 20 each in rent. One man can draw toddy from about 60 trees. Some 1,000 to 1,200 of these tappers come from the different taluks of the Kistna and Gōdāvari districts to this village in summer; while 200 to 225 go from the village itself. These people settle in the fields in the three summer months during which the fields lie waste, and draw toddy from 5 to 10 a.m. and 3 to 7 p.m. They have to climb the tree and suspend pots, lined with lime, beneath the cut ends of the stalks of the fronds of the palm from which the juice (toddy) flows. But for the lime the toddy would immediately begin to ferment. The women at home boil the toddy till it is condensed into jaggery.

Part of the jaggery is sold to the direct agents of Messrs. Parry & Co., who have opened an extensive business in these parts and invested a large capital. These agents of the company purchase jaggery with the company's money and get a commission at the rate of As. 2-6 per bag. They send it to Samalkot, where the company converts it into sugar.

The remainder is sold by the tappers to private capitalists and retail traders, who purchase the jaggery in the fields and sell it again to the company's agent in the village. They receive no commission, but make a profit in three ways: (1) There is a difference in the cost per candy between the prices in the fields (i.e., near the tappers' huts) and in the village. (2) The traders lend money to the tappers in times of need and get "Jattis" executed, promises by which the tappers agree to repay the money in the shape of jaggery

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Socially, it increases drunkenness in the lower classes; and I find more crimes in summer than in other seasons.

But it has turned the honest and sympathetic ryots into greedy money-lenders and capitalists. It has increased the lust for gold. True that the poorer classes have an opportunity of clearing off their family debts; true that they find sufficient food to eat in summer at least; true that there is more money in the village now than 20 years ago. But equally is it true that there are more debts now; that the gulf between the rich and the poor is widened more and more; that the once poor are now poorer and the once rich now richer. There is greater struggle, greater competition, and greater rises and falls of life.

Economic history of the village.—When compared with fifteen years ago, the village has, on the whole, progressed economically. True that estates once united are now split up into fragments; and that the once poor have now become poorer. True that there are cases where people borrow money and purchase land with it; and then sell it again to clear off that debt some years later. Still the village has improved. There is increase and improvement in agriculture. Many fields that were once forest are now brought under cultivation. There is more money in the village now than 20 years ago, more produce is now exported from the village than before. The introduction of the railway near by has revolutionized the commercial condition of the village. Prices have risen both of the commodities produced and of land in general, three or four-fold. There is a greater inflow of foreign goods into the village. Kerosene oil has completely driven out castor oil. There are sixteen Japanese wind-proof lamps in the village. The standard of living has decidedly been raised. Among the lower castes to eat solid food was a luxury; conjee, prepared of korra and ragi, was the food for all the lower castes, including Sudras. Now they all eat rice and cholam and wear better clothing. But the money is ultimately finding its destination into the hands of the rich money-lenders. Formerly there was enough corn in the land and there was a sort of self-sufficiency. Now there are more debts, consequently more ruin of families with the higher rates of interest, and greater servitude and misery.

If the Government were to open a sugar factory and utilize the jaggery, both the Government and the villagers would be profited. Wells can be very profitably sunk in the fields. But the ryots never do it, though it costs only Rs. 200. A ryot is prepared to spend even Rs. 1,500 in litigation but not Rs. 200 for a well in his fields, even though he is rich and knows that it is profitable. By example they may improve.

The Brahmans have almost lost their former property for want of any profession, while they incur heavy expenses for marriages, etc. Only one family is now well off. The Vaisyas too have lost their former lands by litigation, marriages, and other expenses. On the whole, the Sudras have grown richer, both with agriculture and the jaggery trade, and the rise of prices for their produce. The weavers, washermen, the Panchamas, many of the Sudras, are growing poorer; they are selling off the little lands they have for debts and other expenses.

Lands are sold chiefly to clear off old debts, though there are some cases where profits tempt people to purchase or sell. The

[i.e. The seasonal nature of industrial employment—Analyst]

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426 poorer classes, when they find that their debts have overgrown their income, generally hand over their lands to the lenders of money.

167 Emigrants leave the village for two reasons:—(1) indebtedness and (2) want of sufficient work and means of living. As previously stated two families of weavers have gone to Rajahmundry for factory work, and one family of Komatis to the Gōdāvari Agency. Some of the Panchamas and toddy drawers go to Rangoon, Moulmein, Singapore, and formerly went to Natal and the Transvaal. They return at the end of 1½ or 2 years. Some have made a little profit by going out, but not much. One effect of such emigration is to prevent people from lending money freely to all. The poorer classes do not get loans so easily now for want of security.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—There is no malaria. Six years ago there was a heavy attack of cholera, the number of deaths being between 150 and 200. It was impossible to keep any accurate account. Two years ago there was a serious attack of smallpox, when about 160 adults and children together died. It is significant that among Brahmans not a single person was attacked by either of these diseases. Among the Vaisyas the number of deaths was 5 and 3, respectively, among the Sudras it was 50 from cholera, 60 from small-pox. All the rest of the cases were in the lower castes. The death-rate of the children was far greater than that of adults.

165 The village statistics show 480 children born in the five years from 1911 to 1915, 321 under 14 years of age dying during these
759 years. The record of births is probably very defective, but the rate of mortality among infants and young children is certainly terribly high. There is no effective medical assistance available. The quack doctors of the village are merely deceitful and ignorant and practice the trade with no schooling or knowledge. Men following various occupations, who do not earn much at their proper calling, are the doctors of the village, who administer red or black powders to the patient one after another, call the fever this and that, starve the patient for 15 or 20 days, keep him in comfortable delusions all the while, and having made up 20 or 30 rupees send him to an untimely grave. The villagers prefer to entrust their lives to these doctors than to risk them in the hands of an English trained doctor. The hospital assistant near by has not won a good name for English medicine.

The wife of the barber is the nurse for all cases of pregnancy, and the general authority on all cases of feminine complaints.

758 For want of education, people do not observe the elementary principles of sanitation. For instance in times of epidemic diseases they do not isolate patients. They spread the disease by cleaning all kinds of cloth in village tanks. They do not reveal the disease immediately after the attack. They keep the patients in crowded houses and move and eat and sleep very close to them. Even for ordinary fevers, the patient is starved for 5 or 6 days, so that he will be weak and useless for work for a number of days afterwards.

511 The poorer classes are often subjected to disease for want of
356 healthy and sufficient food, and clean surroundings. Every poor man has two or three cattle at least; and their huts being crowded, with limited space, it happens generally that the cattle are kept

113, 185, 427 Telugu AW17

[For information on tenancy reform legislation in Madras see 39: Patel, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 307-315.]

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

428 property. For many years, however, the land continues to be in
423 the name of only one member of the extended family in the government records. The division of land, cattle and effects takes place under the supervision (and with the advice) of some of the village elders, and the terms and conditions agreed upon at this time are generally respected by the seceding units of the family. In the course of our investigations only three cases came to our notice in which inconvenience was experienced in the working of arrangements thus made. This necessitated the entry of the divi-
423 sion into legally valid documents and government records. Thus, it is clear that while government records show only 189 families as owning land, actually the number of those who possess their own fields is larger. If we do not take into account the houses in the two neighbouring hamlets, Shamirpet proper has 380 houses. Each house represents a family, elementary or joint. Out of these, 240 families have some land of their own, although from among them 60 families possess only tiny fragments. Among the other families some have only dry land, some have very little wet land, while some have highly fragmented land which often lies in many different corners of the village. This still leaves nearly 140 landless families. From these we can eliminate about 20 government officials who are not a part of the permanent population of the village; and about 10 others who have an occupation or calling which gives them a sufficient income to maintain a reasonably comfortable life according to prevailing rural standards. Eliminating these, we have some 110 families that are landless. These are in addition to an equal number of families who have insufficient or uneconomic holdings.

● 427 Those who have no land, as well as those who have very little land, are left with the alternatives of either working as whole-time agricultural labourers or of cultivating land taken on lease (*kaul*). Persons choosing the second alternative, either pay the owner of the land a fixed sum of money every year, or they give him a quarter or one-third of the produce. Absentee landlordism is almost negligible in Shamirpet, and those who own the greater part of the village land themselves want to cultivate their best fields. Thus only inferior quality land can generally be had on
425 lease. With hard work and financial investment this land can be
427 improved, but unfortunately this is impeded by several factors. If the same person continues to hold the lease for certain fields for

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

a number of years, according to law he acquires semi-proprietary rights over them. The landlord does not want this to happen, and so with a view to safeguarding his own interests he leases out his land to different persons in different years. A short-term lease is naturally not conducive to land improvement, for the person cultivating the land does not risk any investment in it. If he does improve it, in one of the following years the landlord may lease it out to someone else who offers to pay more than the person who improved the land. Secondly, those who hold most of the agricultural land in the village are interested in maintaining a supply of cheap agricultural labour, without which it would be impossible for them to cultivate their extensive fields. They benefit more by cultivating their land with the help of this labour, than by leasing out their land. If they leased out all their surplus land the cheap labour supply would appreciably diminish, and for want of competition wages of those who were still available would rise. To avoid this they choose to leave some of their land uncultivated, and thus we have the paradox of having in the same village many land-hungry families and several hundred acres of uncultivated land.

The land belongs to the family, and normally the head of the family exercises control over it. On the death of the father, the land and other agricultural property—such as tools, implements and livestock—are distributed equally among the brothers. Provision is made for the marriage of unmarried daughters as well as for the maintenance of the minor sons of the deceased. In very special cases, with the consent of all the brothers, a widowed sister is also given a small share. But this is a gratuity rather than a rightful share.

The agriculturists have considerable sentiment for their land and cattle. If adversity compels them to sell some of their fields or cattle, the day when this is done becomes a day of semi-mourning for the household. The hour of transfer is indeed a sad one, and the farmer will complete the necessary formalities with a heavy heart. For several days the family atmosphere remains overcast with gloom. The womenfolk may even wail and shed tears of real grief. In the sentiments of an Indian peasant, the Earth occupies a mother's position and parting with a fragment of it is nearly tantamount to separation from the mother. It is surprising how cattle become almost members of the agriculturist's family, and how

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312 There are no other sources of water-supply. There are no streams or rivers belonging to the village. There is one at some distance, but its water is used to irrigate lands belonging to adjoining villages.

311 651 According to assessment—

Wet lands.				Dry lands.			
Rate per acre paid to zamindar.	Extent.	Revenue.		Rate per acre.	Extent.	Revenue.	
Rs. A. P.	ACRES.	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	ACRES.	Rs. A. P.	
8 14 3	4·89	44 3 9		2 1 9	11·11	23 7 2	
7 12 6	1·57	12 8 2		1 10 9	4·65	7 11 1	
7 6 6	0·86	6 6 6		1 7 3	2·91	4 3 11	
6 10 9	1·11	7 7 2		1 3 7	13·95	17 6 7	
5 8 11	8·35	48 12 4		1 0 0	3·41	3 7 7	
4 7 2	58·60	266 6 1		...	...	...	
					Total ...	442 0 4	

Inams.

Dry lands.				Wet lands.			
Rate per acre.	Extent.	Revenue.		Rate per acre.	Extent.	Revenue.	
Rs. A. P.	ACRES.	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	ACRES.	Rs. A. P.	
2 3 1	1·06	2 3 3		10 15 0	3·46	39 5 10	
1 10 3	15·52	20 9 4		8 12 0	5·69	61 5 8	
1 6 9	7·90	11 3 8		7 10 6	4·54	34 15 2	
1 3 2	3·58	4 4 11		5 7 6	0·85	6 5 0	
					Total ...	180 4 10	
					Other lands ...	442 0 4	
			Grand total of revenue received by zamindar ...			622 5 2	

427 [311] 241 *Occupation of land.*—A very small area, 62½ cents of dry land, and 31 cents of wet, belongs to the zamindar himself and is cultivated by a tenant. Such lands are called "kanagi." The rent is Rs. 1-5-2 for the dry land and Rs. 2-11-0 for the wet land.

There are eight ryots who hold land under the zamindar, of these six cultivate their holdings, and two, of whom one is the karnam of the village, let their land to sub-tenants who pay in shares of the produce.

There are thirteen sub-tenants who own no land.

In cultivating paddy, ragi, cholam, sazzulu, and other such grains, half of the produce generally goes to the cultivator, and the other half to the zamindari tenant who lets out his land, all the straw going to the cultivator only, who supplies himself with all the necessaries for cultivation.

But in some cases the zamindari tenant (the pattadar or inamdar) himself supplies one pair of bulls, and ploughs the land, while the cultivator simply helps him in his work. In that case only one-sixth of the produce is given to the cultivator. If the

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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427 zamindari tenant supplies two pairs of bulls, one-eighth goes to the cultivator.
241 In the case of sugarcane, the cultivator gets 1½ shares and the zamindari tenant only one. If the sub-tenant cultivates on contract, the cultivator must give two maunds of jaggery for every 2½ cents of land planted with sugarcane.*

Of the agricultural families, all the males cultivate some land and also work for hire. There are two females, however, who do not cultivate, of whom one lives on charity and the other by working as a coolie.

[423] Of the lands which are called "Sirkar" there is only one kind of ownership and holders of such land are called pattadars.

As regards lands designated "inam" lands there are slight differences. The inamdars pay, instead of the full rent, what are called quit-rents and road-cess.

463 There are five villagers who combine agriculture with other occupations. One is a blacksmith, the other a potter, the third prepares combs, and two others are dhobis. The sub-tenants mentioned above also do the work of coolies between harvest and sowing time.

243 *Agriculture.*—All dry lands yield only one crop per annum. Wet lands yield two crops. No land yields three crops.

For millets and pulses, the land is ploughed after a shower of rain when it is soft. Generally June or July is seed time. After a time when the plants sprout up the fields are weeded. After that four or five good showers of rain are needed. Then when the corn is ripe, it is cut and piled in bundles. The bundles are trod upon by bulls and the corn drops out.

For paddy the harvest time is November for the first crop, for which seed is sown in June or July; April and May for the second crop, for which seed is sown in December or January. When there is sufficient water the paddy fields are flooded with water and then ploughed till they become miry. Afterwards, green leaf manure (generally kanaga leaves) and animal manure are spread and well trodden in. Before planting paddy is steeped in cow-dung water in pots, which water is renewed every day. After four or five days the plants sprout up and then they are removed from the pots and placed in the prepared fields. After they are thus planted the fields are again flooded with water. But the water is allowed to remain for a day only. The next day it is let out and the fields are allowed to dry for three days when the plants are of some size. From that time onwards till the corn is ripe water is allowed to flow freely on the fields. When it is ripe it is harvested. Then it is cut, heaped in bundles, struck against a bed of rock when the grain falls out which is all collected and taken home.

249 *Sugarcane.*—The land is well ploughed, but unlike paddy is not made miry at first. Long trenches of comparatively little depth are made by means of the ploughshare. Then the field is well manured, and water is let in till it becomes miry. The sugarcane already cut in small pieces is planted in these trenches. No water is let in on that day. After an interval of three days water

[804] *[This must be taken to mean, not the Railway or Bengal maund of 82¾ lb., but a local maund of 26 lb. very nearly. The rent in jaggery is therefore nearly one ton per acre, worth about Rs. 150.—Ed.]

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311 *Land*—

	ACS.
Wet land	141·30
Dry land	304·29
Land watered by wells	52·19
Common waste	451·35
Pastures other than waste	898·14
Woods and forests	

312 There are two tanks, *Kodipalli cheruvu* and *Varadarajulu kunta*. The first is sufficiently deep though not extensive, and the water stored in the tank is sufficient for two crops. The surplus water is allowed to collect in another small pond. There are fourteen wells, all built round with stone; and one stream when in flood affords an additional water-supply.

311 *Classification of lands—According to assessment*—

651

Wet lands.		Dry lands.	
Rates.	Acres.	Rates.	Acres.
Rs. 4-0-0	18·38	Re. 1	304·29
Rs. 5, Rs. 5-8-0	32·38		
Rs. 6-0-0	21·24		
Rs. 7-0-0	20·35		
Rs. 8-0-0	7·37		
Rs. 9-0-0	1·10		

311 *Occupation of land.*—Of the dry land 109·02 acres, of the wet land 31·50 acres are cultivated by the landowners, the remainder, viz., 32·28 acres of wet land, and 272·79 acres of dry land are sublet and cultivated by tenants.

423 There are about 25 non-cultivating landowners. Some hold Government posts, about 12 are engaged in trade; there are between 30 and 40 tenants who own no land, and the agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land number men 113, women 47.

There are two kinds of ownership, inam and patta. All sirkar lands are held by pattadars. The area of holdings of inam ownership is 127·38 acres. The rest of the cultivable land is held by pattadars. Inamdars pay only quit-rent and road-cess.

There are only about half a dozen pattadars. One family alone owns 97·15 acres of wet and 143·14 acres of dry land.

427 *Rents.*—There are no cultivators who pay a money rent. Everything is paid in kind. The usual arrangement is that the cultivator himself supplies all that is necessary for cultivation, and out of the produce one-half goes to the landowner and the other to the cultivator. There are no other conditions of contract. But when sugarcane is cultivated the landowner gets only one-fourth of the produce.

The whole land revenue comes to Rs. 1,034·7-0, out of which the revenue from the inam lands alone amounts to Rs. 154-3-0.

463 Some of the villagers are engaged in trade side by side with agriculture. Others are potters, dhobis, in addition to being cultivators. Some hold Government posts. Some are contractors.

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Sandy tracts with palmyras fetch a rent of Rs. 10 per acre, without trees, Rs. 2 or 3 only; black clay Rs. 15 to 16 per acre. 427

The black clay land sells at about Rs. 350 per acre, the red sand at about Rs. 150. But the price has fallen now owing to two bad harvests. 435

Stock. 231

	By official information.	Non-official.
Working oxen	539	800 about.
Cows	412	600 „
Male buffaloes	6	14 „
Cow buffaloes	184	200 „
Young stock—buffaloes	208	250 „
Do. cows	637	650 to 700
Horses	...	...
Donkeys and mules	...	...
Sheep	58	61
Goats	225	200
Pigs	100	...

According to the census of 1900 and 1910 they were—

	1900.	1910.
Bullocks and he-buffaloes	650	545
Cows	580	412
She-buffaloes	171	184
Young stock	802	845
Sheep and goats	778	283

The straw of cholam and paddy is reserved for the summer feed of cattle; in the rainy season the green grass of the common pasture is available. Each ryot reserves one or two fields for pasture for his cattle. In days of heavy work, the bullocks are given cooked horsegram mixed with the husk of paddy, and the fine dust from the grain which is mixed with it in husking. Cotton seeds are also cooked and given for food; and oil cake, especially for milch cows. Ryots who have insufficient pasture send some of their cattle to the Agency tracts for the three months, July to September; they are charged Rs. 3 or 5 per pair.

Only about 50 per cent of the cattle-dung is used as manure, the rest is used for fuel. The average ryot applies six to eight cart-loads of dung per acre; besides the manure of the cattle kept in fields at nights. He accumulates a stock at home throughout the year and applies it at the end of the year to the fields. 241 [237]

No green manure or chemical manure is used.

Garden cultivation has been tried as an experiment with water-supply from a well, lifted by a water pump got from Bombay. Lemons and plantains are planted. The pump required some slight repairs, which were delayed for want of a mechanic near by. The garden too has not yet proved to be decidedly profitable; and all the villagers laugh at it as an innovation. [176]

Cost of cultivation.—The following is an account of the expenditure for ten acres of an average ryot, obtained from four ryots. 241 435

other castes, especially the Brahmins, the Komtis, the toddy-tappers and the shepherds, as well as the Muslims. This category also includes two Malas and a Madiga—all three belonging to untouchable castes. The land in the fourth group belongs to several different castes. However, many of these families possess only small fragments of dry land which are quite inadequate for their needs and can in no sense be described as 'economic holdings'.

The above figures have been taken from government records. While the possession of land sold to persons outside the kin-group is given after the completion of the necessary legal formalities, the division of shares from the family land does not necessitate this and in consequence we find that the land shown in the name of one person in the official records may actually be in the possession of several families. This may be illustrated by two examples. E. D. R. has four acres of dry land and six acres of wet land recorded in his name in government registers. The dry land and three acres of wet land are under his exclusive possession. This land is cultivated by him; and the entire harvest belongs to him. But the other three acres of wet land are divided into four pieces. One of these fragments is cultivated by E. D. R. himself, one by his cousin S. R. who is E. D. R.'s father's elder brother's son. The other two fragments are cultivated by E. R. and N. R. whose position is a little unusual. In the life-time of E. D. R.'s grandfather they 'came to his house' for suitor service. After serving the family for a stipulated number of years they were married to the daughters of the family, but continued to live there to assist the old man in his cultivation. After the death of E. D. R.'s grandfather they established separate houses of their own, and are now in exclusive possession of these fragments of land which belonged to E. D. R.'s family. From the above it is clear that although the land records show the land as being in the possession of E. D. R. alone, it is in fact possessed by four different families. The Madiga untouchables were given two acres of land as a reward for the services which they render to residents of the village and touring government officials. Official records show this land as being in the possession of one family: in point of fact, it is shared by as many as seven families.

Seceding members of a family get a share of the family's ancestral land. Fragmentation follows this division of ancestral

428 property. For many years, however, the land continues to be in
423 the name of only one member of the extended family in the government records. The division of land, cattle and effects takes place under the supervision (and with the advice) of some of the village elders, and the terms and conditions agreed upon at this time are generally respected by the seceding units of the family. In the course of our investigations only three cases came to our notice in which inconvenience was experienced in the working of arrangements thus made. This necessitated the entry of the divi-
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425 lease. With hard work and financial investment this land can be
427 improved, but unfortunately this is impeded by several factors. If the same person continues to hold the lease for certain fields for

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

a number of years, according to law he acquires semi-proprietary rights over them. The landlord does not want this to happen, and so with a view to safeguarding his own interests he leases out his land to different persons in different years. A short-term lease is naturally not conducive to land improvement, for the person cultivating the land does not risk any investment in it. If he does improve it, in one of the following years the landlord may lease it out to someone else who offers to pay more than the person who improved the land. Secondly, those who hold most of the agricultural land in the village are interested in maintaining a supply of cheap agricultural labour, without which it would be impossible for them to cultivate their extensive fields. They benefit more by cultivating their land with the help of this labour, than by leasing out their land. If they leased out all their surplus land the cheap labour supply would appreciably diminish, and for want of competition wages of those who were still available would rise. To avoid this they choose to leave some of their land uncultivated, and thus we have the paradox of having in the same village many land-hungry families and several hundred acres of uncultivated land.

The land belongs to the family, and normally the head of the family exercises control over it. On the death of the father, the land and other agricultural property—such as tools, implements and livestock—are distributed equally among the brothers. Provision is made for the marriage of unmarried daughters as well as for the maintenance of the minor sons of the deceased. In very special cases, with the consent of all the brothers, a widowed sister is also given a small share. But this is a gratuity rather than a rightful share.

The agriculturists have considerable sentiment for their land and cattle. If adversity compels them to sell some of their fields or cattle, the day when this is done becomes a day of semi-mourning for the household. The hour of transfer is indeed a sad one, and the farmer will complete the necessary formalities with a heavy heart. For several days the family atmosphere remains overcast with gloom. The womenfolk may even wail and shed tears of real grief. In the sentiments of an Indian peasant, the Earth occupies a mother's position and parting with a fragment of it is nearly tantamount to separation from the mother. It is surprising how cattle become almost members of the agriculturist's family, and how

RITUAL STRUCTURE

844 Among the Muslims an expectant mother is sent for the birth of her first child to her parents; subsequent deliveries generally take place in her own home. During her confinement she is attended by a professional midwife. An amulet is often tied to the
846 mother's waist to facilitate delivery. Within a few hours of its birth the child is bathed and clothed. His grandfather or an elderly relation says the prayers. A date is then dipped in honey and a drop or two of that honey is put into the mouth of the newborn child. Milk should not be given to the child before this has been done. On the sixth day the *chhatti* ceremony is performed.
[431] For this relations from both mother's and father's side are invited. They bring with them gifts for the child, comprising of sets of new clothes, dolls and playthings and possibly a silver spoon. The child
553 is dressed in new clothes. On the seventh day its head is shaved, and the elders give it a name. Depending on the means of the family, feasts are given to friends and relations on the sixth and seventh days, The mother continues to be out of the normal round of life for forty days. On the fortieth day she is bathed. The midwife is given her remuneration on this day. Once again there is a feast, and presents may be given both to the child and to the mother.

881 *Pre-puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus, the Brahmin and the Komti perform the sacred thread ceremony for the boys before they attain puberty. At these rites the Brahmin priest officiates. The Panch Bramha group of artisan castes also perform this rite; but they do not invite the Brahmin. Their caste-priest conducts the ceremony.

862 In the Muslim community a boy must be circumcised any time between the age of two and ten. A few relations are invited for the occasion, the boy is garlanded and then the operation is performed. It is usual to give small presents to the boy at this time.
[867] Another pre-puberty rite is the *bismilla* ceremony done both for boys and girls. This initiates the child's religious instruction, for from now on it is taught the alphabet and is gradually enabled to read the Koran. In Shamirpet the *bismilla* ceremony is performed for all Muslim children, though relatively few of them learn to read the holy book.

881 *Puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus the girl's first menstruation is attended by elaborate ceremonies. She is secluded for five days, and at the end of this period is bathed and dressed in new clothes.

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ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

511 426 Analysis of the family budgets of the agriculturists in the village revealed that 10% of them were surplus, 24% were balanced and the rest were deficit budgets. Exact figures regarding the extent of indebtedness could not be obtained as the people invariably sought to conceal information on this subject. According to our rough estimate, 55% to 60% of the families are indebted. As relatively few persons can get agricultural or land improvement loans from the government at a reasonable rate of interest, and as there is no co-operative society in the village, most people have to take recourse to the money-lenders either in the village or, preferably, in a neighbouring one. Petty loans may be obtained from well-to-do shopkeepers and peasants. The rate of interest varies greatly. For large loans a mortgage is generally insisted upon, and anything between 6% and 12% compound interest is charged. For petty loans interest is charged at the rate of 2 annas per rupee per month. If ornaments or other valuables are pawned, the rate of interest is reduced even for the smaller loans. Borrowing in kind also takes place. Seeds are often obtained on loan, and are returned after the harvest with 25% interest. In several cases the indebtedness of the family could be attributed to over-spending in socio-religious ceremonies and litigation rather than to agricultural needs.

241 432 The organization of agricultural pursuits rests mainly on the head of the family, although grown-up sons—if they are living with the parents—are also consulted. When buying or selling land the advice of the elders of the extended family is always obtained. This has to be done before mortgaging family property against loans. The scope for individual initiative and innovations is very limited, for the system of agriculture still largely follows the traditional patterns and is governed to a great extent by the agricultural lore passed from generation to generation through oral tradition.

241 465 Most agriculturists can manage the cultivation of their fields with the help of family labour. The traditional system on inter-caste relations secures for them the specialized services of the occupational castes. The more well-to-do landowners have Madiga families attached to them. However, the migration of some Madiga families and concentration of considerable areas of land in the possession of a few families make it almost essential for many agriculturists to employ additional labour. In the busy season even

[For additional information on the growth of plantation agriculture see category 311, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

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CHAPTER THREE

Economic Structure

I. CASTE IN VILLAGE ECONOMY

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THE functional basis of the Indian caste system is generally well understood, but the integration of the different castes into the economic pattern of the rural community organization of India is not so well known. The occupations and functions of the different castes are not wholly exclusive, but the economic system of rural India is founded mainly on their functional specialization and interdependence. For example, agriculture is mainly the task of the Kapu group of castes, but all other castes—both high and low—can cultivate land, if they have any, besides following their traditional occupation. Similarly, trading was originally the function of the Komti caste, but now several other castes have also taken to it. However, a large number of crafts and occupations in rural India still remain the monopoly of different castes. A non-Brahmin cannot officiate as a priest for any of the higher castes. No one other than a Kummari will follow the profession of a potter. The Mangali alone would do the barber's work. Carpentry and working in metals are the monopoly of the Panch Bramha group of castes in Telangana. Only the Madiga will dispose of dead cattle and undertake to do leather-work. Castes other than the Sakali would not think of doing the washerman's work. Tradition has given to each group a definite position in the structure of the community, and with that position also goes a definite economic function which is the major source of livelihood for that group. As agriculture is the mainstay of the [433] rural economy of India, the crafts and occupations of the countryside are generally integrated with it. A brief analysis of the economic role of the different castes would give us a clear idea of the

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476 discharge of their functions. Tradition approves of such an arrangement, and mutual trust and inter-dependence ensure its continuity. Where this arrangement is accepted, a system of attachment of some families to certain other families naturally [433] follows. Agriculture being the most important activity of the countryside, the number of agriculturists is naturally the largest in the village population. These constitute the bulk of those who require and accept the occupational services of small caste groups offering them. Even the occupational castes stand in need of one another's services, although the number of families from each caste offering them within a village community is of necessity small. Each family will, therefore, attach itself to a number of families in the village and offer them services both in agricultural pursuits and socio-religious rites and ceremonies. Among the occupational castes themselves also there is a system of family attachments in operation. In Shamirpet some family affiliations date back to the time of the foundation of the village. Later immigrants either secured the services of some of the established families of the occupational castes, or they made arrangements with some of the newcomers to the village belonging to those castes.

476 623 626 This sytem is both complex and delicate. It is not easy for an agriculturist to remove a family attached to his household and secure the services of another. For example, A, a barber, is attached to the family of B, an agriculturist. If for any reason B is greatly dissatisfied with the services of A and wants those of another, he cannot abruptly dismiss A. His difficulty will not be in dismissing him, but in finding a substitute. Each of these castes [467] has its own inter-village council. Occupational castes have a developed trade unionism, and their code of professional ethics and etiquette too is very rigid. The dismissed person will be protected by this professional etiquette. No one else would be willing to act as a substitute, for fear of being penalized by the caste *panchayat*. It may even be difficult for a number of families to join together and import a family belonging to that occupational caste from a different village. First, under these conditions of tension, an outside family would not come for fear of social pressure and ultimate ostracism for such an action. And if they do come, the caste fellows already in the village will make things very difficult, even unbearable, for them. In the course of our investigations,

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311 ment, classified in government land records as belonging to this village, approximately 20·4 acres are covered by streams and small rivers, 25 acres by unmetalled roads and footpaths and 61 acres by irrigation channels. Thus apart from the 58 acres which provide the site for the village and the two hamlets attached to it, 106·4 acres are covered by these footpaths, channels and streams. The total land area of the village according to government records is 5,777 acres. Out of this 2,012 acres are uncul-
241 tivable; 162·8 acres being covered with rocks and shrubs. In all 3,765 acres are under cultivation in the village: 3,339·5 acres are classed as 'dry land', for this area is irrigated entirely by the rains; and 425·6 acres are classed as 'wet land' as extra irrigation is available. Although the dry land occupies a proportionately wider area, it is much less productive than the wet land. In 1951–52, out of the total village land revenue of Rs. 9,137 (Hyderabad currency) only Rs. 3,982/4/- were derived as revenue on dry land, the rest came from wet land. The wet land is further classified into *ābi*, *tābi* and *do fasla* land. In the *ābi* land seeds are sown in the rainy season (June to July) and harvested in mid- or late winter (November to January). This type of land occupies 131 acres and yields a revenue of Rs. 1,332 per year. In the *tābi* land sowing is done in winter (October to November) and the crops are harvested in summer (April to May). *Tābi* land covers 162·4 acres in the village and yields a revenue of Rs. 1,868/12/0 per year. Finally 63·5 acres are classed as the much prized *do fasla* or two crop land. As the very name suggests, crops are sown and harvested on this land twice every year. Notwithstanding its small area this land yields a revenue of Rs. 1,208/12/0. All this wet land is irrigated by channels from the Shamirpet tank. Mention may also be made of another 68 acres, which are irrigated by small privately owned tanks and wells and bring to the government a revenue of Rs. 745/12/0 per year. Wet land is very much desired by the cultivators because of its high productivity and requirement of com-
[436] paratively low investment. According to current valuation average wet land sells at Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 per acre.

241 It would only be natural to expect that in a primarily agri-
● 433 cultural community the number of professional cultivators and others directly dependent upon agriculture should be the highest. Table I shows the number of people who are wholly agriculturists, partly agriculturists and partly field-labourers, and partly agri-

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culturists and partly dependent for subsistence on other crafts and professions.

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TABLE I

Number of Families and People Depending on Agriculture as the Main Source of Livelihood.

Nature of agricultural work	*Total number of families*	*Total number of persons*	*Men*	*Women*	*Children*	*Number of people actually working*
1. Agriculturists (depending only on the cultivation of their land)	129	713	226	231	256	336
2. Partly agriculturists and partly field-labourers	154	803	249	271	283	493
3. Partly agriculturists and partly dependent on other crafts and professions	59	305	89	105	111	170

From the above it will be clear that 336 people actually employed whole-time in agriculture maintain 129 families consisting of 713 people. The other class is more numerous. In it 493 people working together maintain 154 families comprising in all 803 people. These partly cultivate their own fields and partly work as labourers with other agriculturists. The third category includes those who are partly agriculturists, and derive a part of their subsistence from some other craft or profession: 59 families having in all 305 people constitute this group.

The remaining fraction of the village population consists of people who contribute indirectly to agriculture or who have a function in some other field of community life. Table II gives the number of families and people in other occupations.

The figures in Tables I and II are for the main village of Shamirpet and do not include the agriculturists and occupational castes from the hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli, which are regarded, in land records, as parts of Shamirpet.

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ment. As all the Madiga families in the village are not affiliated to the agriculturists, in these calculations their average income from these sources comes to only 58%, although a few decades ago, when the traditional system worked better, it must have been considerably more. The potters earn much more by selling their earthenware in the markets than by their traditional arrangements with the families of agriculturists. Similarly, some of the washermen have now a clientele in the city. Twice or thrice every month they collect clothes from them, delivering at the same time the previous washing. The barbers have a limited number of clients in the neighbouring villages. All the castes in this group derive an appreciable portion of their total earnings from private work done outside the system of traditional arrangements.

The economy of the village is only partially self-sufficient. The traders, both Komtis and Muslims, buy their goods wholesale from the city and retail them in their shops in the village. People often buy their requirements from the city if they happen to go there. They frequently visit the weekly bazaars also. The weavers buy their spindles from Hyderabad wholesalers, and depend for the sale of their cloth on the cluster of several nearby villages. The customers of the goldsmith are also distributed in several villages of the neighbourhood. The Gaondla produces all the fermented palm-juice required in the settlement from the trees around the village, but he has also to keep a certain quantity of liquor distilled in the city for such customers as may order it occasionally. The occupation of stone-breaking takes the Vaddars to several villages in the neighbourhood where there are no members of their caste. Finally, Madiga families acquiring a reputation for their skill in curing and tanning hides, or in their leather-work, are also commissioned by outsiders occasionally to do some work for them.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

312 Tungabhadra scheme; but the history of large-scale irrigation here is discouraging, though of course much experience has been gained since the 377 Kurnool failure. With the development of hydro-electricity there may come 491 decentralised industrial development on the Mysore model; but Mysore 433 had a more solid backing in at least some industry, sericulture and Bhadravati iron for instance, to give a base. Telangana is not without resources such as oilseeds and fibres (including sheep and goat wool), and in view of *India's* shortages in non-ferrous metals development of the poor communication net might lead to at least some exploitation of the scattered minerals. But when all is said, it seems likely that Telangana will remain, if not a backward, at least a poor country.

The Anantapur-Chittoor Basins

133 Between the bold scarp of the Palkonda Range and the higher Mysore levels are a series of basins around the middle courses of the Penner tributaries—Chitravati, Papagni, Punchu/Cheyyeru, the last two with a remarkable confluence-gorge in the Palkondas. To the SE the sub-region breaks down to the Nellore/Coromandel plains through the little intermont basins of the Nagari Hills (up to 2800 ft) and through the broader Swarnamukhi valley, which may occupy a fault-trough under the Palkondas. The whole area is crossed by N/S or NE/SW trap dykes, which may also have some influence on the remarkable drainage-pattern.

311 The area is isolated and poor, except in the extreme SE—the Nagari valleys, culturally transitional to Tamilnad. Only 20% of Chittoor Dt is cultivated—less than any other Madras District except the Nilgiris—but the density is **304**, intermediate between the Ceded Districts (*c.* **185**) and the coastal plains (**450–650**). Millets account for over 40% of the cropped area, followed by rice and groundnuts (24 and 14%).

491 There is no urban or industrial development worth mentioning. The
311 Nagari basins are better cultivated than those of the plateau, but even they
133 are not very impressive agriculturally: their flattish floors are broken by patches of sandy soil, almost bare but for a thin grass/acacia cover, and by naked rock exfoliation surfaces, looking like *roches moutonnées* and often used as threshing floors. Around the plain a lateritic piedmont slope fringes the craggy hills, with boulders as big as a small house on the talus slopes.
[361] Below the lateritic apron is a better-watered and more fertile piedmont strip, which is in places a solid belt of paddy, the zone of bush and trees along the laterite margin being a favoured settlement-line. It is a strange landscape: fantastic hills, stacked and pinnacled, long ridges capped by massive quartzites, reflected in the still waters of the big tanks with their borders of toddy palms; an eerily attractive picture under iron-blue or grey skies.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

For the purely delta taluks, of course, the rice proportion would be higher. Tobacco covers some 200,000 ac. in all, the best being grown on temporary sand-islands in the larger streams. Some sugar is grown, but this tall and long-standing crop must be protected from cyclones by expensive fencing with bamboos.

Again mineral potentialities are slight and development slighter. There are two tiny unworked coalfields, of dubious value, in the Gondwanas along the Godavari; graphite and kaolin are worked in a small way, mainly for Rajahmundry paper mills (which use paddy straw as well as bamboo from the hills) and for the small crucible industry at the same town. Salt evaporation at Cocanada might lead to a chemical industry. Industry itself, though very small-scale, is interesting; as well as the Rajahmundry works just mentioned, and the rice and tobacco trades to be expected, there are cement, silk, fruit canning, and vegetable ghee works. Most of these are congregated along the Kistna below Bezwada and between Rajahmundry and Cocanada. Varied as it is, the total is not impressive: the crucible industry has 150 skilled workers, the paper mill a capacity of 3000 tons p.a.; the 77 rice mills in E Godavari employ only 1800 workers, the three silk factories 122; and the total industrial population of this District is only 7200—0·39% of total population, and at that not much below the figure for Madras State (0·42%). Such as it is, this industrial development has yet led to an ominous, if incipient, competition for land in a few tracts between tobacco and paddy; fortunately the region, except for Guntur, has a sizeable rice surplus (about 400,000 tons less 110,000 tons deficit in Guntur); and counting all foodgrains Guntur also has a surplus.[1]

The industrial, and to some extent the agricultural, future of the region will depend on whether or not the great Ramapadasagar multi-purpose scheme is executed; at present financial difficulties stand in the way. The proposed dam, 428 ft high with foundations 190 ft below the river bed, and 1½ miles long, would impound 15·6 m. ac.-ft of water, irrigate for paddy some 2·35 m. ac. of un- or under-developed land, improve the supply to 2 m. ac. already irrigated, and develop at least 100,000 kW; it might also, and less beneficially, trap the silt.

There are a fair number of minor towns. The site-significances of Bezwada (**161,198**) and Rajahmundry (**105,276**) are plain; Guntur (**125,255**) and Ellore (64,911) are trading centres with a little industry. The ports of Cocanada (75,140) and Masulipatam (59,146) are of little use. At Masulipatam large ships must lie 5 miles offshore (weather permitting!) and the half-dozen wharves are three miles up a winding creek; yet in early European days it was a place of great importance, famous for carpets and

[1] This discussion is based on (i) Dr. V. L. S. P. Rao's interesting summary of his doctoral dissertation, "Industrial Problems, Development, and Planning [in] . . . the Lower Godavari Region" (*IGJ* XXIII (1948), 1–15); (ii) V. V. Ramanadham and V. L. S. P. Rao, *Economic Atlas of Andhra Desa* (Calcutta, 1949).

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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implements are bought chiefly in Chintamani, about 18 miles off, and also at Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off.

Articles of consumption are bought at the weekly fair held here on Tuesdays, also in Chintamani, Kothakota and some other places.

Sale of village produce.—The quantities produced here are: paddy 500 puttis,* ragi 200, † sugarcane to the value of about Rs. 1,500, other millets and pulses to the value of about Rs. 1,000.

Out of this whatever is required for household purposes is retained. The rest, more than 50 per cent, is sold away. The nearest market is Chintamani. Sometimes the grain is transported to Bangalore also.

There are about three local roads, one from Gownipalle to Addegal, a village 4 miles off, one from the village to Manchinillakota, a village 6 miles off, and the other up to Todigol, 6 miles off. Another short road running for three miles runs up to the Mysore frontier. On the other side is British territory and there is no road further up. The local road to Tadigol connects with the Bangalore-Cuddapah road. The nearest commercial centres are Chintamani and Bangalore, accessible by the said road. The nearest railway station is Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off, reached by road.

The fair that takes place here every week is a big affair. People from very different parts come here. The fair is nominally held on Tuesday, but it generally extends from Monday to Wednesday. The chief business is carried on in stock, especially sheep and goats. Business in these is carried on to the extent of Rs. 4,000. They are chiefly sent to the Kolar Goldfields for slaughter and consumption.

Economic condition of village.—The customary rates of wages, in money, are from 2 to 3 annas per day, for a man; and 1½ annas for a woman; in kind, 2 seers of ragi, or 3 seers of paddy to a man, 1½ seers of ragi or 2 seers of paddy to a woman.

The current prices of staple foods are—

Rice	...	..	...	8 Mysore seers for a rupee.
Ragi	...	...	...	28 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	20 " "
Cholam	...	...	...	14 " "
Tamarind	...	...	...	Re. 1 for a maund.
Jaggery	...	...	...	Rs. 2 "
Chillis	...	...	...	Rs. 4-8-0 "
Dhôll	...	...	...	8 seers for a rupee.

About four or five families have made savings to the extent of Rs. 5,000, but on the other hand others have contracted debts to the extent of Rs. 10,000. Owing to scarcity of rains and failure of crops the people have been obliged to borrow heavily to meet current and occasional expenses.

There are practically no families who have liberated themselves from debt. While paying off old scores they borrow in new places.

There is a co-operative credit society. The capital is subscribed in shares of Rs. 10 each payable in twenty monthly instalments.

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* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 48 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

426 The result is that many families that were once rich are now reduced to absolute poverty. The rich few are becoming richer. But 65 to 75 per cent of the population are in debt. Of these 25 to 30 per cent have hopes of clearing it off in three or four years by mortgaging their lands. The rest, 35 to 40 per cent, are not able to escape easily out of debt. The pity is that these classes do not hesitate to contract debts at first, and then they are not in a hurry to return them soon, and small sums accumulate into large amounts.

438 *Trade.*—The villagers purchase commodities for industrial and
[543] agricultural purposes from weekly fairs held at Nidadavolu and from Rajahmundry; for consumption, partly from weekly fairs
433 at Nidadavolu and partly from the local traders. The amount of village produce sold was approximately as follows:—

	1916-17.	1915-16.
Soap nuts	250 bags.	500 bags.
Horsegram	200 (or 250) bags.	400 „
Gingelly	220 bags.	850 „
Red gram (this is mostly retained for local use).	50–60 „	100 „
Bengal gram	25–30 „	100 „
Ghee	50 60 tins.	50–60 tins.
Cholam (this is retained for local use; no crop this year).	...	50 bags.
Black gram	20 bags.	12 „

249 *Jaggery trade.*—The most noteworthy feature of the village is
438 the jaggery trade, carried on during the summer season. Nearly half the field area of the village consists of dry sand, filled with palmyra trees. These trees are rented out to the toddy tappers, who have to pay from Rs. 15 to 20 each in rent. One man can draw toddy from about 60 trees. Some 1,000 to 1,200 of these tappers come from the different taluks of the Kistna and Gōdāvari districts to this village in summer; while 200 to 225 go from the village itself. These people settle in the fields in the three summer months during which the fields lie waste, and draw toddy from 5 to 10 a.m. and 3 to 7 p.m. They have to climb the tree and suspend pots, lined with lime, beneath the cut ends of the stalks of the fronds of the palm from which the juice (toddy) flows. But for the lime the toddy would immediately begin to ferment. The women at home boil the toddy till it is condensed into jaggery.

Part of the jaggery is sold to the direct agents of Messrs. Parry & Co., who have opened an extensive business in these parts and invested a large capital. These agents of the company purchase jaggery with the company's money and get a commission at the rate of As. 2-6 per bag. They send it to Samalkot, where the company converts it into sugar.

The remainder is sold by the tappers to private capitalists and retail traders, who purchase the jaggery in the fields and sell it again to the company's agent in the village. They receive no commission, but make a profit in three ways: (1) There is a difference in the cost per candy between the prices in the fields (i.e., near the tappers' huts) and in the village. (2) The traders lend money to the tappers in times of need and get "Jattis" executed, promises by which the tappers agree to repay the money in the shape of jaggery

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ing that they too will have their share after the crops are harvested. Thus, the potter periodically supplies the agriculturist with earthenware and pots for his normal requirements. The barber does the hair-cutting and shaving of the members of the agriculturist's family on this basis. The washerman, too, follows this rule in so far as established cultivators of the village are concerned.

(ii) Obligations to render some occupational services, to the agriculturists as well as to many non-agriculturists, having a bearing on their socio-religious life. Castes such as the barber, the washerman, the carpenter and the potter, and the Madiga have definite functions in the rites and ceremonies connected with the major crises of life. These are performed by them as a matter of routine, without any direct negotiations regarding the wages that they may expect in return for their services. Convention has fixed the basic minimum, and in the course of ritual duties, at different points, a part of this payment has to be made. Depending on their status and financial position, people pay something more for these services at the completion of the ceremony.

(iii) Obligations to render some occupational services to other occupational castes in return for their traditional services. As an example, it may be pointed out that a barber will attend to the grooming of hair and shaving of the members of a weaver's family to which he is attached. No cash payment is either expected or made. However, every year the weaver will give him a few yards of cloth and possibly a *sari* or two for his wife.

(iv) Occupational services rendered with an expectation of cash payment in return for the work. Casual visitors to the village can get the services of the barber only when they pay cash. For making a bullock cart, or for preparing timber for use in the construction of a house, a carpenter would first settle his wages and then undertake to do the work. In this respect he would not make an exception even in the case of established cultivators to whose households his family may have been attached for several years, even for decades. The Vaddar stone-workers also usually undertake an assignment only when the obligations on both sides are settled.

For most of the castes economic dealings falling in category (iv), described above, are of a casual nature, though their economic returns through them may be quite substantial. With a few exceptions, most of the castes have to accept a basis of reciprocity in

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

425 their separation by death or selling causes so much sorrow among the peasants.

423 435 Land is indeed the most precious and coveted possession of the village people. With the exception of women's ornaments, land and cattle are almost the only property they have. With the overall increase in general price levels in recent years, the price of land has also risen. The following table will give an idea of the average prices of different grades of land in 1939 and in 1950.

TABLE III

Prices of Land in 1939 and 1950

Type of land	*Price per acre in rupees*					
	1939 *Grades of land*			1950 *Grades of land*		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
1. Dry land	60	40	18	220	170	75
2. Wet land	250	150	90	1,200	800	480
3. Garden land	300	240	110	1,500	1,200	550

243 434 I propose to examine the standards of living, and relative earnings and expenditure of the different levels of the population in a subsequent chapter. But a consideration of the economics of agriculture will not be out of place here.

The two major crops grown by the people of Shamirpet are rice and millet. Table IV gives the averages per acre of gross income, total cost and net income, in the cultivation of millet, particularly *jawar*. Tables V and VI give similar figures for paddy, for single crop and double crop lands respectively. The figures have been worked out from a survey of a 50% sample of village families cultivating the three different categories of land. Figures are given to the nearest whole number.

TABLE IV

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Millet

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 140	Rs. 64	Rs. 76
B	„ 82	„ 40	„ 42
C	„ 62	„ 30	„ 32

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

TABLE V

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Paddy (One-crop Fields) 243 434

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 420	Rs. 180	Rs. 240
B	„ 310	„ 160	„ 150
C	„ 200	„ 120	„ 80

TABLE VI

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Paddy (Two-crop Fields)

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 530	Rs. 220	Rs. 310
B	„ 420	„ 200	„ 220
C	„ 380	„ 190	„ 190

If we work out the averages for the different items of expenditure incurred in agricultural activities, we find that the expenditure on seeds is the most important single factor, accounting for nearly 60% of the total amount spent. Land revenue, wages for hired labour, maintenance or hire of plough and cattle, and interest on loans and capital investments are the other important items of expenditure. Manure and land improvement between them account for only about 7% of the sum spent. Table VII gives the averages of expenditure on the items mentioned above, according to our field survey.

TABLE VII

243

Item of expenditure	*Percentage of total expenditure*
1. Seed	58
2. Land revenue	9
3. Hired labour	6·5
4. Maintenance and/or hire of plough cattle	5·5
5. Interest on loan and capital investments	4
6. Manure	3·5
7. Agricultural tools, repairs and field improvement	3·5
8. Miscellaneous	1

In the pages that have preceded, the position of land as a factor in village agriculture has been briefly examined. Some general observations have already been made about labour, and I shall return to it presently. Here a passing reference should be made to the factors of capital and organization.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

and some of the occupational castes, four different types of economic dealings have been mentioned: a system of family affiliation under which the family of the occupational caste attaches itself to a family or families of agriculturists for rendering to them services in their agricultural pursuits, similar affiliation for performing definite functions in connection with socio-religious rites and ceremonies, barter of professional services between occupational castes, and finally the rendering of services within the domain of caste monopolies for cash payment. Six occupational castes assist the agriculturists by rendering them services within the field of their functional specialization. It will be interesting to analyse the exact contribution made by each of these four types of economic dealings to their total earnings. The averages in the following table have been calculated from family budgets of the different castes in question. Where the number of families was small, such as among potters, carpenters and blacksmiths, 100% sample was taken; in others a 50% random sample was taken. However, it is necessary to point out that the budgets were made mostly on the basis of verbal estimates of the families. Only substantial payments received during a period of three years were checked. In making these calculations income from the cultivation of land belonging to the family as well as from agricultural labour lying outside the occupational specialization of the family have not been taken into account.

TABLE XI

Caste	*Percentage of income from:*				
	Traditional system of family affiliation	*Services at socio-religious ceremonies*	*Barter of occupational services*	*Services for cash payment*	*Miscellaneous*
Potter	18	3	1	78	–
Carpenter	60	1	2	36	1
Blacksmith	60	–	2	37	1
Barber	40	12	2	43	3
Washerman	30	10	2	55	3
Madiga	50	8	–	40	2

From the above table it will be clear that the carpenters, blacksmiths and barbers derive 63%, 62% and 54% respectively of their total income from one or more types of traditional arrange-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ment. As all the Madiga families in the village are not affiliated to the agriculturists, in these calculations their average income from these sources comes to only 58%, although a few decades ago, when the traditional system worked better, it must have been considerably more. The potters earn much more by selling their earthenware in the markets than by their traditional arrangements with the families of agriculturists. Similarly, some of the washermen have now a clientele in the city. Twice or thrice every month they collect clothes from them, delivering at the same time the previous washing. The barbers have a limited number of clients in the neighbouring villages. All the castes in this group derive an appreciable portion of their total earnings from private work done outside the system of traditional arrangements.

The economy of the village is only partially self-sufficient. The traders, both Komtis and Muslims, buy their goods wholesale from the city and retail them in their shops in the village. People often buy their requirements from the city if they happen to go there. They frequently visit the weekly bazaars also. The weavers buy their spindles from Hyderabad wholesalers, and depend for the sale of their cloth on the cluster of several nearby villages. The customers of the goldsmith are also distributed in several villages of the neighbourhood. The Gaondla produces all the fermented palm-juice required in the settlement from the trees around the village, but he has also to keep a certain quantity of liquor distilled in the city for such customers as may order it occasionally. The occupation of stone-breaking takes the Vaddars to several villages in the neighbourhood where there are no members of their caste. Finally, Madiga families acquiring a reputation for their skill in curing and tanning hides, or in their leather-work, are also commissioned by outsiders occasionally to do some work for them.

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311 ment, classified in government land records as belonging to this village, approximately 20·4 acres are covered by streams and small rivers, 25 acres by unmetalled roads and footpaths and 61 acres by irrigation channels. Thus apart from the 58 acres which provide the site for the village and the two hamlets attached to it, 106·4 acres are covered by these footpaths, channels and streams. The total land area of the village according to government records is 5,777 acres. Out of this 2,012 acres are uncul-
241 tivable; 162·8 acres being covered with rocks and shrubs. In all 3,765 acres are under cultivation in the village: 3,339·5 acres are classed as 'dry land', for this area is irrigated entirely by the rains; and 425·6 acres are classed as 'wet land' as extra irrigation is available. Although the dry land occupies a proportionately wider area, it is much less productive than the wet land. In 1951–52, out of the total village land revenue of Rs. 9,137 (Hyderabad currency) only Rs. 3,982/4/- were derived as revenue on dry land, the rest came from wet land. The wet land is further classified into *ābi*, *tābi* and *do fasla* land. In the *ābi* land seeds are sown in the rainy season (June to July) and harvested in mid- or late winter (November to January). This type of land occupies 131 acres and yields a revenue of Rs. 1,332 per year. In the *tābi* land sowing is done in winter (October to November) and the crops are harvested in summer (April to May). *Tābi* land covers 162·4 acres in the village and yields a revenue of Rs. 1,868/12/0 per year. Finally 63·5 acres are classed as the much prized *do fasla* or two crop land. As the very name suggests, crops are sown and harvested on this land twice every year. Notwithstanding its small area this land yields a revenue of Rs. 1,208/12/0. All this wet land is irrigated by channels from the Shamirpet tank. Mention may also be made of another 68 acres, which are irrigated by small privately owned tanks and wells and bring to the government a revenue of Rs. 745/12/0 per year. Wet land is very much desired by the cultivators because of its high productivity and requirement of com-
[436] paratively low investment. According to current valuation average wet land sells at Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 per acre.

241 433 It would only be natural to expect that in a primarily agricultural community the number of professional cultivators and others directly dependent upon agriculture should be the highest. Table I shows the number of people who are wholly agriculturists, partly agriculturists and partly field-labourers, and partly agri-

425 their separation by death or selling causes so much sorrow among the peasants.

423 435 Land is indeed the most precious and coveted possession of the village people. With the exception of women's ornaments, land and cattle are almost the only property they have. With the overall increase in general price levels in recent years, the price of land has also risen. The following table will give an idea of the average prices of different grades of land in 1939 and in 1950.

TABLE III

Prices of Land in 1939 and 1950

Type of land	*Price per acre in rupees*					
	1939 *Grades of land*			1950 *Grades of land*		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
1. Dry land	60	40	18	220	170	75
2. Wet land	250	150	90	1,200	800	480
3. Garden land	300	240	110	1,500	1,200	550

243 434 I propose to examine the standards of living, and relative earnings and expenditure of the different levels of the population in a subsequent chapter. But a consideration of the economics of agriculture will not be out of place here.

The two major crops grown by the people of Shamirpet are rice and millet. Table IV gives the averages per acre of gross income, total cost and net income, in the cultivation of millet, particularly *jawar*. Tables V and VI give similar figures for paddy, for single crop and double crop lands respectively. The figures have been worked out from a survey of a 50% sample of village families cultivating the three different categories of land. Figures are given to the nearest whole number.

TABLE IV

Average Cost and Yield per Acre in the Cultivation of Millet

Grade of land	*Gross income*	*Total expenditure*	*Net income*
A	Rs. 140	Rs. 64	Rs. 76
B	" 82	" 40	" 42
C	" 62	" 30	" 32

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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361 489 station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

465 [804] *Economic condition.*—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.* Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

435 Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee	
Ragi	...	...	...	10	" "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10	" "
Cholam	...	...	...	9	" "
Tamarind		...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*	
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6	"
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8	"

426 The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

[452] There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

435 Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

796 *Expenditure on religious festivals.*—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

164 [759] [743] *Sanitary condition.*—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

562 Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

364 Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

312 For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¼ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzulu or cholam about 1¾ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

237 *Manuring.*—Nearly 90 per cent of the cow-dung is used as manure, the rest being used for household purposes.

Almost all the cattle urine is allowed to run to waste except trifling quantities used for household purposes.

241 The green manure chiefly used is the leaf of the Kanaga tree. Generally all kinds of green leaf are held to be good manure. This is obtained chiefly from the surrounding jungle, licences being obtained on payment of a fee to the Maharaja's Government. Sometimes topes are planted for the purpose.

No other kinds of vegetable manure are largely used. In some cases, for instance in the cultivation of sugarcane, the refuse left after the oil has been squeezed out from the fruit of the Kanaga tree is used.

232 Insect-pests and cattle diseases and the method of combating them are the same as in Thettupalli.[1]

361 *The village.*—The village occupies an area of 9·36 acres. The tendency is for the members of one caste to congregate together. For example all the Muhammadans live in one part of the village together. The Komatis live exclusively in one street.

342 The depressed classes live in dirty and squalid huts of but one room.

There are in the caste village 85 thatched houses, none tiled, 63 terraced; in the Paracheri, only thatched houses 31 in number. There are no gardens adjoining any of the dwellings. The fields lie adjoining and surrounding the village. The most distant field lies about three-quarters of a mile off.

There is a great demand for additional building sites.

435 If land is obtained direct from the Government a fee of ½ anna per square yard is charged, payable on sale. If dry land is acquired for the purpose from pattadars, the value ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre. It is only near this village that the value is so low. Further up the value goes up to nearly Rs. 300 or Rs. 350.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are only two pariahs who weave at all. They use two handlooms.

[281] No hand spinning is practised. Yarn is bought ready made. The other crafts are—

Crafts.	Average time.	Earnings per year.	Remarks.
Blacksmith.	The major part of the day.	About Rs. 300 a year.	He receives customary mamūls. At harvest time gets about 10 puttis of paddy. There are also inams in his name.
Potter ...	The major part of the day and almost throughout the year.	About Rs. 100 a year.	Do.
Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamūls.

438 *Village trade—Purchase of commodities by the village.*—Wood for implements is got from the forests already mentioned. Iron

1 [See category 116, pp. 99-110.—Analyst]

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implements are bought chiefly in Chintamani, about 18 miles off, and also at Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off. 438

Articles of consumption are bought at the weekly fair held here on Tuesdays, also in Chintamani, Kothakota and some other places.

Sale of village produce.—The quantities produced here are: paddy 500 puttis,* ragi 200, † sugarcane to the value of about Rs. 1,500, other millets and pulses to the value of about Rs. 1,000. 433 [804]

Out of this whatever is required for household purposes is retained. The rest, more than 50 per cent, is sold away. The nearest market is Chintamani. Sometimes the grain is transported to Bangalore also.

There are about three local roads, one from Gownipalle to Addegal, a village 4 miles off, one from the village to Manchinillakota, a village 6 miles off, and the other up to Todigol, 6 miles off. Another short road running for three miles runs up to the Mysore frontier. On the other side is British territory and there is no road further up. The local road to Tadigol connects with the Bangalore-Cuddapah road. The nearest commercial centres are Chintamani and Bangalore, accessible by the said road. The nearest railway station is Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off, reached by road. 491 361 [498]

The fair that takes place here every week is a big affair. People from very different parts come here. The fair is nominally held on Tuesday, but it generally extends from Monday to Wednesday. The chief business is carried on in stock, especially sheep and goats. Business in these is carried on to the extent of Rs. 4,000. They are chiefly sent to the Kolar Goldfields for slaughter and consumption. 543 438

Economic condition of village.—The customary rates of wages, in money, are from 2 to 3 annas per day, for a man; and 1½ annas for a woman; in kind, 2 seers of ragi, or 3 seers of paddy to a man, 1½ seers of ragi or 2 seers of paddy to a woman. 465

The current prices of staple foods are— 435

Rice	...	..	...	8 Mysore seers for a rupee.
Ragi	...	...	...	28 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	20 " "
Cholam	...	...	...	14 " "
Tamarind	...	...	...	Re. 1 for a maund.
Jaggery	...	...	...	Rs. 2 "
Chillis	...	...	...	Rs. 4-8-0 "
Dhöll	...	...	...	8 seers for a rupee.

About four or five families have made savings to the extent of Rs. 5,000, but on the other hand others have contracted debts to the extent of Rs. 10,000. Owing to scarcity of rains and failure of crops the people have been obliged to borrow heavily to meet current and occasional expenses. 454 426

There are practically no families who have liberated themselves from debt. While paying off old scores they borrow in new places.

There is a co-operative credit society. The capital is subscribed in shares of Rs. 10 each payable in twenty monthly instalments. 453

* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 45 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

Festivals.—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gownipalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

Sanitary condition.—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.

All Muhammadans observe purdah.

Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

Education.—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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Sandy tracts with palmyras fetch a rent of Rs. 10 per acre, without trees, Rs. 2 or 3 only; black clay Rs. 15 to 16 per acre. 427

The black clay land sells at about Rs. 350 per acre, the red sand at about Rs. 150. But the price has fallen now owing to two bad harvests. 435

Stock. 231

	By official information.	Non-official.
Working oxen	539	800 about.
Cows	412	600 „
Male buffaloes	6	14 „
Cow buffaloes	184	200 „
Young stock—buffaloes	208	250 „
Do. cows	637	650 to 700
Horses	...	...
Donkeys and mules	...	...
Sheep	58	61
Goats	225	200
Pigs	100	...

According to the census of 1900 and 1910 they were—

	1900.	1910.
Bullocks and he-buffaloes	650	545
Cows	580	412
She-buffaloes	171	184
Young stock	802	845
Sheep and goats	778	283

The straw of cholam and paddy is reserved for the summer feed of cattle; in the rainy season the green grass of the common pasture is available. Each ryot reserves one or two fields for pasture for his cattle. In days of heavy work, the bullocks are given cooked horsegram mixed with the husk of paddy, and the fine dust from the grain which is mixed with it in husking. Cotton seeds are also cooked and given for food; and oil cake, especially for milch cows. Ryots who have insufficient pasture send some of their cattle to the Agency tracts for the three months, July to September; they are charged Rs. 3 or 5 per pair.

Only about 50 per cent of the cattle-dung is used as manure, the rest is used for fuel. The average ryot applies six to eight cart-loads of dung per acre; besides the manure of the cattle kept in fields at nights. He accumulates a stock at home throughout the year and applies it at the end of the year to the fields. 241 [231]

No green manure or chemical manure is used.

Garden cultivation has been tried as an experiment with water-supply from a well, lifted by a water pump got from Bombay. Lemons and plantains are planted. The pump required some slight repairs, which were delayed for want of a mechanic near by. The garden too has not yet proved to be decidedly profitable; and all the villagers laugh at it as an innovation. [176]

Cost of cultivation.—The following is an account of the expenditure for ten acres of an average ryot, obtained from four ryots. 241 435

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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241 435 No exact accounts are possible, for the ryots do not keep any record of them.

Items.	Rs.	A.	P.
2 Bullocks, for keep... ... ... (The figures given by the four ryots were Rs. 75, 80, 90, 80; two cows also are maintained out of this.)	80	0	0
2 annual servants (Rs. 50 and Rs. 25 respectively)	75	0	0
1 plough, its necessary implements	2	0	0
" charges for making it	2	0	0
Seed for two crops	28	0	0
Coolies to weed two crops	40	0	0
Coolies to harvest it (some say even Rs. 20) ...	15	0	0
Government tax at Rs. 1-12-0 per acre	17	8	0
Rent, if the land is leased, at least	100	0	0
Perquisites at harvest time—			
to the head servant one bag	7	0	0
to the second servant half a bag	3	8	0
to the village barber three or four seers (at 8 seers per rupee)	0	8	0
to the washerman...	0	8	0
to the shoemaker, 16 or 20 seers	2	8	0
to three village servants, 2 seers each	0	12	0
To manure the fields in summer with rented flocks of sheep and goats, as is the custom, for eight or ten days at an acre a day; the tenant takes three-fourths of the milk on such days ...	35	0	0
Other agricultural implements (even higher) ...	5	0	0
Other repairs of the field, such as digging up the soil, etc.	5	0	0
Total expenses for ten acres ...	424	4	0

[132] During the last two years there were excessive rains; crops failed badly; there was double the expenditure for useless plants; the cultivators had to sow three times, so that the average expenditure for seed was trebled. Such extraordinary expenditures are frequent. But assuming the season is favourable the utmost that the cultivator can get is—

	Rs.	A.	P.
40 bags of paddy at Rs. 4½ per bag	170	0	0
20 bags of gingelly at Rs. 7½ per bag	150	0	0
30 bags of cholam at Rs. 6¼ per bag	187	8	0
20 bags of Bengal gram at Rs. 8-5-4 per bag ...	175	0	0
20 bags of red gram at Rs. 7½ per bag	150	0	0
Black gram	8	0	0
Total ...	840	8	0

The average crop is Rs. 560 or Rs. 600 per annum. The cultivator can moreover earn in summer 90 or 100 rupees by letting out his cart to convey jaggery.

361 The area of the village-site is 33 acres 32 cents. The dwellings of the depressed castes, about 125 in number, are crowded

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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together on the northern and north-east sides of the village. On the northern side, but apart from the village, crowded together in irregular muddy streets of obnoxious smell are the houses of the washermen (70 houses) and the toddy-drawing class (150 in number). All are thatched with palmyra leaves. It is difficult to go into the midst of these huts because of the bad smell. 361 [342]

There are 271 houses in the caste village according to official information, actually 350; 125 in the paracheri.

The village is rather crowded and there is no space for gardens. There is much demand for building sites. There are extensions on the north and south sides into the fields. Some houses contain even two or three families crowded together. From Rs. 2 to 3 per square yard is paid for house-sites. Some of the cultivated land is distant 5½ miles from the home of the cultivator. A hereditary disposition to hate changes, as well as party feelings, and suspicions of inequalities, prevent the ryots from exchanging to get their land continuous. Field huts are used, but mostly for the working seasons only, and are not permanent. [578]

Subsidiary industries.—At the time of the 1891 census there were 69 weavers; in 1901, 17; in 1911, 12; now there are only three. Foreign yarn of 10, 20 and 40 Nos. is purchased from fairs held at Nidadavolu, four miles off. The cloth woven is a very rough sort, used by the very poor classes; 75 per cent of the people prefer and use foreign goods. The implements are of the ordinary country type and of primitive nature. There is no co-operation among the weavers. They are unable to face the mill competition. As they find little demand for their goods, they are frequently forced to go away as agricultural labourers, and practise weaving only as a hobby for leisure hours. A weaver with five sons, as a rule, sends four of them to agricultural work and only one to his own industry. Till 10 years back 95 per cent of the population used to wear the village cloth. Now 75 per cent prefer and use foreign clothing. Two weaving families recently went to Rajahmundry as factory coolies. Ten years ago, many women of low castes used to practise handspinning. A little cotton was grown in the village up to 1912, but latterly it was sold for higher prices than the spinners could pay. 286

Economic condition of the village—Rates of wages.—Labourers are employed for the day or for the year. In the latter case Rs. 25 per annum is paid to boys and Rs. 50 per annum to men. For daily labourers the wage is three to four annas to men; 1½ to 2 annas to women; 1 to 1¼ annas to children; this may be paid in grain or money, or half in money and half in grain. The only perquisites are at harvest time. Thus for each crop, the yearly labourer receives 8 or 12 seers; on the whole 1 bag nearly. In festivals, they are given only meals and nothing more. 465

Current prices— 435

	Rs.	A.	P.
Paddy per bag of 166 lb.	5	8	0
Cholam "	9	1	6
Gingelly "	12	8	0
Red gram "	8	6	0
Kambu "	9	6	0
Soap nuts "	7	8	0
Ghee, per tin	18	0	0

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

economic system of the community and also of the place occupied in it by the various castes.

Most of the castes have a major craft or occupation which is their traditional monopoly. Besides this they are free to exploit certain other subsidiary sources of livelihood also. The Brahmin, besides functioning as the village priest, may also cultivate his land. The potter, the barber and the washerman occupy themselves mainly with their respective professions, but there is nothing to prevent them from accepting occasional work as field labourers. In fact, during the busy agricultural season, when there is a heavy demand on the limited labour supply of the local group, efforts are made to persuade the artisan caste to send their womenfolk to work in the fields for daily wages. Notwithstanding this, a caste is identified with some occupation or other, and established social usage largely governs the modes of practice of this particular occupation.

In the chapter on Social Structure mention has been made of the fourteen village menials who work as semi-government functionaries, generally in return for the grant of a piece of rent-free land by the government. Their work lies mainly in the fields of their caste monopolies. It comprises personal services to touring government officials, as well as certain routine duties for the village as a whole.

A closer scrutiny of the economic system and its consequent bonds of mutual obligation and expectation reveals four major types of economic dealings and obligations within the caste network into which the community is organized. These are:

(i) Obligations to render to the agriculturists occupational services having a direct bearing on their agricultural activities. No immediate payment is expected for services of this kind. The agriculturists get their ploughs and other implements repaired by the carpenter every year as a matter of routine. Periodically the carpenter supplies new implements. In return for this, twice every year the cultivator gives a share to the carpenter when the crops are harvested. Services of an agricultural nature are generally expected and rendered on this basis. The extent of both the service and the payment is generally fixed by tradition, and depends very much on the size of the holding which the agriculturist is cultivating. Some castes offer their occupational services, even of a non-agricultural nature, to the agriculturists on the tacit understand-

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ing that they too will have their share after the crops are harvested. 437 ●
Thus, the potter periodically supplies the agriculturist with earth- 463
enware and pots for his normal requirements. The barber does the hair-cutting and shaving of the members of the agriculturist's family on this basis. The washerman, too, follows this rule in so far as established cultivators of the village are concerned.

(ii) Obligations to render some occupational services, to the agri- 437
culturists as well as to many non-agriculturists, having a bearing 463
on their socio-religious life. Castes such as the barber, the washer- 561
man, the carpenter and the potter, and the Madiga have definite functions in the rites and ceremonies connected with the major crises of life. These are performed by them as a matter of routine, without any direct negotiations regarding the wages that they may expect in return for their services. Convention has fixed the basic minimum, and in the course of ritual duties, at different points, a part of this payment has to be made. Depending on their status and financial position, people pay something more for these services at the completion of the ceremony.

(iii) Obligations to render some occupational services to other 437
occupational castes in return for their traditional services. As an 463
example, it may be pointed out that a barber will attend to the grooming of hair and shaving of the members of a weaver's family to which he is attached. No cash payment is either expected or made. However, every year the weaver will give him a few yards of cloth and possibly a *sari* or two for his wife.

(iv) Occupational services rendered with an expectation of cash payment in return for the work. Casual visitors to the village can get the services of the barber only when they pay cash. For making a bullock cart, or for preparing timber for use in the construction of a house, a carpenter would first settle his wages and then undertake to do the work. In this respect he would not make an exception even in the case of established cultivators to whose households his family may have been attached for several years, even for decades. The Vaddar stone-workers also usually undertake an assignment only when the obligations on both sides are settled.

For most of the castes economic dealings falling in category (iv), [434]
described above, are of a casual nature, though their economic
returns through them may be quite substantial. With a few excep- 476
tions, most of the castes have to accept a basis of reciprocity in

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They mostly hunt small game, and are adept in the use of traps, snares and dogs. At the time of these investigations there were six guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shooting. Similarly, fishing is done by very few people, mostly by some young Muslim men. They do not use fishing nets and traps, and practically the only method employed by them for catching the fish is that of using the rod, hook and bait. The large tank in the vicinity of the village could afford a good supply of fish, but the absence of the fishing caste in the village population leaves this possibility almost unexplored. Fishermen from the neighbouring villages, however, periodically come to the tank.

The surroundings of Shamirpet offer very few opportunities for the collection of wild food. Around the village there are not many fruit-bearing trees. Mango and *jamun* (rose apple, *Eugenia jambolana*) fruits are mostly eaten while they are still unripe by the village boys. Parties of children and young people periodically go to pick wild berries when they are in season. These are mostly eaten on the spot. When wild figs are ripe children collect and eat them. Another item of food eagerly sought by everyone is the *chikur*—tender tamarind leaves. These leaves are curried, as well as pickled and preserved. Honey is collected by some men of lower castes and inferior social status, whenever they can spot a comb. Medicinal herbs, roots, tubers and barks are collected according to need.

Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic organization of the community, the traditional occupations and functions of the different castes have already been described. With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

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and some of the occupational castes, four different types of economic dealings have been mentioned: a system of family affiliation under which the family of the occupational caste attaches itself to a family or families of agriculturists for rendering to them services in their agricultural pursuits, similar affiliation for performing definite functions in connection with socio-religious rites and ceremonies, barter of professional services between occupational castes, and finally the rendering of services within the domain of caste monopolies for cash payment. Six occupational castes assist the agriculturists by rendering them services within the field of their functional specialization. It will be interesting to analyse the exact contribution made by each of these four types of economic dealings to their total earnings. The averages in the following table have been calculated from family budgets of the different castes in question. Where the number of families was small, such as among potters, carpenters and blacksmiths, 100% sample was taken; in others a 50% random sample was taken. However, it is necessary to point out that the budgets were made mostly on the basis of verbal estimates of the families. Only substantial payments received during a period of three years were checked. In making these calculations income from the cultivation of land belonging to the family as well as from agricultural labour lying outside the occupational specialization of the family have not been taken into account.

TABLE XI

Caste	*Percentage of income from:*				
	Traditional system of family affiliation	*Services at socio-religious ceremonies*	*Barter of occupational services*	*Services for cash payment*	*Miscellaneous*
Potter	18	3	1	78	–
Carpenter	60	1	2	36	1
Blacksmith	60	–	2	37	1
Barber	40	12	2	43	3
Washerman	30	10	2	55	3
Madiga	50	8	–	40	2

From the above table it will be clear that the carpenters, blacksmiths and barbers derive 63%, 62% and 54% respectively of their total income from one or more types of traditional arrange-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ment. As all the Madiga families in the village are not affiliated to the agriculturists, in these calculations their average income from these sources comes to only 58%, although a few decades ago, when the traditional system worked better, it must have been considerably more. The potters earn much more by selling their earthenware in the markets than by their traditional arrangements with the families of agriculturists. Similarly, some of the washermen have now a clientele in the city. Twice or thrice every month they collect clothes from them, delivering at the same time the previous washing. The barbers have a limited number of clients in the neighbouring villages. All the castes in this group derive an appreciable portion of their total earnings from private work done outside the system of traditional arrangements.

The economy of the village is only partially self-sufficient. The traders, both Komtis and Muslims, buy their goods wholesale from the city and retail them in their shops in the village. People often buy their requirements from the city if they happen to go there. They frequently visit the weekly bazaars also. The weavers buy their spindles from Hyderabad wholesalers, and depend for the sale of their cloth on the cluster of several nearby villages. The customers of the goldsmith are also distributed in several villages of the neighbourhood. The Gaondla produces all the fermented palm-juice required in the settlement from the trees around the village, but he has also to keep a certain quantity of liquor distilled in the city for such customers as may order it occasionally. The occupation of stone-breaking takes the Vaddars to several villages in the neighbourhood where there are no members of their caste. Finally, Madiga families acquiring a reputation for their skill in curing and tanning hides, or in their leather-work, are also commissioned by outsiders occasionally to do some work for them.

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reason they happen to be interested. In former times, as a general rule, the decisions of the village council were accepted unconditionally. Even to-day none can defy them openly, but often the cases are taken to superior law courts and factionalism within the council is exploited to get its decisions altered or modified.

In the traditional economic structure of the community the following characteristics were important:

(i) Occupation was determined by the caste of the individual.

(ii) Mobility was limited and people had great attachment to the settlement.

(iii) Different castes were integrated into the overall pattern of village economy on the basis of their functional specialization. For their co-operative labour payment was made in kind at the time of harvesting.

(iv) There was barter of occupational services between the various artisan and occupational castes.

It has already been pointed out that in the last few decades the occupational character of caste has undergone some modifications. In place of their traditional occupations people have started accepting other vocations. The traditional system of caste interdependence under which artisan and occupational castes attach themselves to the families of agriculturists is still there. But the attached labourers of untouchable castes are showing signs of discontent and figures for the last ten years show twenty-one migrations of Madiga families to the city. Barbers, washermen and carpenters also openly express preference for a basis of cash payment as that enables them to negotiate and bargain and puts an end to the uncertainty and occasional high-handedness of the employer under the old system. The traditional arrangements involving the barter of occupational services between artisan castes too is now gradually breaking down and is giving place to a basis of cash payment.

In the ritual structure of the community no significant variations have been found. Under the Muslim régime, Hindus co-operated in the public ceremonies of the Muslims. With the spread of the revivalist and reformist ideas of the Arya Samaj greater interest was taken in the Hinduism of the holy books. Preachers invited from the city added to the folklore of the people some fragments of traditional Hindu mythology. However, the regional cults as well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

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242 The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and [782] accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

Cattle diseases—Kurama.—The ox or cow when it suffers from 232 this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

The village.—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. 342 Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, [276] but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no longer raised.
465

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets mamuls called *thiripamu* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four putties; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same mamuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 There is a local road which passes by this village running from 489 Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

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871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other [212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the [191] ability latterly. No one knows English.

There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about 214 seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

624 *Village administration.*—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

691 For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

• 437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

167 In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

325 Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

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231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

237 *Manuring.*—Nearly 90 per cent of the cow-dung is used as manure, the rest being used for household purposes.

Almost all the cattle urine is allowed to run to waste except trifling quantities used for household purposes.

241 The green manure chiefly used is the leaf of the Kanaga tree. Generally all kinds of green leaf are held to be good manure. This is obtained chiefly from the surrounding jungle, licences being obtained on payment of a fee to the Maharaja's Government. Sometimes topes are planted for the purpose.

No other kinds of vegetable manure are largely used. In some cases, for instance in the cultivation of sugarcane, the refuse left after the oil has been squeezed out from the fruit of the Kanaga tree is used.

232 Insect-pests and cattle diseases and the method of combating them are the same as in Thettupalli.[1]

361 *The village.*—The village occupies an area of 9·36 acres. The tendency is for the members of one caste to congregate together. For example all the Muhammadans live in one part of the village together. The Komatis live exclusively in one street.

342 The depressed classes live in dirty and squalid huts of but one room.

There are in the caste village 85 thatched houses, none tiled, 63 terraced; in the Paracheri, only thatched houses 31 in number. There are no gardens adjoining any of the dwellings. The fields lie adjoining and surrounding the village. The most distant field lies about three-quarters of a mile off.

There is a great demand for additional building sites.

435 If land is obtained direct from the Government a fee of ½ anna per square yard is charged, payable on sale. If dry land is acquired for the purpose from pattadars, the value ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre. It is only near this village that the value is so low. Further up the value goes up to nearly Rs. 300 or Rs. 350.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are only two pariahs who weave at all. They use two handlooms.

[281] No hand spinning is practised. Yarn is bought ready made. The other crafts are—

Crafts.	Average time.	Earnings per year.	Remarks.
Blacksmith.	The major part of the day.	About Rs. 300 a year.	He receives customary mamūls. At harvest time gets about 10 puttis of paddy. There are also inams in his name.
Potter ...	The major part of the day and almost throughout the year.	About Rs. 100 a year.	Do.
Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamūls.

438 *Village trade—Purchase of commodities by the village.*—Wood for implements is got from the forests already mentioned. Iron

1 [See category 116, pp. 99–100.—Analyst]

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implements are bought chiefly in Chintamani, about 18 miles off, and also at Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off.

Articles of consumption are bought at the weekly fair held here on Tuesdays, also in Chintamani, Kothakota and some other places.

Sale of village produce.—The quantities produced here are: paddy 500 puttis,* ragi 200, † sugarcane to the value of about Rs. 1,500, other millets and pulses to the value of about Rs. 1,000.

Out of this whatever is required for household purposes is retained. The rest, more than 50 per cent, is sold away. The nearest market is Chintamani. Sometimes the grain is transported to Bangalore also.

There are about three local roads, one from Gownipalle to Addegal, a village 4 miles off, one from the village to Manchinillakota, a village 6 miles off, and the other up to Todigol, 6 miles off. Another short road running for three miles runs up to the Mysore frontier. On the other side is British territory and there is no road further up. The local road to Tadigol connects with the Bangalore-Cuddapah road. The nearest commercial centres are Chintamani and Bangalore, accessible by the said road. The nearest railway station is Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off, reached by road.

The fair that takes place here every week is a big affair. People from very different parts come here. The fair is nominally held on Tuesday, but it generally extends from Monday to Wednesday. The chief business is carried on in stock, especially sheep and goats. Business in these is carried on to the extent of Rs. 4,000. They are chiefly sent to the Kolar Goldfields for slaughter and consumption.

Economic condition of village.—The customary rates of wages, in money, are from 2 to 3 annas per day, for a man; and 1½ annas for a woman; in kind, 2 seers of ragi, or 3 seers of paddy to a man, 1½ seers of ragi or 2 seers of paddy to a woman.

The current prices of staple foods are—

Rice	...	...	8 Mysore seers for a rupee.
Ragi	...	...	28 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	20 " "
Cholam	...	...	14 " "
Tamarind	...	...	Re. 1 for a maund.
Jaggery	...	...	Rs. 2 "
Chillis	...	...	Rs. 4-8-0 "
Dhôll	...	...	8 seers for a rupee.

About four or five families have made savings to the extent of Rs. 5,000, but on the other hand others have contracted debts to the extent of Rs. 10,000. Owing to scarcity of rains and failure of crops the people have been obliged to borrow heavily to meet current and occasional expenses.

There are practically no families who have liberated themselves from debt. While paying off old scores they borrow in new places.

There is a co-operative credit society. The capital is subscribed in shares of Rs. 10 each payable in twenty monthly instalments.

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* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 45 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

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426 The result is that many families that were once rich are now reduced to absolute poverty. The rich few are becoming richer. But 65 to 75 per cent of the population are in debt. Of these 25 to 30 per cent have hopes of clearing it off in three or four years by mortgaging their lands. The rest, 35 to 40 per cent, are not able to escape easily out of debt. The pity is that these classes do not hesitate to contract debts at first, and then they are not in a hurry to return them soon, and small sums accumulate into large amounts.

438 *Trade.*—The villagers purchase commodities for industrial and
543 agricultural purposes from weekly fairs held at Nidadavolu and
433 from Rajahmundry; for consumption, partly from weekly fairs at Nidadavolu and partly from the local traders. The amount of village produce sold was approximately as follows:—

	1916-17.	1915-16.
Soap nuts	250 bags.	500 bags.
Horsegram	200 (or 250) bags.	400 „
Gingelly	220 bags.	850 „
Red gram (this is mostly retained for local use).	50–60 „	100 „
Bengal gram	25–30 „	100 „
Ghee	50 60 tins.	50–60 tins.
Cholam (this is retained for local use; no crop this year).	...	50 bags.
Black gram	20 bags.	12 „

247 *Jaggery trade.*—The most noteworthy feature of the village is
438 the jaggery trade, carried on during the summer season. Nearly half the field area of the village consists of dry sand, filled with palmyra trees. These trees are rented out to the toddy tappers, who have to pay from Rs. 15 to 20 each in rent. One man can draw toddy from about 60 trees. Some 1,000 to 1,200 of these tappers come from the different taluks of the Kistna and Godavari districts to this village in summer; while 200 to 225 go from the village itself. These people settle in the fields in the three summer months during which the fields lie waste, and draw toddy from 5 to 10 a.m. and 3 to 7 p.m. They have to climb the tree and suspend pots, lined with lime, beneath the cut ends of the stalks of the fronds of the palm from which the juice (toddy) flows. But for the lime the toddy would immediately begin to ferment. The women at home boil the toddy till it is condensed into jaggery.

Part of the jaggery is sold to the direct agents of Messrs. Parry & Co., who have opened an extensive business in these parts and invested a large capital. These agents of the company purchase jaggery with the company's money and get a commission at the rate of As. 2-6 per bag. They send it to Samalkot, where the company converts it into sugar.

The remainder is sold by the tappers to private capitalists and retail traders, who purchase the jaggery in the fields and sell it again to the company's agent in the village. They receive no commission, but make a profit in three ways: (1) There is a difference in the cost per candy between the prices in the fields (i.e., near the tappers' huts) and in the village. (2) The traders lend money to the tappers in times of need and get "Jattis" executed, promises by which the tappers agree to repay the money in the shape of jaggery

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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438 at a reduced price, generally 13 to 15 rupees per candy, while the market price in summer will be Rs. 23 to 29 per candy. Last year, 549 owing to the appearance of a competing company, Messrs. Simpson & Co., the price was Rs. 35 to 42 per candy. No interest is charged for such debts. (3) They invariably use false stones in weighing the jaggery in the fields, while in the village the company's stones are used. This results in an enormous profit.

With these three sources of profit, the private capitalist is able to realize a profit of Rs. 5 at least per cart (of 8 bags) while daily he sends 3 carts at least to the company's agent. The total export of the village during the summer will be from 17,000 to 20,000 bags; this year (1917) it is 18,000 bags, i.e., 6,000 candies.

556 The rich capitalist makes the largest profit out of this[1] trade. Many of the villagers are now a class of capitalists, great or small. Many that were poor three or four years ago are now able to invest a few hundreds and start independent businesses in this line. There are three people who invested about Rs. 30,000 each this year.

465 The toddy tappers are not materially better off. As a class they are only a little above the level of absolute poverty, while individually, there are only four or five who own a property of Rs. 500. Though their gross earnings are from Rs. 20 to 25 for the three months, the net income will be Rs. 6 to 8 only.

The village barber and washerman earn at least Rs. 30 to 35 during the three months. The lime dealer earns 50 to 60 rupees. The Pariahs who carry firewood get wages at the rate of 4 annas to 6 annas per day. Owners of carts get rent at the rate of Rs. 2 per turn to carry jaggery from the field-huts to Nidadavolu, the headquarters of the company. Makers of tin-pots, used in boiling the toddy, get 100 to 150 rupees. Pariah women prepare baskets of palmyra leaves to hold the jaggery, for which they are paid Re. 1 per 100. Brahmans are employed to prepare the accounts and are paid Rs. 10 per mensem.

Besides these payments for services rendered (which are in the shape of jaggery in most cases) there are certain extra perquisites or "mamuls" which the toddy tapper is compelled to pay. These illegitimate exactions mount up to thousands of rupees. The village servants also get presents, while the coolies are profited by carrying [545] rice or other articles to the fields. There are many small shops opened by retail traders in the fields themselves for the benefit of the tappers; while the performance of two or three dramas, based on some popular mythological story by country actors is not of rare occurrence.

464 The effects on the village are innumerable and many sided. One of the greatest difficulties for the Indian labourer is want of proper employment; it is no exaggeration to say that many families are reduced to poverty, simply for want of sufficient local demand for their labour. This village is to a certain extent relieved of this anxiety during a season when, the fields being fallow, they have no agricultural occupation to attend to. Many a poor family would have long ago left the village but for this attraction. Industrially, it has raised the efficiency of every craft, by providing it with more work to turn out. While in all the other seasons the whole village is entirely agricultural in character, in summer it can be said to be industrial and commercial in tone.

[1] [i.e., jaggery -- Analyst]

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
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12 m.; densities increase from Ganjam (420) to E Godavari (714) and then decrease to Guntur (393); beyond the regional limits Nellore, with more Archaean terrain than the central parts of the Circars, and less (and less reliable and well distributed) rain than the Nn, had only 204. On the whole it seems best to treat Ganjam/Vizagapatam and the deltas separately.

(a) *The North*: *Ganjam and Vizagapatam* (*Vizakhapatnam*)

Essentially this is the area with over 40 ins.: the three Sn taluks of Vizagapatam fall a little short of this. The lowland narrows to 12 miles under Mahendragiri, but on either side of this gate are the embayments of the Rushikulya (Ganjam) and the Languliya and Vansadhara (Vizag) valleys. The plains are floored by red lateritic soils near the hills, shading off into black loams and clays; but they are cut up by numerous irregular outliers of the En Hills: thus Vizagapatam itself lies between the 1600-ft Kailana Ridge to the N and the 1100-ft Yaroda to the S; the latter runs out to sea in the bold cliffs (300 ft) of Dolphin's Nose which shelters the port, while in the Nn suburbs of the town are the peculiar Waltair Highlands, *c.* 150 ft high and formed largely by the accumulation, since the Pleistocene, of red loams partly fluviatile and partly perhaps aeolian.[3]

Of a TSA of some 4 m. ac., rice accounts for about 1·65 m. ac., ragi 390,000, oilseeds (chiefly groundnut) 500,000, the balance being widely distributed amongst millets and pulses mainly. Irrigation is on the whole unimportant, much of it being dependent on temporary mud-and-brushwood dams across the short rivers.

Mineral resources are few—graphite, manganese, kaolin, mica—and hardly developed; a potential resource of some interest in this atomic age, though limited in amount in comparison with other *Indian* occurrences, is the ilmenite and monazite in the dunes and beaches around Vizagapatam.[4] Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

Again there is only one real town, 'Vizag' itself (**108,042**), which has developed considerably since the opening of the railway up the Languliya valley to Raipur and the subsequent dredging of a deep-water harbour in the tidal marshes. The accommodation at quayside is limited, but it is more up-to-date than at most E coast ports. The selection of Vizag as the main shipbuilding centre of *India* is presumably because of its situation as the nearest *ocean* port to Jamshedpur, but it is still a long way round. Ships up to 8000 tons have been launched. The hinterland extends to Nagpur and the chief trade is in Madhya Pradesh (CP) manganese, and oilseeds and their products. The small ports of Bimlipatam and Gopalpur are quite

[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Sathapathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *IGJ* XXIV (1949), 26–51.

[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

the shopkeeper and are willing to pay slightly higher prices. They advance money to the people for buying bullocks and agricultural implements. A mortgage is not insisted upon in all cases, but the rate of compound interest which they charge is often exorbitant. The Komtis also advance seed grain to the people. For this, too, they charge a heavy interest. Loans are often taken by people against the mortgage of land or a part of the crops, depending upon the sum of money which they borrow. In Shamirpet the Komtis seem to be the only caste whose monopoly has been seriously affected by the change of times. To-day Shamirpet has in all thirteen shops. If we do not take into account some of the petty shops, four of these belong to Komtis, two to Muslims, two to Toddy-tappers and one to a goldsmith. Even in the field of advancing cash and seeds for agricultural purposes, the Komtis have to face the competition of some of the comparatively rich Reddi and Muslim cultivators.

THE KUMMARI

In Shamirpet there are five families of potters, with fourteen people actually working at the wheel. Each family is attached to some agriculturists in the village, and it periodically supplies them with a certain number of earthen pots for domestic use. Every two or three years they also supply the agriculturists with large baked earthen bins for storing grain. For this they do not expect a cash price. At the time of harvesting the potter visits the fields of the family to which he is attached, and is given *bheek-bali*, that is his share of the new crop. The quantity of grain that is given away depends on the size of the land cultivated, and also partly on the owner's financial circumstances. On the occasion of rituals connected with birth, marriage or death a supply of new pots is expected from him. Tradition has prescribed the minimum payment required for these services, although on happy occasions people often give a little more. If he can arrive at an agreement with the other occupational castes, such as the barber, the washerman and the weaver, he will offer them his services in return for their occupational services to his family. The details are fixed by the parties concerned, and often considerable haggling and making of charges and counter-charges against one another go on. Notwithstanding this, the system works quite satisfactorily, for out of forty-four cases of such mutual arrangements studied very

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

THE BRAHMIN

793 791 There is only one Brahmin family in the village. The head of this family enjoys considerable local prestige owing to the fact of his birth, and also because he is a substantial landowner. He is the local priest as well as an astrologer. People consult him regarding the suitability of proposed marriages, and when negotiations are completed they seek his astrological calculations regarding an auspicious date and time for the wedding itself. He officiates at the marriage ceremony among the higher castes. On childbirth he is consulted about the planetary position at the actual time of the baby's birth, and its astrological implications for the child as well as for the parents and the other members of the family. If the reading indicates any difficulty, the Brahmin is often commissioned to offer special worship and perform the necessary rituals to ward off the evil. Similarly, after a death the Brahmin is consulted. If it is found that the time of death was inauspicious the members of the household may be asked to leave the residence temporarily, for a period of three to six months, according to the advice of the Brahmin. These consultations on the occasions of birth and death are generally sought only by the people of higher castes and by those who are well-to-do. Prescribed fees have to be paid to the Brahmin in cash for these consultations. Indirectly, the Brahmin contributes also to the agricultural activities of the community. He advises the agriculturists on when to start sowing at the beginning of the agricultural year. He is also consulted regarding the auspicious dates for starting weeding and harvesting. The date of the New Eating ceremony for the different families in the village is fixed by him. For these consultations no one pays him in cash. He visits the houses of his agriculturist clients fortnightly or once a month, especially in the harvesting season, and is customarily given a certain quantity of grain by each family.

THE KOMTI

564 443 426 The Komtis are traders. They also function as village moneylenders. They keep a permanent small shop at some central point in the village, and also attend the weekly markets in the neighbouring villages. They generally sell provisions for cash, although things may also be bought on credit by those who are known to

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ment. As all the Madiga families in the village are not affiliated to the agriculturists, in these calculations their average income from these sources comes to only 58%, although a few decades ago, when the traditional system worked better, it must have been considerably more. The potters earn much more by selling their earthenware in the markets than by their traditional arrangements with the families of agriculturists. Similarly, some of the washermen have now a clientele in the city. Twice or thrice every month they collect clothes from them, delivering at the same time the previous washing. The barbers have a limited number of clients in the neighbouring villages. All the castes in this group derive an appreciable portion of their total earnings from private work done outside the system of traditional arrangements.

The economy of the village is only partially self-sufficient. The traders, both Komtis and Muslims, buy their goods wholesale from the city and retail them in their shops in the village. People often buy their requirements from the city if they happen to go there. They frequently visit the weekly bazaars also. The weavers buy their spindles from Hyderabad wholesalers, and depend for the sale of their cloth on the cluster of several nearby villages. The customers of the goldsmith are also distributed in several villages of the neighbourhood. The Gaondla produces all the fermented palm-juice required in the settlement from the trees around the village, but he has also to keep a certain quantity of liquor distilled in the city for such customers as may order it occasionally. The occupation of stone-breaking takes the Vaddars to several villages in the neighbourhood where there are no members of their caste. Finally, Madiga families acquiring a reputation for their skill in curing and tanning hides, or in their leather-work, are also commissioned by outsiders occasionally to do some work for them.

231 the Ceded Districts, most of the Panchayats followed the practice of
651 auctioning and that too on a very long term basis like 10 years or 5–10 years as in the case of Panchayats like Dharmavaram and Kadiri in Anantpuram District.

Several Panchayats besides these did not trouble themselves to create the facility of a slaughter house at all. Only a few minor Panchayats provided slaughter houses. (column 14.)

●[443] **Market Fees:** Public markets held in the Panchayat areas
651 were usually of three types : daily, bi-weekly and weekly. The rates and the goods on which they should be imposed and collected were to be decided by the Panchayats while the process and actual collection was left to auction bidders who did the work of collecting these fees by issuing licence chits at the rates prescribed by the Panchayat Boards. Instances where Panchayats themselves did the job of collection of these were hardly observable anywhere. Market collections were usually auctioned once a year to the highest bidder and he paid the amount in lump sum to the Panchayat.

The market fees and the variety of goods on which they were imposed varied from Panchayat to Panchayat, irrespective of differences and similarities in grade or place.

In Anantapur, the Guntakal and Kadiri Panchayats charged at a rate of 2 annas to dealers of necessities like salt, tamarind, chillies, tobacco, oil, fuel and potatoes, whereas rates varied between 2 and 4 annas in respect of other commodities like fruits, sweetmeat, vegetable, fish and even retail and grain shops. Truck loads were charged at 6 to 8 annas.

These differences were common not only to all major Panchayats, either in the Circars or the Ceded Districts, but, the same was the case even in the markets of minor Panchayats which had public markets as in Valluru, Yeditha, Kapileswarapuram, etc. in East Godavari District, Aravalli and Vasadi in West Godavari District, Gudur in Kistna District and Kothavalasa in Vizagapatam District. (colomn 10)

Again, the collection of the market fees from cattle, vegetable, grain and fruit markets were not always left for the use of the Panchayats, but the District Boards shared these proceeds and very often took the lion's share without any corresponding return to the Panchayat area in which these collections were earned. The share

Panchayats surveyed had two slaughter houses each, one for sheep and the other for cattle and in a large number of cases, they were auctioned out rather than managed by Panchayat itself. 231

A significant irregularity in this instance was the twofold practice i. e. departmental management versus leasing out to private bidders. While the authorities of Local Boards desired departmental management of collection of receipts and supervision, some Panchayats had been evading this method for long by handing it over to private auctioneers with impunity and the Local Board Officials did nothing to check this growing practice especially more prevalent in the Ceded Districts than in the Northern Circars. Similarly they did nothing to enforce this obligation in many Panchayats which did nothing beyond the provision for construction of slaughter houses and passing resolutions to that effect in their meetings.

Parks: Parks were intended to cater to the recreation facilities of the public in the area of the Panchayat as it was one of its obligatory duties. 367 207

But the survey revealed no enthusiastic observance of this obligation even in the best and economically capable Panchayats. Most of the major Panchayats were practically negligent about it though a few 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats and occasionally a minor Panchayat here and there had taken up this matter seriously. In East Godavari, Razole Panchayat had beautiful park with radio for listeners, while Panchayats like Nidadavol and Tanuku in West Godavari had only radios with loud speakers for listeners' convenience. In the Ceded Districts, Dharmavaram in Anantpur, Kampli in Bellary, Maddikera in Kurnool, and Yellamanchili in Vizagapatam District had nice parks while the majority of other major Panchayats had only radio sets. Most of the Minor Panchayats had no parks, except in stray cases as Achanta in East Godavari.

Public Markets: Construction of public markets was another of the obligatory duties of the Panchayats and was observed more in the breach than in practice. Though almost every major and minor Panchayat got a regular revenue from the vendors who got their goods for offering for sale, they were left to the mercies of sun and rain without the Panchayats ever bothering about providing them with any sort of regular permanent or semi-permanent sheds 443

443 where they could sit and deal in their goods. The anxiety of Panchayats to auction their market receipts to the highest bidder would never go further enough to make them realise their concomittant responsibilities for this fruitful source of income and those who contributed to it. The sheds were provided for in Attili and Akividu in West Godavari, Razole in East Godavari, and Dharmavaram in Anantapur. These were only rare exceptions rather than the rule in each and every district. If that was the situation in major Panchayats, the minor Panchayats could not naturally do more.

764 **Burning and Burial Grounds—Construction and Maintenance :** Practically very few Panchayats seemed to be doing anything towards this obligation. Except in a few places like, Tanuku and Bhimavaram in West Godavari, and Amalapuram in East Godavari, most of the other Panchayats did not reveal recurrent attention or expenditure on this item which was one of their obligatory duties.

While informal enquiries made in Panchayats visited, revealed an abiding interest in this matter, there was no regular expenditure incurred on this item. None of the Panchayats usually provided pendals or some erections to give shade to those who had to go there. Neither the Panchayats nor their supervisory staff ever seemed to have insisted on the careful observance of this obligation.

365 **Night Lighting in Streets :** Provision of lights for the convenience of the passers-by in the streets in villages was done in most of the Panchayats. They were either kerosene or petromax, gas or electric lights. Where there was no electricity, the number of lights compared to pre-war times had been less. Except in some places where either the Panchayat was superseded or the Panchayat was in no way able to meet this obligation, the lighting facilities were always provided either it was a 1st, 2nd or 3rd grade Panchayat. The situation in the minor Panchayats was a bit different and most of them were not able to provide this facility, not so much because they could not afford it, but beacuse there was no effective power to enforce this obligation.

The following table gives the numbet of lights now used and existed prior to the rationing of kerosene oil.

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 967

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sale. 443

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

Management of fairs and festivals was done by a few minor or major Panchayats, but, without exploiting their privileged position by means of a pilgrim tax or a tax on the vendors. 543

Optional functions like plantation of trees, provision of cart and bus stands, radio sets for listeners, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, etc. were done only by very few Panchayats. 623

The attendance of the members at the meetings of Panchayats was so irregular that there was often no quorum. Sometimes the Panchayats held no meetings at all for a long time or the members absented themslves continuously without any action being taken against them.

Panchayats were superseded and special officers were appointed to administer them for a year or two, when Panchayats could not work properly either due to local factions or opposition to taxation or any other undesirable features. Fresh Panchayat was ushered in only after the prevailing irregularities were removed and when the prospects of its smooth working were tolerably certain. 687 623

361 489 station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

465 [804] *Economic condition.*—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

435 Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee	
Ragi	...	...	...	10	„ „
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10	„ „
Cholam	...	...	...	9	„ „
Tamarind		...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*	
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6	„
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8	„

426 The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

[452] There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

435 Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

796 *Expenditure on religious festivals.*—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

164 [759] [743] *Sanitary condition.*—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

562 Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

364 Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

312 For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¼ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzalu or cholam about 1¾ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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implements are bought chiefly in Chintamani, about 18 miles off, and also at Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off.

Articles of consumption are bought at the weekly fair held here on Tuesdays, also in Chintamani, Kothakota and some other places.

Sale of village produce.—The quantities produced here are: paddy 500 puttis,* ragi 200, † sugarcane to the value of about Rs. 1,500, other millets and pulses to the value of about Rs. 1,000.

Out of this whatever is required for household purposes is retained. The rest, more than 50 per cent, is sold away. The nearest market is Chintamani. Sometimes the grain is transported to Bangalore also.

There are about three local roads, one from Gownipalle to Addegal, a village 4 miles off, one from the village to Manchinillakota, a village 6 miles off, and the other up to Todigol, 6 miles off. Another short road running for three miles runs up to the Mysore frontier. On the other side is British territory and there is no road further up. The local road to Tadigol connects with the Bangalore-Cuddapah road. The nearest commercial centres are Chintamani and Bangalore, accessible by the said road. The nearest railway station is Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off, reached by road.

The fair that takes place here every week is a big affair. People from very different parts come here. The fair is nominally held on Tuesday, but it generally extends from Monday to Wednesday. The chief business is carried on in stock, especially sheep and goats. Business in these is carried on to the extent of Rs. 4,000. They are chiefly sent to the Kolar Goldfields for slaughter and consumption.

Economic condition of village.—The customary rates of wages, in money, are from 2 to 3 annas per day, for a man; and 1½ annas for a woman; in kind, 2 seers of ragi, or 3 seers of paddy to a man, 1½ seers of ragi or 2 seers of paddy to a woman.

The current prices of staple foods are—

Rice	...	..	...	8 Mysore seers for a rupee.
Ragi	...	...	...	28 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	20 " "
Cholam	...	...	...	14 " "
Tamarind	...		...	Re. 1 for a maund.
Jaggery	...	...	...	Rs. 2 "
Chillis	...	...	...	Rs. 4-8-0 "
Dhôll	...	...	...	8 seers for a rupee.

About four or five families have made savings to the extent of Rs. 5,000, but on the other hand others have contracted debts to the extent of Rs. 10,000. Owing to scarcity of rains and failure of crops the people have been obliged to borrow heavily to meet current and occasional expenses.

There are practically no families who have liberated themselves from debt. While paying off old scores they borrow in new places.

There is a co-operative credit society. The capital is subscribed in shares of Rs. 10 each payable in twenty monthly instalments.

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* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 48 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

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* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 48 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Tamil AW18
Telugu AW17

Ta 691 consent. The case was decided in the High Court in favour of the plaintiff. A similar dispute is in progress now.

Ta 556 About half of the Brahmans are well-to-do. Most of them have no children. They adopt children. The wealth of the father and of the adoptive father goes to the son. Thus the properties of two persons go to one. Being well-to-do, they do not engage in work; but spent their time in idleness and gossip. Some engage in money-lending at usurious interest.

POTHAVARAM, RAZOLE TALUK, GODAVARI DISTRICT.

Te 162 [*By B. Lakshminarayana Sastri, Christian College, Madras.*]

Population.—Brahmans, 8 families, 53 individuals; Sudras, 191 families, 948 individuals; Muhammadans, 5 families, 28 individuals. Birth-rate 44 per thousand; death-rate 35 per thousand.

Te 423 "The Brahmans used to monopolize the land till recently and cultivate it through non-Brahman (Pariah) servants. But being far away from their land their property was not safe with the uneducated Pariahs. A sect of non-Brahmans called Kapus are now buying lands through their economy and industry and low standard of life. The Brahman having to maintain a high standard is slowly incurring debts. There is a chance of the non-Brahman Kapu sect in the village gaining the lands if they maintain their low standard of life and economical and industrious habits. While the non-Brahman always remains in the field or garden the Brahman stays for a major part of the day in the main village as he has to perform his daily religious ceremonies and social functions. The Brahman cannot live in such an isolation as the non-Brahmans. He cannot do hand labour and his supervision is inefficient.

Te [793]

Te 454 "People buy land as a secure form of investment. The educated classes after saving money buy lands with it though they never cultivate it. It is the only form of secure investment with which they are familiar being ignorant of other safe investments. Moreover, land investment pays a man better and gives him some status among his neighbours. The emigration from this village is slow. Some are leaving for neighbouring towns for their sons' education while a few are emigrating to Burma for labour. The former rarely return except during vacations while the latter return after four or five years. This emigration once started catches fire. education is simply being undergone for appointments, there being a sort of respect and awe attached to this sort of life. Every average villager now eagerly wants to educate his son in spite of heavy debts and great inconveniences. Economically it is a loss though intellectually it may be a gain. Socially it is removing some of the superstitions of the villagers. The mixing with the educated villagers is removing many deep-rooted superstitions. The emigration to Burma of coolies is to a small extent an economic gain; but at the expense of family life and social intercourse. The husband has to part from his wife and friends for a very long time. He does not even become intellectually advanced and his earnings are spent on drink."

Te 167
Te 871

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24/ 461 As these crops become ready for harvesting, the annual cycle of agricultural activities comes very near to completion. When the harvesting is over, the farmers get a brief spell of rest and leisure. Now and then they go round the fields and remove the weeds and other wild plants. Their work during this part of the year does not necessitate hard manual labour. In a leisurely way they take in hand activities of a preparatory nature which are a prelude to their major agricultural work of the rainy season and winter. Manure from cow-dung pits is carried to the fields and is evenly spread there. Grass and other wild plants growing in the fields are removed. The land is kept ready for ploughing in a month's time. In a few days the signs of approaching rains compel them to cast off their lethargy. The preparations for ploughing inaugurate a new circle of annual agricultural activities, and the advent of late summer rains sends them back once again into the fields.

4. CATTLE AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS

[241] 231 Agriculture in the village still largely follows the age-old pattern. Even to-day old style bullock-drawn wooden ploughs are used by the agriculturists. In such a system the value of draught cattle is very great indeed, for efficient farming under these conditions depends to a very great extent upon the availability of good bullocks. Some agriculturists use male buffaloes for ploughing the fields, but bullocks continue to be their favourites. Cows and she-buffaloes are kept for milk. The shepherds keep large herds of goats and sheep. Some Muslims as well as Hindus, with the exception of the Brahmins and the Komtis, may also keep a few goats. Pigs are kept only by the Erkalas. Among domestic pets, dogs are popular with every section of the village population. The number of cats in the village is fairly large, but they are not kept as pets. Some people keep parrots in cages, and teach them to utter a few words. Three Muslims have domesticated partridges. A Hindu shopkeeper has a tiny blackbird in a cage hanging in front of his shop. Poultry is kept by all sections of the village population, except the Brahmins and the Komtis. In addition to the usual fowls, four families have ducks and turkeys also.

In connection with this study a survey of village animals was undertaken in May 1951. The result of the survey is summarized in the following tables:

LEVELS OF LIVING

883 [585] themselves to work. The major responsibility rests on the adults and the middle-aged people, and here the social status of the persons concerned will determine the type of work to be done by them.

461 566 This brings us to social status as a determinant in the division of work in the community. The rich and influential people will not do anything which is regarded as humble or is otherwise classed as menial work. The men on this level generally 'plan and supervise', but the hard manual labour is done by hired labourers. They go to their fields, but only stand in a corner and instruct the servants. They will never be seen taking their plough and the bullocks to the field, or even participating in ploughing or sowing. The popular conception regarding women at this level is 'they sit in their homes loaded with gold and silver, whiling away their time chewing betel leaves and areca nuts.' However, even in these homes, women are never idle, for they have to do the cooking and look after the children. But considerations of respectability prevent them from doing several things which their counterparts in the lower strata of society regard as their normal day-to-day work. They can never be seen going to their fields, carrying headloads, drawing water from public wells, or washing clothes in public places. In fact they do not have to do any work outside their homes and are not expected to earn for the upkeep of the [562] family. The rich Muslim women observe *purdah*, i.e. they never go out of their house without a veil, and considerations of respectability demand that their sphere of activity should strictly be confined to their houses. The situation is materially different in the case of the 'well-to-do' families, but no generalizations can be made regarding this level as a unit, as the social ideals and standards of different castes differ very widely. In general, however, it may be said that the Brahmin and the Komti, being higher castes and respected people in the village, more or less follow the ideals of the rich and refrain from doing heavy manual labour as well as from all other work traditionally regarded as inferior. This is true also of the Muslims on this level who, because of their urban conceptions of middle-class respectability, think it below their dignity to do any inferior work publicly. The women from the above three groups seek to emulate the examples of the women in rich families. But in the other well-to-do families belonging to the agricultural and occupational castes notions of respectability

1 [FOR WORKING. --ANALYST]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Muslims

relating to work are different. Among them also, labourers are hired for heavy manual labour, such as carrying loads; but menfolk do not object to ploughing their own fields, nor avoid out-of-door work. Of course, the women mainly look after the management of their household affairs and are never expected to earn for the family's support.

The conditions on the two lower levels are more or less similar to one another. Unlike the two upper levels, the menfolk from these groups can be compelled to do government work on a nominal payment. They do most of their work with the assistance provided by the members of the family itself. Even when labourers are engaged by the 'average' people, members of the family continue to work side by side with hired men and women. On both these levels women have comparatively greater freedom. They work out of doors, assist the menfolk in their agricultural activities and crafts, and go out for marketing. Women from 'average' families work mostly in their own homes and in family fields, but during the busy agricultural season they can work for wages as well. This is not regarded as derogatory in any sense. In the poor families, on the other hand, women have to work very hard for, besides doing their quota of work in the running of the home and assisting the husband in agriculture and caste occupation, they have to accept occasional work for wages. Among some of the lower castes, women are expected to work and earn for the upkeep of the family.

4. DIET

The standard of living of a family is judged very often from the quality and quantity of its food. In describing the status and standard of a family, people generally say 'they eat well', 'they live somehow, eating the little that they can grow' or 'they live like animals, eating even wild leaves, flowers and roots'. However, the basic diet of the people consists of rice, millets, lentils, meat and fish. The difference in standards of living is judged by the quantity and kind of rice eaten, the frequency of meat intake in the diet and by the use of spices, fats and oils, jaggery and sugar in the food. Green and powdered red chillies are used by all classes of people in considerable quantities. Vegetables are grown in the backyards during the rainy season, and eaten when ready. When

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Caste is an important and rigid determinant of division of labour. Under this system several occupations have been preserved as caste monopolies, while some are 'open' and may be adopted by persons belonging to all castes. This system of division of labour by occupation has been examined at some length in Chapter III.

The factors of sex, age and social status govern the division of labour in nearly all types of work in the community. First, 'masculine' and 'feminine' pursuits are clearly distinguished: a woman doing man's work is laughed at; a man undertaking any specifically feminine tasks provides a favourite theme for popular gossip. Household work, agricultural activities, traditional craft or occupation of the family, and socio-religious rites and ceremonies are all marked by division of work on the basis of sex.

The age factor is equally important, but not so rigid. Six basic age divisions are recognized in the society: (i) 'Infant' from birth to weaning. (ii) 'Child' from weaning to about twelve. (iii) 'Grown-up boys or girls' from twelve until marriage or even a year or two later. (iv) 'Grown-up people' from twenty to about thirty-eight. (v) Middle-aged from about thirty-eight to fifty. (vi) 'Aged', over fifty. Each of these age divisions carries with it a more or less recognized status which determines the nature and quantity of work to be done by the individual in question. Only in the lower strata of the community we find the 'child' burdened with a regular share in domestic and occupational tasks. The children in the families on upper levels may occasionally do odd bits of work, but no responsibility is thrust on them. As they grow up, girls have to take an increasing interest in domestic tasks. 'Grown-up boys and girls' must seriously start 'learning to do things', and are gradually entrusted with some responsibility. However, it is on the 'grown-up people' that the main responsibility of 'doing all the work' and running the affairs of the household rests. The 'middle-aged' people continue to do a part of the practical work; but their time is more occupied by planning, direction and supervision. Depending on their age and personality, the 'aged' continue to supervise and direct the work of the younger members. As they grow older they content themselves merely by giving suggestions and eventually retire from active work or its planning, and devote their time mostly to their grandchildren.

Considerations of general social status also determine the nature

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565 Consideration of general social status also determine the natur of work to be done by an individual. For example, a man of recognized social status will not draw water from a public well, where he could be seen doing so by others. Womenfolk from such households will not be seen collecting cow-dung from the streets, nor will they do any work in the fields.

With these preliminary observations we can proceed to describe at greater length the actual division of labour in the community.

462 The following table will illustrate the traditional division of work between men and women:

Activity	*Man's work*	*Woman's work*
(1) Domestic work (daily routine and maintenance of the house)	Occasional repairs to the house	Sweeping the house every day, and keeping its surroundings clean. Throwing away the rubbish. Sprinkling water in the courtyard and in front of the main entrance. Assisting husband in repairs to the house
	Cooking during the illness or menstrual impurity of the wife (when no other woman is available). Scrubbing the utensils during wife's serious illness	Fetching water from the well. Cooking. Serving food to menfolk and children. Scrubbing the utensils. Husking paddy. Grinding grains
	Occasionally washing his own clothes	Washing her own, as well as children's and husband's clothes
	Occasionally making beds	Making beds
	May look after children	Looking after children
	Chopping firewood and bringing it home	Collecting fuel in the nearby jungle
	Killing and cutting up goats and sheep	Preparation and storage of pickles, preserves and dried vegetables
	Marketing	Marketing, especially purchase of provisions
	Climbing trees for fruit	Collecting vegetables, picking gourds and okras from the backyard garden
	Erecting and repairing the cattle-shed	Feeding the cattle. Keeping the shed clean

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Activity	*Man's work*	*Woman's work*
(2) Agriculture	Cutting shrubs. Repairing bunds of the paddy fields. Digging earth	Helping men in disposal of shrubs and in repairing the bunds
	Ploughing	— — —
	Sowing	May help in sowing
	Weeding	Weeding
	Harvesting	Harvesting
	Carrying the crops home	Carrying the crops home
(3) Festivals and ceremonies	Decorating the house if necessary	Cleaning the house
	Arranging feasts. Distributing food at feasts. Cooking if necessary	Cooking for feasts
	Actual worship, making sacrifice and offering food	Making initial preparation for worship, sacrifice, offering of food, etc.
		Singing
(4) Birth, marriage and death	(i) Birth. Waiting outside for running errands	Attending to the expectant mother. Assisting at the time of actual delivery. Taking care of the newborn. Disposing of the after-birth. Care of the mother
	(ii) Marriage. Negotiations and settlement regarding marriage	Women consulted at all stages: final settlement generally with their approval
	Making provision of food and money	Making initial preparation for the ceremony. Buying cloth and ornaments
	Arrangements for feasts	Cooking and looking after 'internal' arrangements
		Singing
	(iii) Death. Carrying the corpse. Digging the grave or preparing the pyre	Preparing the corpse for cremation or burial. Wailing. Throwing away the earthen pots

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Activity	*Man's work*	*Woman's work*
(5) Village administration and politics	All village offices, as well as minor government offices held by men. Village council composed entirely of men	May appear before the village council only as witnesses
	Intrigue and factionalism	Generally instigate the menfolk indirectly. Quarrels among women often lead to complications in the inter-relations of men

In the above table no reference has been made to the division of labour between men and women in the practice of their caste occupations and crafts. In this sphere the role of the sexes has been defined by the traditions of the individual castes. Some typical examples will suffice. Among the Brahmins, only men perform priestly functions; women have no share in this task. Komti women may manage their shop at home, but they do not go round, as do their menfolk, setting up their shops at all the weekly markets in the neighbouring villages. Among the potters, both men and women can work at the wheel. Similarly, the caste traditions of the weavers permit both men and women to work together without making any sharp distinction between masculine and feminine spheres of activity. The same is true of the washerman's caste. Among the other occupational castes, however, the respective fields of men and women are well defined. Only men among the Golla take out their flocks and herds for grazing. Among the Gaondlas, again, only men go round the village collecting juice from the palm trees. Their womenfolk, however, assist them in fermenting it, storing it in the shop, and also in selling it. Hair-cutting and shaving are done only by males in the barber's caste. The traditional rules of the Panch Bramha group of village artisans enjoin that the principal roles in the occupations would be those of men, whilst women have only minor and secondary functions connected with them. Thus the smiths dealing in gold and silver, iron, and bell-metal, do not allow the women to work at the forge, for their caste tradition specifically lays down that this task should be done only by men. In another section belonging to the same group, the women are prohibited from handling the principal carpenter's tools. Lower down in the social scale, among

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

the Erkalas, the men occupy themselves with hunting and trapping, while women weave mats and seek some additional income by fortune-telling. Among the Madigas males deal with dead animals; women come into the picture only when the meat has to be carried home and cooked. Both men and women may work at curing hides. Shoe-making and other leather-work is mainly done by men. On ritual and ceremonial occasions, musical instruments are played only by Madiga men.

Earlier it has been pointed out that men avoid tasks which are generally known as 'feminine'; and women in their turn are expected not to undertake pursuits which are traditionally regarded as 'masculine'. It is true that during the illness or absence of his wife, a man has to perform some of her domestic duties, but that is obviously a compromise with necessity. Any man taking undue interest in feminine tasks soon earns the unenviable epithet of 'half-woman', and is exposed to the ridicule of the community. Asking a man to do some feminine work would be almost tantamount to questioning his masculinity. 'Put bangles on your wrist, husk the paddy and cook the meals', is a remark often used in reproach to admonish those who lack manly qualities and courage. A woman going out of her way to do anything which is regarded as 'man's work' is noticed and adversely commented upon by the society. It is unthinkable that a woman can handle the plough. It should be pointed out here that sometimes a woman deliberately undertakes to do masculine work to 'bring home' to the husband the realization that he is not fulfilling his manly obligations and thus to awaken him to his proper responsibilities. Middle-aged women and widows can do some men's work without social censure.

Reference has been made to the six basic age divisions recognized in the community. Among the 'rich' and the 'well-to-do' families children do very little; but among the 'average' and the 'poor' they have to help the parents. Grazing the cattle, assisting parents in their work in the fields during the busy season, looking after younger siblings, and running errands are regarded as children's work. The girls have to help their mother in the kitchen. As they grow up their share in work gradually increases. Boys take more interest in 'outdoor' work, whilst girls are absorbed in the domestic routine. During this stage of life the 'grown-up boys and girls' even of rich and well-to-do families have to apply

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patterns of adjustment with the outside world and the degree of influence and prestige in the wider rural community that any attempt to combine them would be tantamount to overlooking significant sociological facts. The residents of the large villages look upon themselves as the leaders of the rural community, regarding those from smaller villages as a little less civilized and those from small hamlets as rustics. The man from the smaller village is suspicious and critical about the ways of the people from bigger villages, but he has in his heart of hearts an admiration and respect for them. To him also the people living in still smaller settlements appear to be rather crude and rustic. As the division of labour in the community is governed to a very great extent by traditional caste occupations, and co-operative labour of a number of different castes is required not only for agricultural activities, but also for socio-religious life, the large village, having within its population all the occupational castes, has a comparatively more integrated and self-sufficient economic and socio-religious life than the smaller villages, which, in the absence of one or more occupational castes, may have to depend on some other settlement. Because of its multi-caste constitution, larger population and greater complexity of internal problems, the organization of the larger village is often remarkably different from that of smaller villages. In fact, some of the smaller villages and hamlets come to be regarded as appendages of the larger villages, and although they have considerable autonomy in domestic matters they are very greatly influenced by the views and preferences of their larger neighbour.

The ethnic and linguistic composition of a village, as well as its caste constitution, also determines its character. The structure, ethos and problems of a wholly tribal village will be very different from those of a village with a mixed or homogeneous population. A tribal village is often unitary in respect of its authority structure, the tribal authority itself being supreme in secular, ritual and cultural village matters. On the other hand, in the case of a village which has a mixed population of tribes on the one hand and Hindu castes on the other, or of two different groups of parallel Hindu castes separated from each other by the fact that they speak different languages and belong to different culture-areas, or of Hindus and Muslims, the nature of its internal organization and authority is bound to be different. If the diverse elements of its population have equal strength—numerical as well as economic—

1: Dube · E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

munities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos. Until this is done our picture of social systems in rural India will remain vague and inadequate.

From the old ethnographic surveys and some preliminary studies published recently, an outline of the structure and organization of Indian villages is beginning to emerge clearly. Notwithstanding many significant differences, they have a number of structural similarities. In the north, middle and peninsular India, as well as in the eastern and western parts of the country, the following features characterize a very large number of villages.

1. As a territorial, as well as social, economic and ritual unit, the village is a separate and distinct entity. The residents of this settlement recognize their corporate identity, and it is recognized as such by others. It is not uncommon to find in them a sentiment of attachment towards their own settlement site. In several matters the village acts as a unit.

2. These settlements have a composite population comprising a number of groups belonging to different Hindu castes, and in some cases to tribes as well as to other religious groups. As far as the Hindu section of the population goes, these diverse groups are inter-dependent and integrated in the social, economic, ritual and administrative organization of the community. No caste alone is self-sufficient, for it requires the services of several other occupational castes which hold the monopoly of certain crafts and professions. This system of co-operative labour, based on a pattern of inter-caste relations approved by tradition, is not confined only to economic activities but also extends to ceremonial and ritual life. The hierarchical organization of castes within the community is so fixed in the structural patterns of rural India that the tribal as well as the non-Hindu (such as Muslim and Christian) segments of the population come to be regarded as other castes in the village.

In many parts of India, while maintaining their socio-religious identity, several of these non-Hindu groups have acquired some caste characteristics, particularly occupational specialization. For example, in some areas of rural India the Muslims function as an occupational caste variously, making fireworks, weaving, driving *tongas*, *ikkahs* and other hackney-carriages, selling vegetables or playing musical instruments.

3. The members of this local group are bound together by ties

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu A[illegible]17

2. THE PEOPLE

According to the census of 1951, the total population of Shamirpet, which included the two neighbouring hamlets of Babuguda and Upparpalli, was 2,494, with a total of 508 houses. The following table shows the distribution of the population according to religion:

1. Hindus.	A. Clean castes	1,434
	B. Untouchables or Scheduled castes .	680
2. Muslims		340

The predominant language in Shamirpet is Telugu, the main language of Telangana and Andhra-desa. It is known as 'the Italian of the East' and is praised for its sonorous and lyrical qualities and possesses a vast literature, both classical and modern. However, the dialect of Telugu, which is spoken in Shamirpet, and generally in the countryside, is criticized by the more sophisticated Andhras for its harshness and rustic accent. In the census of 1951, 2,008 persons in this village were recorded as speaking Telugu, while 340 persons were recorded as speaking Urdu, which was until 1948 the official language of Hyderabad administration. These figures are, however, misleading, and make reference only to the mother-tongue. In practice most men in the village are bi-lingual; those whose mother-tongue is Telugu have at least a smattering of Urdu, and of the 340 Urdu speakers at least half possess a working knowledge of Telugu. As a generalization it may be stated that knowledge of the mother-tongue alone is confined only to women, although several women among both the Hindus and the Muslims are also bi-lingual.

Thus the two major divisions in the population of the village may be distinguished on the grounds of religion and language. Culturally also the Hindus and Muslims stand in marked contrast to each other.

The Hindus of Shamirpet can be classed under three broad divisions:

1. Cultivators.
2. Occupational castes, with traditional crafts and professions regarded as clean and respectable.
3. Depressed classes, subsisting by humble and lowly callings.

In the first group we can place the following castes: the Reddi, the Muttarasi, and their subdivisions. These groups are often

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 · AW17 Telugu AW17

463 564 referred to as 'the Kapu' or agricultural castes. As this name suggests, they derive the major part of their subsistence by tilling the land, although individuals from any of these groups may engage in trade and commerce or may take up urban occupations.

In the second group we can place the following: the Brahmin (priests), the Komti (traders), the Kummari (potters) and the Golla (shepherds). The five sections of the Panch Bramha group of artisan castes, that is, the Wadla (carpenters), the Kammari (blacksmiths), the Ausula (goldsmiths), the Kase (workers in bell-metal) and the Kanchari (sculptors), also belong to this group —although they claim separate identity and are rather exclusive. The Sale (weavers), the Gaondha (toddy-tappers), the Sakali (washermen) and the Mangali (barbers) also follow their traditional occupations; and although in the hierarchy of caste organization their place is a little inferior to the castes mentioned above, they belong to the second group for the purpose of our classification. The position of the once-tribal but now largely assimilated Vaddar (stone-breakers) and the Erkala (hunters and basket-makers) is slightly different, for although they are not untouchables their position among the clean castes is the lowest.

564 783 [641] There are only two untouchable or depressed castes in Shamirpet, the Mala and the Madiga. Of these two, the Malas consider themselves superior to the Madigas, by whose touch they are polluted. However, it should be pointed out that the Indian constitution has abolished untouchability. The untouchable castes can draw water from the public wells and can without discrimination share the public utilities with the clean castes. Their children now freely attend the common village school. But social conservatism dies hard and legislation alone cannot overnight change the deep-rooted complexes of thought and behaviour which are the heritage of many generations of a caste-ridden social system. [583] Caste still retains its endogamous character, and traditional rules prohibit inter-dining with persons of lower castes. Thus in these two spheres at least the untouchable castes have still to confine themselves to their narrow circles. While in the cities the clean castes are no longer sensitive to the touch of a person belonging to these castes, in the countryside an untouchable still cannot approach too close to clean-caste people lest they be polluted by a chance physical contact. Some progressive-minded untouchables

non-Aryan groups was taking place in Indian society and Hinduism was consolidating itself. The highly organized craftsmen's guilds of those days may perhaps have succeeded in maintaining their integrity and exclusiveness for a long time, but had ultimately to yield; yet the tension created by their resistance remained, and even when they were absorbed into the fold of Hindu society they were not admitted as equals to the groups of comparable social status and in consequence probably continued to maintain their age-long exclusiveness.

All the castes whose relative positions in the caste-hierarchy have been shown in the accompanying table are endogamous. There is a permanent social distance between them; the individual is born into a caste, and a subsequent change in status is, except to the very lowest strata of society, equally impossible upwards or downwards.[1] In general it may be said that people accept food at the hands of all castes occupying a higher level in this hierarchy, the only exception being that of the Vaddar, who do not accept food from the highly placed Sakali and Mangali. Without exception people on a higher level refuse food from those on a lower level. Each caste has a traditional occupation sanctioned by religion, and these monopolies should not be infringed upon, except in the case of agriculture, which all may pursue.

Mention should here be made of the Jangam and the Katike castes, of each of which there is one family in Shamirpet. The Jangam are a semi-priestly caste ritually attached to the Baljas, for whom they tie the 'lingam'—a phallic symbol representing Shiva—and function as priests on the occasion of weddings. On the days of *Pitra Moksha Amavasya*[2] and *Shivaratri*,[3] they visit Hindu houses, particularly of those peasants who follow the Shaivite[4]

[1] When a person is excommunicated or out-casted he is not down-graded and pushed into a lower caste; he is merely denied the privileges of equal participation in the socio-religious life of the community.

[2] The night of the New Moon in the Hindu month of Bhadrapada (August–September).

[3] The day on which Shiva is believed to have drunk the world's poison, retaining it in his throat, and thereby saving mankind from possible harm from this poison.

[4] Of the great gods of the Hindu 'trinity' Brahma is not worshipped because of his sinful infatuation for his own daughter, whilst Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped. Those who principally worship the former, usually in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, are known as Vaishnava; those worshipping the latter as Shaiva or Shaivite. Cf. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London, 1950), pp. 56–59, 296–300, 360–362.

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living in Shamirpet is the Madiga. The various sections of the Madiga community have their own special functions which are of great significance for the social life and culture of the caste. The Nulka Sandayya are said to be the descendants of Jamavanta,[1] who is believed to be the founder of the entire Madiga caste. The Baindlas are the marriage priests of the Madigas. Of the Sindus, the men are the minstrels of the Madigas and have the function of reciting the sacred caste legends and enacting them in the form of folk-drama; while the women are the prostitutes of the community. The Mashto earn their living by giving acrobatic displays. The Dakkal are the lowest of all Madiga sections and are distinguished by their customary refusal to take food from any non-Madiga. The Brahmin, who is at the apex of the caste-hierarchy, refuses to partake of food at the hands of anyone with a social status lower than his own, in effect from any but his own caste-fellows. And it is a juxtaposition that the lowest of the low castes refuses food from all communities of the higher levels, including the Brahmins.

Each independent endogamous division is divided into exogamous *gotram*; these in turn may be further subdivided into numerous *vansham*. The main function of these divisions is the regulation of marital unions. A person cannot marry in his own *gotram*; he must marry in some other *gotram* bearing a different name. Different *gotram* may have a number of common *vansham*, and as marriage between persons of the same *vansham* is forbidden, one must marry not only outside one's *gotram* but in a different *vansham* also. If a person of one's own *vansham* dies, one must observe ceremonial mourning for ten days. These subdivisions seem to perform no other special function. The enumeration of the various *gotram* and *vansham* is difficult and would only result in long and tedious lists running to forty and fifty names, and will not here be given.

The diagram shown opposite will illustrate the organization of the endogamous sub-castes *gotram* and *vansham* within the wider social unit of caste in the area under study.

In the diagram each sub-caste is endogamous; and as such a person born in unit 1 must marry within that unit, and so also persons in units 2, 3 and 4 must confine their marital relations to their respective units only. But each of these units is divided into a

[1] A conspicuous figure playing a significant role in the epic of *Ramayana*.

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614 sexual union of any type between the two is regarded as a kind of incest. It has already been pointed out that these units have no functions beyond those mentioned above and have no common organization, authority or ceremonial distinctively belonging to them.

564 Although in general we can regard Shamirpet as fairly representative of Telangana villages, some Telugu-speaking castes which play an important part in rural Telangana are not to be found in the village; and it will be perhaps advantageous to make a passing reference to some of these castes here. The Velma are a rich agricultural caste more or less equal in status to the Reddis. The Kamma are another caste of the Kapu group who inter-dine with the Reddi, but they are regarded as equals of the lower clean caste groups. The Balja traders are Shaivite Hindus whose status is regarded as being a little higher than that of the Komti. The Gandla works the oil press, and his status is similar to that of the Sale and the Gaondla. The Yenadi, who in some parts of Telangana act as village guards, are in status equal to the Erkala. The Lambada provide a colourful though somewhat alien element in the population of Telangana. In language, dress and ornament they stand out from the rest of the people of Telangana. Their northern origin is clear both from their physical appearance and from their [291] language. The dress of the Lambada woman is picturesque. Her multi-coloured skirt (*lahanga*), tight bodice (*choli*) and upper covering (*odhni*) are elaborately embroidered and worked with [301] appliquéd mirror. Her ornaments are heavy and distinctive, and their tinkling sound lends an air of romance to the dusty roads of the countryside. There is a Lambada settlement some six miles from Shamirpet and they are a common sight on the nearby road.

564 Mention should also be made of three wandering caste groups—
161 the Balsantanam, the Sharda-galu and the Dasari. The Balsan-
463 tanam live in small, low, portable huts and move from village to village. They weave mats, sing songs and legends, and beg from village cultivators. The Sharda-galu are professional story-tellers and earn their livelihood by reciting the legends of their vast repertoire. Similarly, the Dasari are country dramatists who contribute towards the entertainment of the villagers by performing folk plays. Members of many of the castes mentioned above make occasional appearances in Shamirpet.

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CHAPTER THREE

Economic Structure

1. CASTE IN VILLAGE ECONOMY

The functional basis of the Indian caste system is generally well understood, but the integration of the different castes into the economic pattern of the rural community organization of India is not so well known. The occupations and functions of the different castes are not wholly exclusive, but the economic system of rural India is founded mainly on their functional specialization and interdependence. For example, agriculture is mainly the task of the Kapu group of castes, but all other castes—both high and low—can cultivate land, if they have any, besides following their traditional occupation. Similarly, trading was originally the function of the Komti caste, but now several other castes have also taken to it. However, a large number of crafts and occupations in rural India still remain the monopoly of different castes. A non-Brahmin cannot officiate as a priest for any of the higher castes. No one other than a Kummari will follow the profession of a potter. The Mangali alone would do the barber's work. Carpentry and working in metals are the monopoly of the Panch Bramha group of castes in Telangana. Only the Madiga will dispose of dead cattle and undertake to do leather-work. Castes other than the Sakali would not think of doing the washerman's work. Tradition has given to each group a definite position in the structure of the community, and with that position also goes a definite economic function which is the major source of livelihood for that group. As agriculture is the mainstay of the rural economy of India, the crafts and occupations of the countryside are generally integrated with it. A brief analysis of the economic role of the different castes would give us a clear idea of the

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463 economic system of the community and also of the place occupied in it by the various castes.

Most of the castes have a major craft or occupation which is their traditional monopoly. Besides this they are free to exploit certain other subsidiary sources of livelihood also. The Brahmin, besides functioning as the village priest, may also cultivate his land. The potter, the barber and the washerman occupy themselves mainly with their respective professions, but there is nothing to prevent them from accepting occasional work as field labourers. [464] In fact, during the busy agricultural season, when there is a heavy demand on the limited labour supply of the local group, efforts are made to persuade the artisan caste to send their womenfolk to work in the fields for daily wages. Notwithstanding this, a caste is identified with some occupation or other, and established social usage largely governs the modes of practice of this particular occupation.

In the chapter on Social Structure mention has been made of the fourteen village menials who work as semi-government functionaries, generally in return for the grant of a piece of rent-free land by the government. Their work lies mainly in the fields of their caste monopolies. It comprises personal services to touring government officials, as well as certain routine duties for the village as a whole.

437 463 A closer scrutiny of the economic system and its consequent bonds of mutual obligation and expectation reveals four major types of economic dealings and obligations within the caste network into which the community is organized. These are:

(i) Obligations to render to the agriculturists occupational services having a direct bearing on their agricultural activities. No immediate payment is expected for services of this kind. The agriculturists get their ploughs and other implements repaired by the carpenter every year as a matter of routine. Periodically the carpenter supplies new implements. In return for this, twice every year the cultivator gives a share to the carpenter when the crops are harvested. Services of an agricultural nature are generally expected and rendered on this basis. The extent of both the service and the payment is generally fixed by tradition, and depends very much on the size of the holding which the agriculturist is cultivating. Some castes offer their occupational services, even of a non-agricultural nature, to the agriculturists on the tacit understand-

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ing that they too will have their share after the crops are harvested. Thus, the potter periodically supplies the agriculturist with earthenware and pots for his normal requirements. The barber does the hair-cutting and shaving of the members of the agriculturist's family on this basis. The washerman, too, follows this rule in so far as established cultivators of the village are concerned.

(ii) Obligations to render some occupational services, to the agriculturists as well as to many non-agriculturists, having a bearing on their socio-religious life. Castes such as the barber, the washerman, the carpenter and the potter, and the Madiga have definite functions in the rites and ceremonies connected with the major crises of life. These are performed by them as a matter of routine, without any direct negotiations regarding the wages that they may expect in return for their services. Convention has fixed the basic minimum, and in the course of ritual duties, at different points, a part of this payment has to be made. Depending on their status and financial position, people pay something more for these services at the completion of the ceremony.

(iii) Obligations to render some occupational services to other occupational castes in return for their traditional services. As an example, it may be pointed out that a barber will attend to the grooming of hair and shaving of the members of a weaver's family to which he is attached. No cash payment is either expected or made. However, every year the weaver will give him a few yards of cloth and possibly a *sari* or two for his wife.

(iv) Occupational services rendered with an expectation of cash payment in return for the work. Casual visitors to the village can get the services of the barber only when they pay cash. For making a bullock cart, or for preparing timber for use in the construction of a house, a carpenter would first settle his wages and then undertake to do the work. In this respect he would not make an exception even in the case of established cultivators to whose households his family may have been attached for several years, even for decades. The Vaddar stone-workers also usually undertake an assignment only when the obligations on both sides are settled.

For most of the castes economic dealings falling in category (iv), described above, are of a casual nature, though their economic returns through them may be quite substantial. With a few exceptions, most of the castes have to accept a basis of reciprocity in

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241 Out of a total of 3,765 acres of land under cultivation, the residents of Shamirpet are cultivating approximately 3,000 acres.

TABLE II

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Craft or profession	*Total number of families*	*Total number of persons*	*Men*	*Women*	*Children*	*Number of people actually working*
1. Potters	5	21	6	7	8	14
2. Carpenters	4	15	5	5	5	5
3. Blacksmiths	4	28	8	11	9	8
4. Washermen	7	31	7	8	16	18
5. Toddy-tappers	16	99	29	34	36	53
6. Shepherds	21	108	31	42	35	69
7. Barbers	2	11	2	4	5	8
8. Goldsmiths	2	13	4	6	3	4
9. Stone-breakers	3	16	5	5	6	10
10. Erkala hunters	5	16	6	6	4	11
11. Traders and Shop-keepers	13	81	22	22	37	27
12. Government servants	46	211	70	60	81	90
13. Others	7	33	10	12	11	14

423 An analysis of the pattern of land-ownership in the village reveals the following:

i. A fourth of the land is owned by 1 family having 800 acres.
ii. A fourth of the land is owned by 8 families having 100 acres each.
iii. A fourth of the land is owned by 20 families having 40 acres each.
iv. A fourth of the land is owned by 160 families having 5 acres each.

The headman of the village is the biggest single land-owner. He belongs to the Reddi caste which is the dominant section of the group of agricultural castes in this area. The second category includes, besides the Reddis, two Muslims—one of whom is the Patwari of the village. Even in the third category approximately 40% of the land is held by the Reddis; the rest being shared by

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511 vegetables, salt, spices and fats—increases steadily. The 'rich' and the 'well-to-do' spend more on clothes and ornaments: on the lower levels expenditure on these items is proportionately less. Similarly expenditure on feasts and ceremonies is proportionately higher in the two upper levels and lower in the poorer sections. Maintenance and repairs of the house and all immovable property other than agricultural land, cattle and implements necessitate a higher percentage of expenditure on each higher level successively. This is accounted for by the fact that on the lower levels people do most of this work themselves, and do not hire any labour. It appears rather paradoxical that the 'average' and 'poor' people spend proportionately more on 'luxuries', but this can be explained by the fact that tobacco and liquor are included under this head and most people in the village are addicted to the habits of smoking and drinking. Finally, under the head 'miscellaneous' —which includes expenditure on entertainments, recreation, medicine and other unforeseen domestic expenses—the 'poor' spend the least, and on each higher level the expenditure is greater.

The visible manifestations of a family's standard of living are: type of dwelling and household possessions, clothing and ornaments, nature of work done by the members of the family and diet. Brief reference has already been made to the different types of dwellings and their average possessions. In a general way it can be said that a house and its belongings indicate the owner's standard of living. Gold and silver ornaments as well as expensive clothes are regarded as marks of superior economic status. Brahmins, Komtis, rich Reddis and well-to-do Muslims are expected 'to wear clothes befitting their status'. Persons belonging to lower castes, particularly untouchables, are criticized for imitating the dress-styles of the higher castes, and even when they acquire wealth they are expected to continue the traditional style of clothing suitable for their humble social status.

In the next two sections we shall examine the division of labour and differences in diet on the four levels of living in the community.

3. WORK: DIVISION OF LABOUR

463 Division of labour in the community is governed by a variety of factors. Important among them are: caste, sex, age and social status.

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LEVELS OF LIVING

Caste is an important and rigid determinant of division of labour. Under this system several occupations have been preserved as caste monopolies, while some are 'open' and may be adopted by persons belonging to all castes. This system of division of labour by occupation has been examined at some length in Chapter III.

The factors of sex, age and social status govern the division of labour in nearly all types of work in the community. First, 'masculine' and 'feminine' pursuits are clearly distinguished: a woman doing man's work is laughed at; a man undertaking any specifically feminine tasks provides a favourite theme for popular gossip. Household work, agricultural activities, traditional craft or occupation of the family, and socio-religious rites and ceremonies are all marked by division of work on the basis of sex.

The age factor is equally important, but not so rigid. Six basic age divisions are recognized in the society: (i) 'Infant' from birth to weaning. (ii) 'Child' from weaning to about twelve. (iii) 'Grown-up boys or girls' from twelve until marriage or even a year or two later. (iv) 'Grown-up people' from twenty to about thirty-eight. (v) Middle-aged from about thirty-eight to fifty. (vi) 'Aged', over fifty. Each of these age divisions carries with it a more or less recognized status which determines the nature and quantity of work to be done by the individual in question. Only in the lower strata of the community we find the 'child' burdened with a regular share in domestic and occupational tasks. The children in the families on upper levels may occasionally do odd bits of work, but no responsibility is thrust on them. As they grow up, girls have to take an increasing interest in domestic tasks. 'Grown-up boys and girls' must seriously start 'learning to do things', and are gradually entrusted with some responsibility. However, it is on the 'grown-up people' that the main responsibility of 'doing all the work' and running the affairs of the household rests. The 'middle-aged' people continue to do a part of the practical work; but their time is more occupied by planning, direction and supervision. Depending on their age and personality, the 'aged' continue to supervise and direct the work of the younger members. As they grow older they content themselves merely by giving suggestions and eventually retire from active work or its planning, and devote their time mostly to their grandchildren.

Considerations of general social status also determine the nature

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reason they happen to be interested. In former times, as a general rule, the decisions of the village council were accepted unconditionally. Even to-day none can defy them openly, but often the cases are taken to superior law courts and factionalism within the council is exploited to get its decisions altered or modified.

In the traditional economic structure of the community the following characteristics were important:

(i) Occupation was determined by the caste of the individual.

(ii) Mobility was limited and people had great attachment to the settlement.

(iii) Different castes were integrated into the overall pattern of village economy on the basis of their functional specialization. For their co-operative labour payment was made in kind at the time of harvesting.

(iv) There was barter of occupational services between the various artisan and occupational castes.

It has already been pointed out that in the last few decades the occupational character of caste has undergone some modifications. In place of their traditional occupations people have started accepting other vocations. The traditional system of caste interdependence under which artisan and occupational castes attach themselves to the families of agriculturists is still there. But the attached labourers of untouchable castes are showing signs of discontent and figures for the last ten years show twenty-one migrations of Madiga families to the city. Barbers, washermen and carpenters also openly express preference for a basis of cash payment as that enables them to negotiate and bargain and puts an end to the uncertainty and occasional high-handedness of the employer under the old system. The traditional arrangements involving the barter of occupational services between artisan castes too is now gradually breaking down and is giving place to a basis of cash payment.

In the ritual structure of the community no significant variations have been found. Under the Muslim régime, Hindus co-operated in the public ceremonies of the Muslims. With the spread of the revivalist and reformist ideas of the Arya Samaj greater interest was taken in the Hinduism of the holy books. Preachers invited from the city added to the folklore of the people some fragments of traditional Hindu mythology. However, the regional cults as well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

and maintained their own sewage and rubbish carts; provided dust-bins, besides arranging for checking up of frauds under the Food Adulteration Act. Cleaning of public and private latrines, compost and removal of night-soil and sewage water were also some of the important obligations which the major Panchayats had been undertaking. 364

The table below indicates the strength of the sanitary staff, the registrar of births and deaths and other sanitary and conservancy staff provided in some of the sample Panchayats. 463 364

Name of the Village	Sanitary Inspector	Sanitary Mistry	Mid-wife	Registrar	Sweepers	Sewage Cleaners	Rubbish Cartmen	Women Labour	Latrines	Scavengers
Bhimavaram	1	2	...	2	20	2	2	20	508	72
Narsapur	1	3	...	1	20	...	...	...	...	20
Guntakal	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	39
Tanuku	1	3	1	1	...	...	...	12	400	40
Mandapeta	1	3	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	8
Ramchandrapuram	1	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nuzvid	1	1	1	1	16	1	1	4	120	20
Jaggayapeta	1	1	1	1	20	1	1	6	100	14
Dharmavaram	1	1	1	...	40	...	...	10	100	12
Kadiri	1	1	1	1	20	...	...	10	120	10
Rayadrug	1	3	1	...	...	.	...	1	223	14
Kampli	1	1	1	...	20	...	...	16	88	12
Ganapavaram	1	1	1	1	16	...	...	16	50	4
Peatapadu	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	4	...	...
Undi	1	1	1	...	12	...	...	11	88	6
Achanta	1	1	1	...	16	...	...	6	50	18
Velpur	1	3	1	...	20	...	...	55	285	20
Attili	1	3	1	1	16	2	2	60	100	115
Pamaru	1	1	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Kantaram	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pedana	1	1	1	...	40	...	...	20	40	...
Vuyyuru	1	1	1	...	20	...	...	2	500	20
Parvatipuram	1	1	1	1	20	2	4	20	500	39
Salur	1	3	4	1	40	2	4	...	200	10
Madugula	1	1	1	1	12	...	...	...	100	20
Kasimkot	1	1	1	1	20	...	4	12	200	30
Yellamanchilli	...	1	1	1	10	2	1	1	500	54
Gooty	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	10	300	20
Penukonda	1	1	1	1	30	2	2	...	...	...
Bukkapatnam	1	2	...	1	12	...	...	...	100	...
Nandikotkur	1	1	1	...	35	2	2	2	100	20
Pattikonda	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	10	200	20

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427 zamindari tenant supplies two pairs of bulls, one-eighth goes to the cultivator.
241

In the case of sugarcane, the cultivator gets 1½ shares and the zamindari tenant only one. If the sub-tenant cultivates on contract, the cultivator must give two maunds of jaggery for every 2½ cents of land planted with sugarcane.*

Of the agricultural families, all the males cultivate some land and also work for hire. There are two females, however, who do not cultivate, of whom one lives on charity and the other by working as a coolie.

[423] Of the lands which are called "Sirkar" there is only one kind of ownership and holders of such land are called pattadars.

As regards lands designated "inam" lands there are slight differences. The inamdars pay, instead of the full rent, what are called quit-rents and road-cess.

•463 There are five villagers who combine agriculture with other occupations. One is a blacksmith, the other a potter, the third prepares combs, and two others are dhobis. The sub-tenants mentioned above also do the work of coolies between harvest and sowing time.

243 *Agriculture.*—All dry lands yield only one crop per annum. Wet lands yield two crops. No land yields three crops.

For millets and pulses, the land is ploughed after a shower of rain when it is soft. Generally June or July is seed time. After a time when the plants sprout up the fields are weeded. After that four or five good showers of rain are needed. Then when the corn is ripe, it is cut and piled in bundles. The bundles are trod upon by bulls and the corn drops out.

For paddy the harvest time is November for the first crop, for which seed is sown in June or July; April and May for the second crop, for which seed is sown in December or January. When there is sufficient water the paddy fields are flooded with water and then ploughed till they become miry. Afterwards, green leaf manure (generally kanaga leaves) and animal manure are spread and well trodden in. Before planting paddy is steeped in cow-dung water in pots, which water is renewed every day. After four or five days the plants sprout up and then they are removed from the pots and placed in the prepared fields. After they are thus planted the fields are again flooded with water. But the water is allowed to remain for a day only. The next day it is let out and the fields are allowed to dry for three days when the plants are of some size. From that time onwards till the corn is ripe water is allowed to flow freely on the fields. When it is ripe it is harvested. Then it is cut, heaped in bundles, struck against a bed of rock when the grain falls out which is all collected and taken home.

249 *Sugarcane.*—The land is well ploughed, but unlike paddy is not made miry at first. Long trenches of comparatively little depth are made by means of the ploughshare. Then the field is well manured, and water is let in till it becomes miry. The sugarcane already cut in small pieces is planted in these trenches. No water is let in on that day. After an interval of three days water

[804] *[This must be taken to mean, not the Railway or Bengal maund of 82½ lb., but a local maund of 26 lb. very nearly. The rent in jaggery is therefore nearly one ton per acre, worth about Rs. 150.—Ed.]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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242 The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and [782] accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

Cattle diseases—Kurama.—The ox or cow when it suffers from 232 this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

The village.—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. 342 Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

● 463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. [276] Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no 465 longer raised.

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets manuls called *thirijanun* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four putties; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same manuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 There is a local road which passes by this village running from 489 Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

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311 *Land*—

	ACS.
Wet land	141·30
Dry land	304·29
Land watered by wells	52·19
Common waste	451·35
Pastures other than waste	898·14
Woods and forests	

312 There are two tanks, *Kodipalli cheruvu* and *Varadarajulu kunta*. The first is sufficiently deep though not extensive, and the water stored in the tank is sufficient for two crops. The surplus water is allowed to collect in another small pond. There are fourteen wells, all built round with stone; and one stream when in flood affords an additional water-supply.

311 651 *Classification of lands—According to assessment*—

Wet lands.		Dry lands.	
Rates.	Acres.	Rates.	Acres.
Rs. 4-0-0	18·38	Re. 1	304·29
Rs. 5, Rs. 5-8-0	32·38		
Rs. 6-0-0	21·24		
Rs. 7-0-0	20·35		
Rs. 8-0-0	7·37		
Rs. 9-0-0	1·10		

311 *Occupation of land.*—Of the dry land 109·02 acres, of the wet land 31·50 acres are cultivated by the landowners, the remainder, viz., 32·38 acres of wet land, and 272·79 acres of dry land are sublet and cultivated by tenants.

423 There are about 25 non-cultivating landowners. Some hold Government posts, about 12 are engaged in trade; there are between 30 and 40 tenants who own no land, and the agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land number men 113, women 47.

There are two kinds of ownership, inam and patta. All sirkar lands are held by pattadars. The area of holdings of inam ownership is 127·38 acres. The rest of the cultivable land is held by pattadars. Inamdars pay only quit-rent and road-cess.

There are only about half a dozen pattadars. One family alone owns 97·15 acres of wet and 143·14 acres of dry land.

427 *Rents.*—There are no cultivators who pay a money rent. Everything is paid in kind. The usual arrangement is that the cultivator himself supplies all that is necessary for cultivation, and out of the produce one-half goes to the landowner and the other to the cultivator. There are no other conditions of contract. But when sugarcane is cultivated the landowner gets only one-fourth of the produce.

The whole land revenue comes to Rs. 1,034·7-0, out of which the revenue from the inam lands alone amounts to Rs. 154-3-0.

463 Some of the villagers are engaged in trade side by side with agriculture. Others are potters, dhobis, in addition to being cultivators. Some hold Government posts. Some are contractors.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

237 *Manuring.*—Nearly 90 per cent of the cow-dung is used as manure, the rest being used for household purposes.

Almost all the cattle urine is allowed to run to waste except trifling quantities used for household purposes.

241 The green manure chiefly used is the leaf of the Kanaga tree. Generally all kinds of green leaf are held to be good manure. This is obtained chiefly from the surrounding jungle, licences being obtained on payment of a fee to the Maharaja's Government. Sometimes topes are planted for the purpose.

No other kinds of vegetable manure are largely used. In some cases, for instance in the cultivation of sugarcane, the refuse left after the oil has been squeezed out from the fruit of the Kanaga tree is used.

232 Insect-pests and cattle diseases and the method of combating them are the same as in Thettupalli.

361 *The village.*—The village occupies an area of 9·36 acres. The tendency is for the members of one caste to congregate together. For example all the Muhammadans live in one part of the village together. The Komatis live exclusively in one street.

342 The depressed classes live in dirty and squalid huts of but one room.

There are in the caste village 85 thatched houses, none tiled, 63 terraced; in the Paracheri, only thatched houses 31 in number. There are no gardens adjoining any of the dwellings. The fields lie adjoining and surrounding the village. The most distant field lies about three-quarters of a mile off.

There is a great demand for additional building sites.

435 If land is obtained direct from the Government a fee of ½ anna per square yard is charged, payable on sale. If dry land is acquired for the purpose from pattadars, the value ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre. It is only near this village that the value is so low. Further up the value goes up to nearly Rs. 300 or Rs. 350.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are only two pariahs who weave at all. They use two handlooms.

[288] No hand spinning is practised. Yarn is bought ready made. The other crafts are—

Crafts.	Average time.	Earnings per year.	Remarks.
Blacksmith.	The major part of the day.	About Rs. 300 a year.	He receives customary mamûls. At harvest time gets about 10 puttis of paddy. There are also inams in his name.
Potter ...	The major part of the day and almost throughout the year.	About Rs. 100 a year.	Do.
Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamûls.

438 *Village trade—Purchase of commodities by the village.*—Wood for implements is got from the forests already mentioned. Iron

1 [See category 116, pp. 99-100.—Analyst]

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463 economic system of the community and also of the place occupied in it by the various castes.

Most of the castes have a major craft or occupation which is their traditional monopoly. Besides this they are free to exploit certain other subsidiary sources of livelihood also. The Brahmin, besides functioning as the village priest, may also cultivate his land. The potter, the barber and the washerman occupy themselves mainly with their respective professions, but there is nothing to prevent them from accepting occasional work as field labourers.

● [464] In fact, during the busy agricultural season, when there is a heavy demand on the limited labour supply of the local group, efforts are made to persuade the artisan caste to send their womenfolk to work in the fields for daily wages. Notwithstanding this, a caste is identified with some occupation or other, and established social usage largely governs the modes of practice of this particular occupation.

In the chapter on Social Structure mention has been made of the fourteen village menials who work as semi-government functionaries, generally in return for the grant of a piece of rent-free land by the government. Their work lies mainly in the fields of their caste monopolies. It comprises personal services to touring government officials, as well as certain routine duties for the village as a whole.

437 463 A closer scrutiny of the economic system and its consequent bonds of mutual obligation and expectation reveals four major types of economic dealings and obligations within the caste network into which the community is organized. These are:

(i) Obligations to render to the agriculturists occupational services having a direct bearing on their agricultural activities. No immediate payment is expected for services of this kind. The agriculturists get their ploughs and other implements repaired by the carpenter every year as a matter of routine. Periodically the carpenter supplies new implements. In return for this, twice every year the cultivator gives a share to the carpenter when the crops are harvested. Services of an agricultural nature are generally expected and rendered on this basis. The extent of both the service and the payment is generally fixed by tradition, and depends very much on the size of the holding which the agriculturist is cultivating. Some castes offer their occupational services, even of a non-agricultural nature, to the agriculturists on the tacit understand-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

a number of years, according to law he acquires semi-proprietary rights over them. The landlord does not want this to happen, and so with a view to safeguarding his own interests he leases out his land to different persons in different years. A short-term lease is naturally not conducive to land improvement, for the person cultivating the land does not risk any investment in it. If he does improve it, in one of the following years the landlord may lease it out to someone else who offers to pay more than the person who improved the land. Secondly, those who hold most of the agricultural land in the village are interested in maintaining a supply of cheap agricultural labour, without which it would be impossible for them to cultivate their extensive fields. They benefit more by cultivating their land with the help of this labour, than by leasing out their land. If they leased out all their surplus land the cheap labour supply would appreciably diminish, and for want of competition wages of those who were still available would rise. To avoid this they choose to leave some of their land uncultivated, and thus we have the paradox of having in the same village many land-hungry families and several hundred acres of uncultivated land.

The land belongs to the family, and normally the head of the family exercises control over it. On the death of the father, the land and other agricultural property—such as tools, implements and livestock—are distributed equally among the brothers. Provision is made for the marriage of unmarried daughters as well as for the maintenance of the minor sons of the deceased. In very special cases, with the consent of all the brothers, a widowed sister is also given a small share. But this is a gratuity rather than a rightful share.

The agriculturists have considerable sentiment for their land and cattle. If adversity compels them to sell some of their fields or cattle, the day when this is done becomes a day of semi-mourning for the household. The hour of transfer is indeed a sad one, and the farmer will complete the necessary formalities with a heavy heart. For several days the family atmosphere remains overcast with gloom. The womenfolk may even wail and shed tears of real grief. In the sentiments of an Indian peasant, the Earth occupies a mother's position and parting with a fragment of it is nearly tantamount to separation from the mother. It is surprising how cattle become almost members of the agriculturist's family, and how

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda), copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E, and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history—and legend—rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

Population densities are not high—**170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in Hyderabad. Villages are essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.[28]

Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest, and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an important railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial development is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins; old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness—a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

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Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own internal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

[28] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

438 at a reduced price, generally 13 to 15 rupees per candy, while the market price in summer will be Rs. 23 to 29 per candy. Last year, 249 owing to the appearance of a competing company, Messrs. Simpson & Co., the price was Rs. 35 to 42 per candy. No interest is charged for such debts. (3) They invariably use false stones in weighing the jaggery in the fields, while in the village the company's stones are used. This results in an enormous profit.

With these three sources of profit, the private capitalist is able to realize a profit of Rs. 5 at least per cart (of 8 bags) while daily he sends 3 carts at least to the company's agent. The total export of the village during the summer will be from 17,000 to 20,000 bags; this year (1917) it is 18,000 bags, i.e., 6,000 candies.

556 The rich capitalist makes the largest profit out of this[1] trade. Many of the villagers are now a class of capitalists, great or small. Many that were poor three or four years ago are now able to invest a few hundreds and start independent businesses in this line. There are three people who invested about Rs. 30,000 each this year.

465 The toddy tappers are not materially better off. As a class they are only a little above the level of absolute poverty, while individually, there are only four or five who own a property of Rs. 500. Though their gross earnings are from Rs. 20 to 25 for the three months, the net income will be Rs. 6 to 8 only.

The village barber and washerman earn at least Rs. 30 to 35 during the three months. The lime dealer earns 50 to 60 rupees. The Pariahs who carry firewood get wages at the rate of 4 annas to 6 annas per day. Owners of carts get rent at the rate of Rs. 2 per turn to carry jaggery from the field-huts to Nidadavolu, the headquarters of the company. Makers of tin-pots, used in boiling the toddy, get 100 to 150 rupees. Pariah women prepare baskets of palmyra leaves to hold the jaggery, for which they are paid Re. 1 per 100. Brahmans are employed to prepare the accounts and are paid Rs. 10 per mensem.

Besides these payments for services rendered (which are in the shape of jaggery in most cases) there are certain extra perquisites or "mamuls" which the toddy tapper is compelled to pay. These illegitimate exactions mount up to thousands of rupees. The village servants also get presents, while the coolies are profited by carrying [545] rice or other articles to the fields. There are many small shops opened by retail traders in the fields themselves for the benefit of the tappers; while the performance of two or three dramas, based on some popular mythological story by country actors is not of rare occurrence.

• 464 The effects on the village are innumerable and many sided. One of the greatest difficulties for the Indian labourer is want of proper employment; it is no exaggeration to say that many families are reduced to poverty, simply for want of sufficient local demand for their labour. This village is to a certain extent relieved of this anxiety during a season when, the fields being fallow, they have no agricultural occupation to attend to. Many a poor family would have long ago left the village but for this attraction. Industrially, it has raised the efficiency of every craft, by providing it with more work to turn out. While in all the other seasons the whole village is entirely agricultural in character, in summer it can be said to be industrial and commercial in tone.

[1] [i.e., jaggery. -- Analyst]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available.

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission.

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village.

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals.

The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; in return for the service, the government grants them the use of certain rent-free lands. 27

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596 entitles him to maintain a controlling hand in domestic affairs. In the case of the head of the family also, much depends on the character and personality of the individual concerned. An irresponsible head who becomes a liability to the members of his family forfeits his claim to their obedience and respect, and in such cases the sympathy of the village people is generally given to the dissenting members of the family. Even after separation [527] it is good form to treat the elders with courtesy and respect. On the occasions of family reunions, such as those connected with the crises of life or with the annual offering of water to the spirits of the deceased, it is the eldest member of the family who occupies the dominant position. In general, even after separation his help is sought in cases of disease and difficulty, and in all matters involving priority of one or the other, preference is always given to the elder. The exact position of the head of the family would, however, vary according to the equations of different families, with which we propose to deal later.

622 The Deshmukh also figures at the head of the government or semi-government village officials, whose relative positions can be arranged in a tabular form as follows:

[625]

DESHMUKH
[Combining the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel]

Sub-Inspector of Police
Head Constables
Masters
Constables

Patwari

FOURTEEN VILLAGE MENIALS

i. Kawalkar	viii. Kammari
ii. Talari	ix. Kummari
iii. Majkuri	x. Sakali
iv. Neerudi	xi. Mangali
v. Begari	xii. Ausula
vi. Yetti	xiii. Dappu
vii. Wadla	xiv. Kommu

622 625 465 The Deshmukh is the recognized headman of the village. Two hundred and ten acres of rent-free land, the normal revenue of which would have been Rs. 556/6/-, have been granted to him by the State. He also formally holds the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel; in the former capacity he assists the government officials in the collection of land revenue, in the latter he helps the police in the maintenance of law and order. The Deshmukh used to cultivate the rent-free land earmarked by the government for persons working in these two capacities, but he had delegated his powers

and functions to agents who acted for him. Now he gets a certain percentage of the total revenue collected in the village in lieu of the rent-free land. Thus, theoretically, the Deshmukh is both Mali Patel and Police Patel; but in actual practice these duties are carried out by his agents. In his capacity as Mali Patel of the village the Deshmukh takes steps to ensure the speedy collection of land revenue after each harvest and remits it to the district treasury. The Patwari can seek his assistance in matters connected with the land records and revenue of the village. For this he gets annually 5% of the total land revenue collected in the village. As Police Patel the Deshmukh is entitled to receive another 5% of the revenue collected during the year. In this capacity he has to send regular reports to the police regarding the occurrence of any crime in the village, keep an eye on the 'bad characters' and watch the activities of suspicious strangers. He maintains records of births and deaths in the village. It is his duty to assist the police in all possible ways in their investigations regarding criminal offences in the village. The other officials, such as the sub-inspector of police, head constables, constables and schoolmasters, are not a permanent part of the local population, and as such they do not generally get mixed up in local politics and other affairs. The police officials enjoy both prestige and power and are, in general, greatly feared by the people.

The Patwari, in spite of the fact that he is a petty revenue and land records official, occupies a pivotal position in the village and plays a very significant part in local politics. Being in charge of the land records, he can manipulate things both to the advantage and disadvantage of landowners, who often consult him and ask his advice. Of Patwaris in general it is said, 'What will they not do for a consideration? Give them money and they will prove their own father a bastard.' The present Patwari of Shamirpet is, for one in his position, a man of more than average intelligence and is himself a careful and substantial cultivator who owns some 247 acres of land jointly with his brother. He receives no salary from the government, nor does he have any rent-free land, but a certain percentage of the total land revenue is fixed by the government as his remuneration for the work.

All villages in Hyderabad State, as do most of those of middle and peninsular India, have a number of village menials. Their functions in the internal organization of the village are of two

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

624 465 kinds: routine duties in the everyday life of the village and special duties connected with the arrangements which have to be made for touring government officials arriving in the village. The division of work among these village menials follows in the main the traditional occupations of the different castes. Payment for their work is often nominal. Some of them are paid small monthly salaries; others are granted small fields free of land revenue; while still others supplement their earnings by collecting their 'dues' from the agriculturists of the village at the time of harvesting.

Of the fourteen *kamgars* or village menials, six persons holding four different categories of posts are paid a salary of Rs. 3 per month. The rest enjoy small fragments of rent-free land in return for their part-time government duties. The Kawalkar is responsible for keeping a watch on the village and for patrolling it at night. He must assist the police and the Police Patel in the prevention and detection of crime. He should immediately bring to the notice of the Police Patel any criminal act, epidemic and births and deaths that occur in the village. When required by officers he must carry government mail and revenue remittances. In general it is his duty to assist the touring government officials in their work. He is aided in these tasks by the Talari and the Majkuri. These two menials perform similar functions. The Talari must fetch water for touring officials. The Majkuri must report all relevant matters to the police and to the Deshmukh. The present Kawalkar belongs to the Reddi caste, and the Talari is a Muttarasi. Both the Majkuris are untouchable Malas. The work of carrying government correspondence and money remittances as well as that of patrolling the village falls to the lot of these two Majkuris. At present there are three Neerudis in the village, two of whom are Malas and one a Madiga. It is their duty to look after the tank bund, particularly to keep a watch on the flood-gates and report any damage or suspected foul play. They should also periodically check the water-level in the tank and keep the superior village officers informed. The three Neerudis hold together seven acres of rent-free wet land granted to them by the government. The present Begari belongs to the Mala caste; and besides holding this petty menial position, he is a grave-digger by profession. His main duty is to keep clean the village rest-house, which is used by occasional travellers and officials of low status. He is expected to light fires there during winter evenings, and generally sleeps there at

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

night. Dogs, cats and donkeys dying in the village have to be disposed of by him, for the Madigas only deal with dead cattle and will have nothing to do with other carcases. The Yettis in Shamirpet are from the Sakali and the Madiga castes. The Sakali Yettis do most of the superior kinds of menial work, such as carrying the baggage of touring government officials who would not allow their luggage to be carried by the untouchable Madigas; while the Madiga Yettis have to do all sorts of odd jobs of an inferior nature. They may be required to patrol the village, to keep watch on government buildings and to sweep and clean the village occasionally. They are also required to bring fuel for the use of touring government officials. The Yettis are not paid any salary for their work, and the nominal payments made to them by touring officials bear no proportion to the work done by them. The rest of the village menials are occupational caste groups, also performing some semi-government duties. The Wadla, for example, must repair the flood-gates of the tank, attend to the repairs of furniture and other woodwork in government offices, repair the central flag post in the village and supply free of charge or on nominal payment the pegs required for fixing the tents of touring government officials. When required the Kammari do iron work for the government officials. The Kummari has to supply earthen pots for use on public occasions or for the use of touring government officials. The Sakali cleans the kitchen utensils and plates of touring government officials, washes their clothes and carries their baggage to the next camp. The Mangali lights the lamps in the village rest-house, shaves touring officials and massages their bodies if they require this service. The Ausula has the duty of examining, when required to do so, coins which are believed to be counterfeit. He has also to help the police in weighing stolen ornaments and in making estimates of their approximate market price. Finally, the Dappu and the Kommu, who are both Madigas, play their drums and pipes respectively on public occasions. They make all public announcements by the beat of drum and are, like the Yetti, often required to do other menial work as well.

3. INTER-CASTE AND INTER-VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

The village is a territorial unit, the smallest but most significant among territorial groups in the social organization of the village

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

the shopkeeper and are willing to pay slightly higher prices. They advance money to the people for buying bullocks and agricultural implements. A mortgage is not insisted upon in all cases, but the rate of compound interest which they charge is often exorbitant. The Komtis also advance seed grain to the people. For this, too, they charge a heavy interest. Loans are often taken by people against the mortgage of land or a part of the crops, depending upon the sum of money which they borrow. In Shamirpet the Komtis seem to be the only caste whose monopoly has been seriously affected by the change of times. To-day Shamirpet has in all thirteen shops. If we do not take into account some of the petty shops, four of these belong to Komtis, two to Muslims, two to Toddy-tappers and one to a goldsmith. Even in the field of advancing cash and seeds for agricultural purposes, the Komtis have to face the competition of some of the comparatively rich Reddi and Muslim cultivators.

THE KUMMARI

In Shamirpet there are five families of potters, with fourteen people actually working at the wheel. Each family is attached to some agriculturists in the village, and it periodically supplies them with a certain number of earthen pots for domestic use. Every two or three years they also supply the agriculturists with large baked earthen bins for storing grain. For this they do not expect a cash price. At the time of harvesting the potter visits the fields of the family to which he is attached, and is given *bheek-bali*, that is his share of the new crop. The quantity of grain that is given away depends on the size of the land cultivated, and also partly on the owner's financial circumstances. On the occasion of rituals connected with birth, marriage or death a supply of new pots is expected from him. Tradition has prescribed the minimum payment required for these services, although on happy occasions people often give a little more. If he can arrive at an agreement with the other occupational castes, such as the barber, the washerman and the weaver, he will offer them his services in return for their occupational services to his family. The details are fixed by the parties concerned, and often considerable haggling and making of charges and counter-charges against one another go on. Notwithstanding this, the system works quite satisfactorily, for out of forty-four cases of such mutual arrangements studied very

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or in kind. In the course of a long ceremony, two or three times they may get money, twice or thrice some grain or a few brass or bell-metal utensils, and ultimately a set of new clothes. Like the other castes, the barber and the washerman also work independently outside the system of these traditional arrangements.

OTHER CASTES

Before describing the system of family affiliation between the Madiga untouchables and the agriculturists, brief mention should be made of the other castes in the village.

There is only one family of Katike (Hindu butchers) in the village. In point of social status this family ranks equal to the Kapu group. The head of the family slaughters goats and sheep and sells meat to the villagers. The Muslims slaughter their goats and sheep separately or buy their requirement of beef from the market in the city. Shamirpet is largely a Hindu village, and partly out of regard for the sentiments of the majority community, and partly to avoid trouble, the Muslims do not slaughter cows in the village.

The solitary family of the Darzi (tailor) with an old sewing machine is obviously a new addition to the population of the village. Even by modest city standards the abilities of this tailor in his craft must be regarded as rather crude. Yet he has a fairly good business in the village. Except for the well-to-do people, and a few others who maintain regular contact with the city, all others either buy cheap ready-made clothes, or they get their tailoring done by this man in the village, who also attracts considerable custom from nearby villages.

The families of Vaddars (stone-workers) always have sufficient work, either in Shamirpet itself or in some of the neighbouring villages. Those who can afford a house of a superior type have it built of stone. Use of bricks is very rare in this part of the country and thus practically all substantial houses in the village are of stone. The rocky surroundings of the village provide an ample supply, and the Vaddars, adept in the traditional technique of breaking and shaping stone, turn it into a useful building material. Because of their crude technique the work of the Vaddars is very hard indeed and entails considerable physical exertion. Payment for this work is generally on the basis of piece wages. In the busy agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also on extra wages.

agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra wages.

The Erkalas earn their livelihood through a variety of means. The menfolk are hunters. They are also adept in the use of snares and traps. They train hunting dogs and use them effectively for chasing and tracking wounded animals. When they succeed in getting some game, they retain a part of it for their domestic consumption and sell the rest to the villagers. The women beg in the countryside by singing songs and narrating legends. They also do some fortune-telling. Family earnings are supplemented by basket-making, a task at which both men and women work. They also rear pigs.

THE MADIGAS

The Madigas are the lowest caste in Shamirpet. Economically they constitute the poorest section of the community. While the Malas, who are also untouchables but a degree higher than the Madigas, either cultivate their own land or work as farm labourers for daily wages, the Madigas affiliate themselves to the households of the substantial agriculturists in the village. According to the size of the land-holding of the cultivator, one or more Madiga families permanently attach themselves to him. At every stage of agricultural operations during the year the attached Madiga, and his wife and children, work in the fields of their master. They are not paid any daily wages. After the crops are harvested they have to go and 'beg' in the master's fields or threshing grounds. The conventions of the community have prescribed the rates of payment, mostly on the basis of the area of land under cultivation and the yield during the particular harvest. Thus for a certain area a basic minimum must be given; but if on account of good crops the yield has been high it is expected that the affiliated Madiga family would be given a proportionately larger share. In former times there used to be considerable compulsion, and, being in no position to protest, the Madigas had to slave for their masters, who could be quite ruthless. If the master was kind and considerate, they regarded it as their good luck. On the whole it was advisable for them to tolerate even a bad master, for any protests or refusal to do the allotted work on their part would eventually have meant their being forced to leave the village. Now, of course, conditions have changed, and Madigas do not any longer put up with indig-

1: Dube E-5 (T951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. But they have several other additional means of subsistence open to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village. As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner. From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes. Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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511 426 Analysis of the family budgets of the agriculturists in the village revealed that 10% of them were surplus, 24% were balanced and the rest were deficit budgets. Exact figures regarding the extent of indebtedness could not be obtained as the people invariably sought to conceal information on this subject. According to our rough estimate, 55% to 60% of the families are indebted. As relatively few persons can get agricultural or land improvement loans from the government at a reasonable rate of interest, and as there is no co-operative society in the village, most people have to take recourse to the money-lenders either in the village or, preferably, in a neighbouring one. Petty loans may be obtained from well-to-do shopkeepers and peasants. The rate of interest varies greatly. For large loans a mortgage is generally insisted upon, and anything between 6% and 12% compound interest is charged. For petty loans interest is charged at the rate of 2 annas per rupee per month. If ornaments or other valuables are pawned, the rate of interest is reduced even for the smaller loans. Borrowing in kind also takes place. Seeds are often obtained on loan, and are returned after the harvest with 25% interest. In several cases the indebtedness of the family could be attributed to over-spending in socio-religious ceremonies and litigation rather than to agricultural needs.

241 432 The organization of agricultural pursuits rests mainly on the head of the family, although grown-up sons—if they are living with the parents—are also consulted. When buying or selling land the advice of the elders of the extended family is always obtained. This has to be done before mortgaging family property against loans. The scope for individual initiative and innovations is very limited, for the system of agriculture still largely follows the traditional patterns and is governed to a great extent by the agricultural lore passed from generation to generation through oral tradition.

241 465 Most agriculturists can manage the cultivation of their fields with the help of family labour. The traditional system on inter-caste relations secures for them the specialized services of the occupational castes. The more well-to-do landowners have Madiga families attached to them. However, the migration of some Madiga families and concentration of considerable areas of land in the possession of a few families make it almost essential for many agriculturists to employ additional labour. In the busy season even

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ordinary cultivators have to employ casual labour. The rates of daily wages have now increased considerably. In 1939 a male labourer was paid 3 to 6 annas a day, while a woman was paid 2 to 4 annas. In 1951, men were paid between 1 rupee and 1 rupee 8 annas per day, while the women got 8 to 12 annas per day. Rich landowners employ labourers on the basis of an annual contract also. Rates of payment vary with the age, ability and experience of the person employed; and also partly with the financial position of the employer. According to our statistics wages differ from Rs. 280 to Rs. 120 per year, and may be paid in cash or kind. Depending on the agreement the employee may be paid a cash monthly salary, or he may be paid a part in cash and a part in grain. Very often the agreement includes the following in the wages for the year: an agreed sum at the end of the year, one or two meals a day or a specified quantity of grain every week, and a set or two of new clothes and footwear or a blanket. As a rule advances are drawn from time to time, and when they exceed the stipulated sum the labourer has to agree to work the following year also to repay the debt.

3. THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR

The agriculturists in Shamirpet follow the local almanac. Most of their moves in farm activity depend upon the position of the stars in the sky. According to this almanac a month is divided into two *katis*, each with a duration of approximately fifteen days. Each of these divisions bears a name which indicates a particular position of the stars. According to the traditional agricultural lore of the people the different *katis* are suitable for different kinds of agricultural activities and provide the agriculturist with a schedule for the different stages of his work in the field. Of course, he also takes into consideration other natural factors, such as the possibility of rainfall in the immediate future; but in general his moves follow the time-tested schedule of the Hindu calendar. Muslim agriculturists too follow this calendar and share with their Hindu neighbours their agricultural folklore.

In late summer (i.e. the end of May) the agriculturists keep their fields clear for ploughing in anticipation of a light shower of rain. Invariably there is some rainfall during this period which softens the ground and makes it possible for them to start ploughing. With the advent of this eagerly awaited drizzle the farmers

755 776 782 [465] worship among the Hindus and called *kunkuma*.[1] The cooked rice is put in front of the pot of toddy and bottle of arrack, a ram is killed in sacrifice, and then the toddy-drawer worships the pot and the bottle. The village officials pay him his fee, three-eighths of a measure of rice, three-eighths of a measure of *cholam*[2] and four annas, and then he carries the pot and bottle in procession, and places them under the canopy near the image of Peddamma. Then comes yet another procession. The people go off to the house of the chief official, the Reddy, and bring from it some cooked rice in a large earthenware pot, some sweet cakes, and a lamb. A large quantity of margosa leaves are spread on the ground in front of the image, the rice from the Reddy's house is placed upon them in a heap, and a large heap of rice, from one hundred to three hundred measures, according to the amount of the subscriptions, is poured in a heap a little farther away.

All these elaborate proceedings form only the preparations for the great sacrifice, which is now about to begin. The lamb is first worshipped and then sacrificed by having its throat cut and its head cut off. A ram is next brought and stood over the first large heap of rice, and is there cut in two, through the back, with a heavy chopper, by one of the village washermen. The blood pours out over the rice and soaks it through. One half of the ram is then taken up and carried to a spot a few yards off, where a body of Asādis are standing ready to begin their part in the ceremonies. The other half of the ram is left lying on the rice. The Asādis then begin to sing a long chant in honour of the deity. Meanwhile, the chief sacrifice is made. The buffalo is brought forward, and the Mādigās kill it by cutting its throat (in some villages its head is cut off). Some water is first poured over the blood, and then the pool of blood and water is covered up carefully with earth, lest any outsider from another

[1] Made of turmeric mixed with lime.
[2] A coarse grain, the staple food of the villagers.

4 [ie, the toddy-drawer--Analyst]

647 the executive officer could participate and discuss in the meetings
642 of the Panchayats, he had no right of voting or moving any Resolution.

647 There were three grades in the pay scales of the executive
465 officers. The 1st grade Panchayats were those with an income of Rs. 20,000/- or above; they had executive officers on a pay of Rs. 80/- to Rs. 100/-. The 2nd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 10,000/- to 20,000/- had their executive officers on a scale of Rs. 65/- to Rs. 80/- whereas the 3rd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 5,000/- to Rs. 10,000/- paid Rs. 50/-to Rs. 65/- per mensum to their executive officers. These officers were directly recruited, trained and sent to the Panchayats by the Inspector of Local Boards except in a few cases where clerks from District Boards were also promoted as executive officers.

647 The executive officer and the Panchayat had an irreconcilable
623 hostility as a general rule. This had been the lot of most Panchayats, since legislation did not definitely describe their relative position and responsibilities.

The minor Panchayats had no executive officers. They had usually either part-time clerks or village teachers as their executives. In some places, the clerk of the cooperative society was also the executive of the Panchayat. There was no uniform practice in this regard among the minor Panchayats. In any contemplated reform the position of the executive with regard to the minor Panchayats too, must be finally decided.

Previous to the appointment of the executive officer, the appointment of the establishment personnel was entirely a concern of the President and the members of the Panchayat. But, since his appointment, the recruitment of the staff was handed over to him and he was to appoint the clerks, bill collectors, mistries, sanitary inspectors, and overseers, subject to the consent of the departmental heads concerned. This method had been devised to save the Panchayat staff, from being entirely at the mercy of the members of the Panchayat, who would have appointed them today and dismissed them tomorrow or forced them to become parties to village politics, supporting one party against the other. To keep up the integrity of the Panchayat, the services were now provincialised, and the staff members could also be transferred from one Panchayat to another.

income of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 per annum, the 2nd grade with an income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 and 3rd grade with an income of upto Rs. 10,000. Panchayats with Rs. 5,000 income were classified as minor Panchayats. The first 3 were called the major Panchayats and they had executive officer, while minor Panchayats had no executive officers. 623 652

Grades of the Executive Officers: The grade of the executive officer in the 1st grade Panchayats was from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100, of 2nd grade Panchayats from Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 and of 3rd grade Panchayats from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. They were the servants of the Provincial Government working under the Local Boards. The Panchayats could not have any control over their executives. The executive officer was the chief executive of the Panchayat. He was to guide the Board in constitutional matters, put the resolutions before it for discussion and execute them according to its decision. He attended the meetings of the Panchayat, but was not allowed to vote. He was liable for transfer to any place in the Province. This meant a great hardship as the salary paid to him was too meagre to enable him to live in far off places from his native town. His pay, travelling allowance, dearness allowance and contributions to provident fund were all met by the Panchayat and the State Government paid nothing towards his maintenance. 647 [1465] 623

Executive Officer and the Staff: The executive officer had under him a number of people like the sanitary inspector, the mistries, the supervisor for public works, vaccinators, compounders, midwives, bill collectors, not to speak of the clerical staff and menial staff like the scavengers, thotties, sweepers, lighters, peons, watchmen, etc. He was the appointing authority for staff beneath the clerical grade. The posts of the sanitary inspectors and overseers were advertised by him. They were to be appointed and paid by Panchayat with the approval and sanction of the District Health Officer and the District Engineer. But administratively they were subordinate to the executive officer and had to carry out the duties allotted to them by him. The sanitary inspector would have to look to matters of village sanitation, vaccination, administration of D. N. O. Licenses slaughter houses, clearance of sewage water, cleansing of gutters, cleansing of private and public latrines, etc. Similarly the overseer had to look to the execution of the public works all subject to the general supervision of the executive officer. 624 647

Executive Officers and Panchayat Boards: As a fact, the executive officers and the Panchayat Boards had a very strange relation. The executive officers were a much hated and an unhappy lot in the 647 623 578

C. **Functions**: Table No. 24. 311

Watch: The appointment and pay of the watchers was usually left entirely to the discretion of the Forest Panchayat President and members. Very often the pay per month varied from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12, rarely a watcher was paid Rs. 20 or above. There were instances where he was paid only Rs. 6. 465

In Vizagapatam Bayyavaram Forest Panchayat maintained 3 watchers on a monthly pay of Rs. 10 each. In Pedapalli Forest Panchayat of the same district, there were watchers but each got Rs. 6 per month. In Gokivada Forest Panchayat of the same district the pay of the watcher was Rs. 8.

In Anantapur Dhemaketupalli Forest Panchayat paid Rs. 15 to each of its watchers. In Kurnool East Ramalkota Forest Panchayat paid one watcher Rs. 12 per month and another Rs. 14 p. m. In Jonnagiri, the watcher was paid Rs. 16 p. m.

In Bellary, the pay of the watcher similarly varied from one Forest Panchayat to another.

Lease Amount: The most important item of expenditure in the budget of the Forest Panchayats was the lease amount as it would be noticeable from the table. This depended partly on the extent of the forest area and consequently on the number of coups filled up. 311 652

After these two main items of expenditure i. e. the pay and dress of the watchers and the lease amount paid to the Government, what remained was not very often adequate to spend for the functions extended to the Forest Panchayats, as for instance, maintenance and repair of cairns, the preservation of fuel reserves, the protection of forest from illicit grazing, fire, etc. The paucity of funds was in general responsible for the unsatisfactory nature of the Forest Panchayats in most instances.

The working of the Forest Panchayats in the Ceded Districts was far superior to the working of the Forest Panchayats in any other part of the Presidency. There were of course various levels observable. 311

In Vizagapatam, for instance, they were notorious for their backwardness.

Plantation: Plantation of trees, development of nurseries, repairs of ponds and reconstruction of cairns were the duties which few Panchayats could either afford or care to undertake and finish. Accordingly we found some Forest Panchayats with good finances and doing good work, some with good finances and still doing bad work, 311 313

 [See p. 218, category 316.—Analyst]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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242 [782] The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

232 *Cattle diseases—Kurama.*—The ox or cow when it suffers from this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

342 *The village.*—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

463 [286] *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no longer raised.

465

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets manuls called *thirijanu* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four putties; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same manuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 489 There is a local road which passes by this village running from Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

Economic condition.—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

Current prices—

Rice	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee
Ragi	...	...	10 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	10 " "
Cholam	...	...	9 " "
Tamarind	...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*
Jaggery	...	...	As. 6 "
Chillies	...	...	As. 8 "

The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

Expenditure on religious festivals.—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

Sanitary condition.—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¼ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzalu or cholam about 1¾ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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implements are bought chiefly in Chintamani, about 18 miles off, and also at Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off. 438

Articles of consumption are bought at the weekly fair held here on Tuesdays, also in Chintamani, Kothakota and some other places.

Sale of village produce.—The quantities produced here are: paddy 500 puttis,* ragi 200, † sugarcane to the value of about Rs. 1,500, other millets and pulses to the value of about Rs. 1,000. 433 [804]

Out of this whatever is required for household purposes is retained. The rest, more than 50 per cent, is sold away. The nearest market is Chintamani. Sometimes the grain is transported to Bangalore also.

There are about three local roads, one from Gownipalle to Addegal, a village 4 miles off, one from the village to Manchinillakota, a village 6 miles off, and the other up to Todigol, 6 miles off. Another short road running for three miles runs up to the Mysore frontier. On the other side is British territory and there is no road further up. The local road to Tadigol connects with the Bangalore-Cuddapah road. The nearest commercial centres are Chintamani and Bangalore, accessible by the said road. The nearest railway station is Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off, reached by road. 491 361 [498]

The fair that takes place here every week is a big affair. People from very different parts come here. The fair is nominally held on Tuesday, but it generally extends from Monday to Wednesday. The chief business is carried on in stock, especially sheep and goats. Business in these is carried on to the extent of Rs. 4,000. They are chiefly sent to the Kolar Goldfields for slaughter and consumption. 543 438

Economic condition of village.—The customary rates of wages, in money, are from 2 to 3 annas per day, for a man; and 1½ annas for a woman; in kind, 2 seers of ragi, or 3 seers of paddy to a man, 1½ seers of ragi or 2 seers of paddy to a woman. 465

The current prices of staple foods are— 435

Rice	...	..	...	8 Mysore seers for a rupee.
Ragi	...	...	...	28 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	20 " "
Cholam	...	...	...	14 " "
Tamarind	...	...	...	Re. 1 for a maund.
Jaggery	...	...	...	Rs. 2 "
Chillis	...	...	...	Rs. 4-8-0 "
Dhôll	...	...	...	8 seers for a rupee.

About four or five families have made savings to the extent of Rs. 5,000, but on the other hand others have contracted debts to the extent of Rs. 10,000. Owing to scarcity of rains and failure of crops the people have been obliged to borrow heavily to meet current and occasional expenses. 454 426

There are practically no families who have liberated themselves from debt. While paying off old scores they borrow in new places.

There is a co-operative credit society. The capital is subscribed in shares of Rs. 10 each payable in twenty monthly instalments. 453

* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 48 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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together on the northern and north-east sides of the village. On the northern side, but apart from the village, crowded together in irregular muddy streets of obnoxious smell are the houses of the washermen (70 houses) and the toddy-drawing class (150 in number). All are thatched with palmyra leaves. It is difficult to go into the midst of these huts because of the bad smell.

There are 271 houses in the caste village according to official information, actually 350; 125 in the paracheri.

The village is rather crowded and there is no space for gardens. There is much demand for building sites. There are extensions on the north and south sides into the fields. Some houses contain even two or three families crowded together. From Rs. 2 to 3 per square yard is paid for house-sites. Some of the cultivated land is distant 5½ miles from the home of the cultivator. A hereditary disposition to hate changes, as well as party feelings, and suspicions of inequalities, prevent the ryots from exchanging to get their land continuous. Field huts are used, but mostly for the working seasons only, and are not permanent.

Subsidiary industries.—At the time of the 1891 census there were 69 weavers; in 1901, 17; in 1911, 12; now there are only three. Foreign yarn of 10, 20 and 40 Nos. is purchased from fairs held at Nidadavolu, four miles off. The cloth woven is a very rough sort, used by the very poor classes; 75 per cent of the people prefer and use foreign goods. The implements are of the ordinary country type and of primitive nature. There is no co-operation among the weavers. They are unable to face the mill competition. As they find little demand for their goods, they are frequently forced to go away as agricultural labourers, and practise weaving only as a hobby for leisure hours. A weaver with five sons, as a rule, sends four of them to agricultural work and only one to his own industry. Till 10 years back 95 per cent of the population used to wear the village cloth. Now 75 per cent prefer and use foreign clothing. Two weaving families recently went to Rajahmundry as factory coolies. Ten years ago, many women of low castes used to practise handspinning. A little cotton was grown in the village up to 1912, but latterly it was sold for higher prices than the spinners could pay.

Economic condition of the village—Rates of wages.—Labourers are employed for the day or for the year. In the latter case Rs. 25 per annum is paid to boys and Rs. 50 per annum to men. For daily labourers the wage is three to four annas to men; 1½ to 2 annas to women; 1 to 1¼ annas to children; this may be paid in grain or money, or half in money and half in grain. The only perquisites are at harvest time. Thus for each crop, the yearly labourer receives 8 or 12 seers; on the whole 1 bag nearly. In festivals, they are given only meals and nothing more.

Current prices—

	RS.	A.	P.
Paddy per bag of 166 lb.	5	8	0
Cholam "	9	1	6
Gingelly "	12	8	0
Red gram "	8	6	0
Kambu "	9	6	0
Soap nuts "	7	8	0
Ghee, per tin...	18	0	0

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

438 at a reduced price, generally 13 to 15 rupees per candy, while the
249 market price in summer will be Rs. 23 to 29 per candy. Last year, owing to the appearance of a competing company, Messrs. Simpson & Co., the price was Rs. 35 to 42 per candy. No interest is charged for such debts. (3) They invariably use false stones in weighing the jaggery in the fields, while in the village the company's stones are used. This results in an enormous profit.

With these three sources of profit, the private capitalist is able to realize a profit of Rs. 5 at least per cart (of 8 bags) while daily he sends 3 carts at least to the company's agent. The total export of the village during the summer will be from 17,000 to 20,000 bags; this year (1917) it is 18,000 bags, i.e., 6,000 candies.

556 The rich capitalist makes the largest profit out of this[1] trade. Many of the villagers are now a class of capitalists, great or small. Many that were poor three or four years ago are now able to invest a few hundreds and start independent businesses in this line. There are three people who invested about Rs. 30,000 each this year.

465 The toddy tappers are not materially better off. As a class they are only a little above the level of absolute poverty, while individually, there are only four or five who own a property of Rs. 500. Though their gross earnings are from Rs. 20 to 25 for the three months, the net income will be Rs. 6 to 8 only.

The village barber and washerman earn at least Rs. 30 to 35 during the three months. The lime dealer earns 50 to 60 rupees. The Pariahs who carry firewood get wages at the rate of 4 annas to 6 annas per day. Owners of carts get rent at the rate of Rs. 2 per turn to carry jaggery from the field-huts to Nidadavolu, the headquarters of the company. Makers of tin-pots, used in boiling the toddy, get 100 to 150 rupees. Pariah women prepare baskets of palmyra leaves to hold the jaggery, for which they are paid Re. 1 per 100. Brahmans are employed to prepare the accounts and are paid Rs. 10 per mensem.

Besides these payments for services rendered (which are in the shape of jaggery in most cases) there are certain extra perquisites or "mamuls" which the toddy tapper is compelled to pay. These illegitimate exactions mount up to thousands of rupees. The village servants also get presents, while the coolies are profited by carrying
[545] rice or other articles to the fields. There are many small shops opened by retail traders in the fields themselves for the benefit of the tappers; while the performance of two or three dramas, based on some popular mythological story by country actors is not of rare occurrence.

464 The effects on the village are innumerable and many sided. One of the greatest difficulties for the Indian labourer is want of proper employment; it is no exaggeration to say that many families are reduced to poverty, simply for want of sufficient local demand for their labour. This village is to a certain extent relieved of this anxiety during a season when, the fields being fallow, they have no agricultural occupation to attend to. Many a poor family would have long ago left the village but for this attraction. Industrially, it has raised the efficiency of every craft, by providing it with more work to turn out. While in all the other seasons the whole village is entirely agricultural in character, in summer it can be said to be industrial and commercial in tone.

[1] [i.e., jaggery. -- Analyst]

agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra wages.

The Erkalas earn their livelihood through a variety of means. The menfolk are hunters. They are also adept in the use of snares and traps. They train hunting dogs and use them effectively for chasing and tracking wounded animals. When they succeed in getting some game, they retain a part of it for their domestic consumption and sell the rest to the villagers. The women beg in the countryside by singing songs and narrating legends. They also do some fortune-telling. Family earnings are supplemented by basket-making, a task at which both men and women work. They also rear pigs.

THE MADIGAS

The Madigas are the lowest caste in Shamirpet. Economically they constitute the poorest section of the community. While the Malas, who are also untouchables but a degree higher than the Madigas, either cultivate their own land or work as farm labourers for daily wages, the Madigas affiliate themselves to the households of the substantial agriculturists in the village. According to the size of the land-holding of the cultivator, one or more Madiga families permanently attach themselves to him. At every stage of agricultural operations during the year the attached Madiga, and his wife and children, work in the fields of their master. They are not paid any daily wages. After the crops are harvested they have to go and 'beg' in the master's fields or threshing grounds. The conventions of the community have prescribed the rates of payment, mostly on the basis of the area of land under cultivation and the yield during the particular harvest. Thus for a certain area a basic minimum must be given; but if on account of good crops the yield has been high it is expected that the affiliated Madiga family would be given a proportionately larger share. In former times there used to be considerable compulsion, and, being in no position to protest, the Madigas had to slave for their masters, who could be quite ruthless. If the master was kind and considerate, they regarded it as their good luck. On the whole it was advisable for them to tolerate even a bad master, for any protests or refusal to do the allotted work on their part would eventually have meant their being forced to leave the village. Now, of course, conditions have changed, and Madigas do not any longer put up with indig-

1: Dube E-6 (T951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. But they have several other additional means of subsistence open to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village. As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner. From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes. Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Muslims

relating to work are different. Among them also, labourers are hired for heavy manual labour, such as carrying loads; but menfolk do not object to ploughing their own fields, nor avoid out-of-door work. Of course, the women mainly look after the management of their household affairs and are never expected to earn for the family's support.

The conditions on the two lower levels are more or less similar to one another. Unlike the two upper levels, the menfolk from these groups can be compelled to do government work on a nominal payment. They do most of their work with the assistance provided by the members of the family itself. Even when labourers are engaged by the 'average' people, members of the family continue to work side by side with hired men and women. On both these levels women have comparatively greater freedom. They work out of doors, assist the menfolk in their agricultural activities and crafts, and go out for marketing. Women from 'average' families work mostly in their own homes and in family fields, but during the busy agricultural season they can work for wages as well. This is not regarded as derogatory in any sense. In the poor families, on the other hand, women have to work very hard for, besides doing their quota of work in the running of the home and assisting the husband in agriculture and caste occupation, they have to accept occasional work for wages. Among some of the lower castes, women are expected to work and earn for the upkeep of the family.

4. DIET

The standard of living of a family is judged very often from the quality and quantity of its food. In describing the status and standard of a family, people generally say 'they eat well', 'they live somehow, eating the little that they can grow' or 'they live like animals, eating even wild leaves, flowers and roots'. However, the basic diet of the people consists of rice, millets, lentils, meat and fish. The difference in standards of living is judged by the quantity and kind of rice eaten, the frequency of meat intake in the diet and by the use of spices, fats and oils, jaggery and sugar in the food. Green and powdered red chillies are used by all classes of people in considerable quantities. Vegetables are grown in the backyards during the rainy season, and eaten when ready. When

476 discharge of their functions. Tradition approves of such an arrangement, and mutual trust and inter-dependence ensure its continuity. Where this arrangement is accepted, a system of attachment of some families to certain other families naturally [433] follows. Agriculture being the most important activity of the countryside, the number of agriculturists is naturally the largest in the village population. These constitute the bulk of those who require and accept the occupational services of small caste groups offering them. Even the occupational castes stand in need of one another's services, although the number of families from each caste offering them within a village community is of necessity small. Each family will, therefore, attach itself to a number of families in the village and offer them services both in agricultural pursuits and socio-religious rites and ceremonies. Among the occupational castes themselves also there is a system of family attachments in operation. In Shamirpet some family affiliations date back to the time of the foundation of the village. Later immigrants either secured the services of some of the established families of the occupational castes, or they made arrangements with some of the newcomers to the village belonging to those castes.

476 623 626 This sytem is both complex and delicate. It is not easy for an agriculturist to remove a family attached to his household and secure the services of another. For example, A, a barber, is attached to the family of B, an agriculturist. If for any reason B is greatly dissatisfied with the services of A and wants those of another, he cannot abruptly dismiss A. His difficulty will not be in dismissing him, but in finding a substitute. Each of these castes [467] has its own inter-village council. Occupational castes have a developed trade unionism, and their code of professional ethics and etiquette too is very rigid. The dismissed person will be protected by this professional etiquette. No one else would be willing to act as a substitute, for fear of being penalized by the caste *panchayat*. It may even be difficult for a number of families to join together and import a family belonging to that occupational caste from a different village. First, under these conditions of tension, an outside family would not come for fear of social pressure and ultimate ostracism for such an action. And if they do come, the caste fellows already in the village will make things very difficult, even unbearable, for them. In the course of our investigations,

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[For additional information on the growth of business and industrial organization see category 433, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

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zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda), copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E, and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history—and legend—rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

Population densities are not high—**170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in Hyderabad. Villages are essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.[28]

Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest, and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an important railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial development is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins; old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness—a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

Telangana: Aspect and Prospect

Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own internal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

[28] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
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Tungabhadra scheme; but the history of large-scale irrigation here is discouraging, though of course much experience has been gained since the Kurnool failure. With the development of hydro-electricity there may come decentralised industrial development on the Mysore model; but Mysore had a more solid backing in at least some industry, sericulture and Bhadravati iron for instance, to give a base. Telangana is not without resources such as oilseeds and fibres (including sheep and goat wool), and in view of *India's* shortages in non-ferrous metals development of the poor communication net might lead to at least some exploitation of the scattered minerals. But when all is said, it seems likely that Telangana will remain, if not a backward, at least a poor country.

The Anantapur-Chittoor Basins

Between the bold scarp of the Palkonda Range and the higher Mysore levels are a series of basins around the middle courses of the Penner tributaries—Chitravati, Papagni, Punchu/Cheyyeru, the last two with a remarkable confluence-gorge in the Palkondas. To the SE the sub-region breaks down to the Nellore/Coromandel plains through the little intermont basins of the Nagari Hills (up to 2800 ft) and through the broader Swarnamukhi valley, which may occupy a fault-trough under the Palkondas. The whole area is crossed by N/S or NE/SW trap dykes, which may also have some influence on the remarkable drainage-pattern.

The area is isolated and poor, except in the extreme SE—the Nagari valleys, culturally transitional to Tamilnad. Only 20% of Chittoor Dt is cultivated—less than any other Madras District except the Nilgiris—but the density is **304**, intermediate between the Ceded Districts (*c.* **185**) and the coastal plains (**450–650**). Millets account for over 40% of the cropped area, followed by rice and groundnuts (24 and 14%).

There is no urban or industrial development worth mentioning. The Nagari basins are better cultivated than those of the plateau, but even they are not very impressive agriculturally: their flattish floors are broken by patches of sandy soil, almost bare but for a thin grass/acacia cover, and by naked rock exfoliation surfaces, looking like *roches moutonnées* and often used as threshing floors. Around the plain a lateritic piedmont slope fringes the craggy hills, with boulders as big as a small house on the talus slopes. Below the lateritic apron is a better-watered and more fertile piedmont strip, which is in places a solid belt of paddy, the zone of bush and trees along the laterite margin being a favoured settlement-line. It is a strange landscape: fantastic hills, stacked and pinnacled, long ridges capped by massive quartzites, reflected in the still waters of the big tanks with their borders of toddy palms; an eerily attractive picture under iron-blue or grey skies.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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12 m.; dentities increase from Ganjam (420) to E Godavari (714) and then decrease to Guntur (393); beyond the regional limits Nellore, with more Archaean terrain than the central parts of the Circars, and less (and less reliable and well distributed) rain than the Nn, had only 204. On the whole it seems best to treat Ganjam/Vizagapatam and the deltas separately.

(a) *The North*: *Ganjam and Vizagapatam* (*Vizakhapatnam*)

Essentially this is the area with over 40 ins.: the three Sn taluks of Vizagapatam fall a little short of this. The lowland narrows to 12 miles under Mahendragiri, but on either side of this gate are the embayments of the Rushikulya (Ganjam) and the Languliya and Vansadhara (Vizag) valleys. The plains are floored by red lateritic soils near the hills, shading off into black loams and clays; but they are cut up by numerous irregular outliers of the En Hills: thus Vizagapatam itself lies between the 1600-ft Kailana Ridge to the N and the 1100-ft Yaroda to the S; the latter runs out to sea in the bold cliffs (300 ft) of Dolphin's Nose which shelters the port, while in the Nn suburbs of the town are the peculiar Waltair Highlands, *c.* 150 ft high and formed largely by the accumulation, since the Pleistocene, of red loams partly fluviatile and partly perhaps aeolian.[3]

Of a TSA of some 4 m. ac., rice accounts for about 1·65 m. ac., ragi 390,000, oilseeds (chiefly groundnut) 500,000, the balance being widely distributed amongst millets and pulses mainly. Irrigation is on the whole unimportant, much of it being dependent on temporary mud-and-brushwood dams across the short rivers.

Mineral resources are few—graphite, manganese, kaolin, mica—and hardly developed; a potential resource of some interest in this atomic age, though limited in amount in comparison with other *Indian* occurrences, is the ilmenite and monazite in the dunes and beaches around Vizagapatam.[4]

Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

Again there is only one real town, 'Vizag' itself (**108,042**), which has developed considerably since the opening of the railway up the Languliya valley to Raipur and the subsequent dredging of a deep-water harbour in the tidal marshes. The accommodation at quayside is limited, but it is more up-to-date than at most E coast ports. The selection of Vizag as the main shipbuilding centre of *India* is presumably because of its situation as the nearest *ocean* port to Jamshedpur, but it is still a long way round. Ships up to 8000 tons have been launched. The hinterland extends to Nagpur and the chief trade is in Madhya Pradesh (CP) manganese, and oilseeds and their products. The small ports of Bimlipatam and Gopalpur are quite

[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Sathapathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *IGJ* XXIV (1949), 26–51.

[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

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For the purely delta taluks, of course, the rice proportion would be higher. Tobacco covers some 200,000 ac. in all, the best being grown on temporary sand-islands in the larger streams. Some sugar is grown, but this tall and long-standing crop must be protected from cyclones by expensive fencing with bamboos.

Again mineral potentialities are slight and development slighter. There are two tiny unworked coalfields, of dubious value, in the Gondwanas along the Godavari; graphite and kaolin are worked in a small way, mainly for Rajahmundry paper mills (which use paddy straw as well as bamboo from the hills) and for the small crucible industry at the same town. Salt evaporation at Cocanada might lead to a chemical industry. Industry itself, though very small-scale, is interesting; as well as the Rajahmundry works just mentioned, and the rice and tobacco trades to be expected, there are cement, silk, fruit canning, and vegetable ghee works. Most of these are congregated along the Kistna below Bezwada and between Rajahmundry and Cocanada. Varied as it is, the total is not impressive: the crucible industry has 150 skilled workers, the paper mill a capacity of 3000 tons p.a.; the 77 rice mills in E Godavari employ only 1800 workers, the three silk factories 122; and the total industrial population of this District is only 7200—0·39% of total population, and at that not much below the figure for Madras State (0·42%). Such as it is, this industrial development has yet led to an ominous, if incipient, competition for land in a few tracts between tobacco and paddy; fortunately the region, except for Guntur, has a sizeable rice surplus (about 400,000 tons less 110,000 tons deficit in Guntur); and counting all foodgrains Guntur also has a surplus.[1]

The industrial, and to some extent the agricultural, future of the region will depend on whether or not the great Ramapadasagar multi-purpose scheme is executed; at present financial difficulties stand in the way. The proposed dam, 428 ft high with foundations 190 ft below the river bed, and 1½ miles long, would impound 15·6 m. ac.-ft of water, irrigate for paddy some 2·35 m. ac. of un- or under-developed land, improve the supply to 2 m. ac. already irrigated, and develop at least 100,000 kW; it might also, and less beneficially, trap the silt.

There are a fair number of minor towns. The site-significances of Bezwada (**161,198**) and Rajahmundry (**105,276**) are plain; Guntur (**125,253**) and Ellore (64,911) are trading centres with a little industry. The ports of Cocanada (75,140) and Masulipatam (59,146) are of little use. At Masulipatam large ships must lie 5 miles offshore (weather permitting!) and the half-dozen wharves are three miles up a winding creek; yet in early European days it was a place of great importance, famous for carpets and

[1] This discussion is based on (i) Dr. V. L. S. P. Rao's interesting summary of his doctoral dissertation, "Industrial Problems, Development, and Planning [in] ... the Lower Godavari Region" (*JGJ* XXIII (1948), 1–15); (ii) V. V. Ramanadham and V. L. S. P. Rao, *Economic Atlas of Andhra Desa* (Calcutta, 1949).

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369 chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the
504 cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days
167 of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

133 The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tiru-
312 patti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

133 Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses
311 and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between
[339] low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

312 The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

135 Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral
● 471 wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

631 The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which neverthe-
197 less is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

[For additional material dealing with government regulation or the development of industry see category 656 in 6: Spate AW1 India.]

INTRODUCTION

621 patterns of adjustment with the outside world and the degree of
184 influence and prestige in the wider rural community that any attempt to combine them would be tantamount to overlooking significant sociological facts. The residents of the large villages look upon themselves as the leaders of the rural community, regarding those from smaller villages as a little less civilized and those from small hamlets as rustics. The man from the smaller village is suspicious and critical about the ways of the people from bigger villages, but he has in his heart of hearts an admiration and respect for them. To him also the people living in still smaller settlements
[476] appear to be rather crude and rustic. As the division of labour in
[463] the community is governed to a very great extent by traditional caste occupations, and co-operative labour of a number of different castes is required not only for agricultural activities, but also for socio-religious life, the large village, having within its population all the occupational castes, has a comparatively more integrated and self-sufficient economic and socio-religious life than the smaller villages, which, in the absence of one or more occupational castes, may have to depend on some other settlement. Because of its multi-caste constitution, larger population and greater complexity of internal problems, the organization of the larger village is often remarkably different from that of smaller villages. In fact, some of the smaller villages and hamlets come to be regarded as appendages of the larger villages, and although they have considerable autonomy in domestic matters they are very greatly influenced by the views and preferences of their larger neighbour.

The ethnic and linguistic composition of a village, as well as its caste constitution, also determines its character. The structure, ethos and problems of a wholly tribal village will be very different from those of a village with a mixed or homogeneous population. A tribal village is often unitary in respect of its authority structure, the tribal authority itself being supreme in secular, ritual and cultural village matters. On the other hand, in the case of a village which has a mixed population of tribes on the one hand and Hindu castes on the other, or of two different groups of parallel Hindu castes separated from each other by the fact that they speak different languages and belong to different culture-areas, or of Hindus and Muslims, the nature of its internal organization and authority is bound to be different. If the diverse elements of its population have equal strength—numerical as well as economic—

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ing that they too will have their share after the crops are harvested. Thus, the potter periodically supplies the agriculturist with earthenware and pots for his normal requirements. The barber does the hair-cutting and shaving of the members of the agriculturist's family on this basis. The washerman, too, follows this rule in so far as established cultivators of the village are concerned.

(ii) Obligations to render some occupational services, to the agriculturists as well as to many non-agriculturists, having a bearing on their socio-religious life. Castes such as the barber, the washerman, the carpenter and the potter, and the Madiga have definite functions in the rites and ceremonies connected with the major crises of life. These are performed by them as a matter of routine, without any direct negotiations regarding the wages that they may expect in return for their services. Convention has fixed the basic minimum, and in the course of ritual duties, at different points, a part of this payment has to be made. Depending on their status and financial position, people pay something more for these services at the completion of the ceremony.

(iii) Obligations to render some occupational services to other occupational castes in return for their traditional services. As an example, it may be pointed out that a barber will attend to the grooming of hair and shaving of the members of a weaver's family to which he is attached. No cash payment is either expected or made. However, every year the weaver will give him a few yards of cloth and possibly a *sari* or two for his wife.

(iv) Occupational services rendered with an expectation of cash payment in return for the work. Casual visitors to the village can get the services of the barber only when they pay cash. For making a bullock cart, or for preparing timber for use in the construction of a house, a carpenter would first settle his wages and then undertake to do the work. In this respect he would not make an exception even in the case of established cultivators to whose households his family may have been attached for several years, even for decades. The Vaddar stone-workers also usually undertake an assignment only when the obligations on both sides are settled.

For most of the castes economic dealings falling in category (iv), described above, are of a casual nature, though their economic returns through them may be quite substantial. With a few exceptions, most of the castes have to accept a basis of reciprocity in

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

476 discharge of their functions. Tradition approves of such an arrangement, and mutual trust and inter-dependence ensure its continuity. Where this arrangement is accepted, a system of attachment of some families to certain other families naturally [433] follows. Agriculture being the most important activity of the countryside, the number of agriculturists is naturally the largest in the village population. These constitute the bulk of those who require and accept the occupational services of small caste groups offering them. Even the occupational castes stand in need of one another's services, although the number of families from each caste offering them within a village community is of necessity small. Each family will, therefore, attach itself to a number of families in the village and offer them services both in agricultural pursuits and socio-religious rites and ceremonies. Among the occupational castes themselves also there is a system of family attachments in operation. In Shamirpet some family affiliations date back to the time of the foundation of the village. Later immigrants either secured the services of some of the established families of the occupational castes, or they made arrangements with some of the newcomers to the village belonging to those castes.

476 623 626 This sytem is both complex and delicate. It is not easy for an agriculturist to remove a family attached to his household and secure the services of another. For example, A, a barber, is attached to the family of B, an agriculturist. If for any reason B is greatly dissatisfied with the services of A and wants those of another, he cannot abruptly dismiss A. His difficulty will not be in dismissing him, but in finding a substitute. Each of these castes [467] has its own inter-village council. Occupational castes have a developed trade unionism, and their code of professional ethics and etiquette too is very rigid. The dismissed person will be protected by this professional etiquette. No one else would be willing to act as a substitute, for fear of being penalized by the caste *panchayat*. It may even be difficult for a number of families to join together and import a family belonging to that occupational caste from a different village. First, under these conditions of tension, an outside family would not come for fear of social pressure and ultimate ostracism for such an action. And if they do come, the caste fellows already in the village will make things very difficult, even unbearable, for them. In the course of our investigations,

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

we recorded three cases of protracted antagonism between a group of employing families and the occupational caste families employed. In one of them the dissatisfied employer agreed to retain the family on its promise of doing better work in the future. In another the caste people arrived at an amicable settlement by attaching another family to the employer, and attaching the dismissed caste member to a newly-settled family in the village. The third one dragged on for a little less than four years, and, yielding to the pressure and persuasion of the village elders, the caste agreed to give a substitute. The employer in this case was a hot-headed farmer, but he was a man of some wealth and considerable influence, and as such he could secure the effective intervention of the village elders in his own favour.

According to our informants 'the system to-day is not what it was a decade or two ago'. Many attribute this change to the spirit of individualism which is now manifesting itself in several walks of life in the countryside, and is bringing about changes in the established patterns of life. 'In former times,' said an agriculturist, 'these low classes knew their position and behaved themselves well. If they worked satisfactorily they were treated by us very well. In fact, with the passage of time, our relations became more and more intimate. I remember those days when a barber's son would come into the courtyard, offer salutations to us and say "Uncle, the headman has called you" or "Mother, the ceremony in the neighbour's house is about to start and they are awaiting you." In many cases they were just like the members of our family, and although both parties maintained the traditional caste distance, we could always take each other into confidence even on matters of a delicate nature. But now things have changed. Those boys don't want to work here. They want to go to the city. They are not satisfied with the traditional arrangements of payment; and so there is difficulty.' However, the system still continues more or less in its established, traditional form. Urban contacts, education or attraction of something better or more lucrative, may distract a young man, causing him to refuse to replace his old or deceased father's services with a family to which they were attached, but one of his poorer and less ambitious brothers or cousins will always be willing to take up the work.

We shall now examine the main economic functions and activities of the major caste groups in the village.

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the shopkeeper and are willing to pay slightly higher prices. They advance money to the people for buying bullocks and agricultural implements. A mortgage is not insisted upon in all cases, but the rate of compound interest which they charge is often exorbitant. The Komtis also advance seed grain to the people. For this, too, they charge a heavy interest. Loans are often taken by people against the mortgage of land or a part of the crops, depending upon the sum of money which they borrow. In Shamirpet the Komtis seem to be the only caste whose monopoly has been seriously affected by the change of times. To-day Shamirpet has in all thirteen shops. If we do not take into account some of the petty shops, four of these belong to Komtis, two to Muslims, two to Toddy-tappers and one to a goldsmith. Even in the field of advancing cash and seeds for agricultural purposes, the Komtis have to face the competition of some of the comparatively rich Reddi and Muslim cultivators.

564 443 426 [477]

THE KUMMARI

In Shamirpet there are five families of potters, with fourteen people actually working at the wheel. Each family is attached to some agriculturists in the village, and it periodically supplies them with a certain number of earthen pots for domestic use. Every two or three years they also supply the agriculturists with large baked earthen bins for storing grain. For this they do not expect a cash price. At the time of harvesting the potter visits the fields of the family to which he is attached, and is given *bheek-bali*, that is his share of the new crop. The quantity of grain that is given away depends on the size of the land cultivated, and also partly on the owner's financial circumstances. On the occasion of rituals connected with birth, marriage or death a supply of new pots is expected from him. Tradition has prescribed the minimum payment required for these services, although on happy occasions people often give a little more. If he can arrive at an agreement with the other occupational castes, such as the barber, the washerman and the weaver, he will offer them his services in return for their occupational services to his family. The details are fixed by the parties concerned, and often considerable haggling and making of charges and counter-charges against one another go on. Notwithstanding this, the system works quite satisfactorily, for out of forty-four cases of such mutual arrangements studied very

323 564 [465] [476]

323 564 closely at Shamirpet only in six were the relations finally broken off on account of dissatisfaction to either or both parties. Non-agriculturists and such occupational castes as do not have arrangements with the potter buy their requirements from him for a cash price. The Kummari families of Shamirpet have more clients and customers in some of the neighbouring villages which have no potters' families living in them.

THE GOLLA

[361] 233 564 476 The shepherds occupy a block of their own in the village. Some of them cultivate small land-holdings, but the major source of livelihood for all of them is their traditional occupation of keeping herds of goats and sheep. They may keep one or two cows and buffaloes besides these herds which are their livelihood. They have an elaborate lore regarding these animals, and they are experts in caring for quite large herds. They train country dogs to help them in this, and with their aid prevent the goats from going [782] astray when they are taken out for grazing in the forest. By turns the Golla families in the village contribute goats or sheep for sacrifice in the village ceremonies. For this they are not paid. With this exception, they carry on all other transactions with the village people in cash. When people buy goats and sheep, the owner of the animal is always paid in cash. For goat's milk they expect spot payment, but arrangements for weekly or monthly payments may be made in the case of regular buyers. However, in one respect they may also enter into an agreement with the agriculturists which may entitle them to a small share of each harvest. After the harvest, when all the crops have been reaped, the agriculturists ask the Gollas to graze their herds on their fields and keep them penned in during the night. As there is very little fodder in the fields, the shepherds take the goats and sheep out for grazing in the nearby forest, and during the night keep them in the field. [241] The urine and dung of the herd is believed to be good manure, and as such this service is much in demand by the agriculturists. The shepherds often fix days with the agriculturists, and each one has his turn only on a limited number of days. According to the nature of agreement between the cultivators and the shepherds, the payment is either in cash or the latter collect their dues from the fields at the time of harvesting.

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ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

THE SALE

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THE GAONDLA

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The villagers in this area are very fond of *sendi*, or fermented palm juice. The Gaondla shops are the centre of attraction in the evenings for men—young and old—as well as for many middle-aged and old women. This caste has the monopoly of tapping the different kinds of palm trees, and also of selling the fermented juice, and has admirably succeeded in maintaining it, notwithstanding the introduction of the system by which government leases trees to the highest bidders irrespective of their caste. In Shamirpet, so far, there has been no challenge to their monopoly; although occasionally the Madigas and other poor people steal juice from the pots tied to the trees by the Gaondlas. The Gaondlas first mark out the trees to be tapped, then actually tap them in the afternoons and evenings, and tie pots at the points where each tree has been tapped to collect the dripping juice. Early next morning they go round to these trees again, climb up, and bring back to the village all the juice collected during the night. This is kept by them in large earthen pots and retailed to customers on demand, expecially in the afternoon and in the evening. One of the Gaondla families in the village has a government contract for other liquors and intoxicants. In addition to the fermented palm juice, that shop also sells several other varieties of liquor obtained from distilleries

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

stay at home. The middle-aged people have in effect the controlling hand in village affairs; the truly aged retire into insignificance and fade away. Some people cannot become reconciled to such retirement, having enjoyed authority and influence during their active days. They find adjustment difficult, and a life of dependence rather trying. But most people accept their position with good grace, leave active management of the home and family occupations to their sons and consequently find that their adjustment is much less difficult and inconvenient.

3. CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT

Within the village community there is an appreciable degree of inter-caste and inter-family co-operation. Earlier it has been pointed out that the social system enjoins co-operation between a number of castes in the fields of economics and ritual. Several aspects of community life depend for their smooth running on this traditional system of mutual give and take. Apart from these conventional ties which are a constituent part of the social structure, several relationships involving voluntary co-operation can be observed. The simplest type of such voluntary co-operation found between neighbours or between friendly families is the system of 'accommodating' each other in time of need. Borrowing little sums of money or small quantities of grain, cooking for a friend during her menstrual impurity or confinement, and looking after children during the short absence of the mother may be cited as examples of this type of co-operation. House building and annual roof repairs also call for the help of friendly neighbours among the peasants of average and poor economic status. Careful mental note is made of all such favours received, so that they may be returned at the appropriate time. Refusing help and returning favours inadequately are looked upon as gestures of unfriendliness or as marks of 'a small heart'. Emergency aid is rushed to friend and foe alike. In cases of serious illness, fire or other accidents it is necessary to help a fellow villager; and in all such cases aid is rarely refused. Socio-religious ceremonies, particularly marriage, and those connected with death, are also important occasions that demand co-operation and help from neighbours and fellow villagers. The burden of the household in which the ceremony is to be performed is considerably lightened because of the help

LIVING TOGETHER

476 571 given by friends and neighbours. The average and poor peasants extend this co-operation to the sphere of economic activities also, particularly during weeding and harvesting their families help each other in the speedy completion of the work. Among the occupational castes, families of a specific caste-group are expected to accommodate each other during time of illness, difficulty or temporary incapacity, by lending manual or monetary assistance to them for continuing their vocational craft. Fairs and ceremonies organized by the village reveal the co-operative spirit in the community. On some such occasions, one faction or other may refuse co-operation—sometimes it may even cause obstructions and create difficulties, but on the whole it can be said that organizers have the enthusiastic support of the bulk of the community and dissidents tend to lose the sympathy of wavering camp followers. In inter-village quarrels as well as on all such occasions that demand vindicating the honour of the village, the residents of the settlement often act with spirited unison. Behind most forms of voluntary co-operation there are no social sanctions; but the general attitude of society regards them as desirable and necessary. In the words of an informant, 'Who can say that he will not require help from anyone at any time? Money can buy many things. Power too can get many things done. But there are several situations in which neither money nor power helps. When you require sympathy and help your neighbours come forward.' To quote another informant, 'To-day you are well; to-morrow you may be very seriously ill and it may not be possible for you to get a doctor. What saves your life? A cheap herbal concoction suggested by your neighbour! One can never know how and when one is going to need the help of another.' Finally to quote a third informant, 'To-day I need your help; to-morrow you may want it from me. Why do we live in a village? Why do we not live in the wilderness? Only because we cannot do without human sympathy and occasional help.' Rendering help at the time of need is of value in itself. It partially relieves the distress of the person receiving help; and gives a psychological satisfaction to the person giving it, who incidentally also gains some social prestige through it.

578 But I do not want this picture of co-operation to be too idyllic, for conflicts and tensions in the community are also numerous. The analysis of the quality of inter-personal relations in the community,

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

the shopkeeper and are willing to pay slightly higher prices. They advance money to the people for buying bullocks and agricultural implements. A mortgage is not insisted upon in all cases, but the rate of compound interest which they charge is often exorbitant. The Komtis also advance seed grain to the people. For this, too, they charge a heavy interest. Loans are often taken by people against the mortgage of land or a part of the crops, depending upon the sum of money which they borrow. In Shamirpet the Komtis seem to be the only caste whose monopoly has been seriously affected by the change of times. To-day Shamirpet has in all thirteen shops. If we do not take into account some of the petty shops, four of these belong to Komtis, two to Muslims, two to Toddy-tappers and one to a goldsmith. Even in the field of advancing cash and seeds for agricultural purposes, the Komtis have to face the competition of some of the comparatively rich Reddi and Muslim cultivators.

THE KUMMARI

In Shamirpet there are five families of potters, with fourteen people actually working at the wheel. Each family is attached to some agriculturists in the village, and it periodically supplies them with a certain number of earthen pots for domestic use. Every two or three years they also supply the agriculturists with large baked earthen bins for storing grain. For this they do not expect a cash price. At the time of harvesting the potter visits the fields of the family to which he is attached, and is given *bheek-bali*, that is his share of the new crop. The quantity of grain that is given away depends on the size of the land cultivated, and also partly on the owner's financial circumstances. On the occasion of rituals connected with birth, marriage or death a supply of new pots is expected from him. Tradition has prescribed the minimum payment required for these services, although on happy occasions people often give a little more. If he can arrive at an agreement with the other occupational castes, such as the barber, the washerman and the weaver, he will offer them his services in return for their occupational services to his family. The details are fixed by the parties concerned, and often considerable haggling and making of charges and counter-charges against one another go on. Notwithstanding this, the system works quite satisfactorily, for out of forty-four cases of such mutual arrangements studied very

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

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31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

Socially, it increases drunkenness in the lower classes; and I find more crimes in summer than in other seasons. 273 674

But it has turned the honest and sympathetic ryots into greedy money-lenders and capitalists. It has increased the lust for gold. True that the poorer classes have an opportunity of clearing off their family debts; true that they find sufficient food to eat in summer at least; true that there is more money in the village now than 20 years ago. But equally is it true that there are more debts now; that the gulf between the rich and the poor is widened more and more; that the once poor are now poorer and the once rich now richer. There is greater struggle, greater competition, and greater rises and falls of life. 178 556 477

Economic history of the village.—When compared with fifteen years ago, the village has, on the whole, progressed economically. True that estates once united are now split up into fragments; and that the once poor have now become poorer. True that there are cases where people borrow money and purchase land with it; and then sell it again to clear off that debt some years later. Still the village has improved. There is increase and improvement in agriculture. Many fields that were once forest are now brought under cultivation. There is more money in the village now than 20 years ago, more produce is now exported from the village than before. The introduction of the railway near by has revolutionized the commercial condition of the village. Prices have risen both of the commodities produced and of land in general, three or four-fold. There is a greater inflow of foreign goods into the village. Kerosene oil has completely driven out castor oil. There are sixteen Japanese wind-proof lamps in the village. The standard of living has decidedly been raised. Among the lower castes to eat solid food was a luxury; conjee, prepared of korra and ragi, was the food for all the lower castes, including Sudras. Now they all eat rice and cholam and wear better clothing. But the money is ultimately finding its destination into the hands of the rich money-lenders. Formerly there was enough corn in the land and there was a sort of self-sufficiency. Now there are more debts, consequently more ruin of families with the higher rates of interest, and greater servitude and misery. 178

If the Government were to open a sugar factory and utilize the jaggery, both the Government and the villagers would be profited. Wells can be very profitably sunk in the fields. But the ryots never do it, though it costs only Rs. 200. A ryot is prepared to spend even Rs. 1,500 in litigation but not Rs. 200 for a well in his fields, even though he is rich and knows that it is profitable. By example they may improve.

The Brahmans have almost lost their former property for want of any profession, while they incur heavy expenses for marriages, etc. Only one family is now well off. The Vaisyas too have lost their former lands by litigation, marriages, and other expenses. On the whole, the Sudras have grown richer, both with agriculture and the jaggery trade, and the rise of prices for their produce. The weavers, washermen, the Panchamas, many of the Sudras, are growing poorer; they are selling off the little lands they have for debts and other expenses.

Lands are sold chiefly to clear off old debts, though there are some cases where profits tempt people to purchase or sell. The 426

½ [i.e. The seasonal nature of industrial employment—Analyst]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

the death of Kemal Yar Jung the property came under the administration of the Court of Wards. In the meantime, vast changes were taking place in Hyderabad. After the Police Action of 1948, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Republic. With the inauguration of the democratic order the Nizam has become a constitutional ruler and the feudal system within the State has been abolished. In consequence Shamirpet now comes under the jurisdiction of the normal district administration.

Shamirpet is situated at a distance of about a furlong from the north-bound road which runs between Hyderabad and Karimnagar. An unmetalled road links the village with the main road, from which some of the houses in the village are clearly visible. Between the road and the village there is a flat and fairly level patch of ground, and in the centre of this ground there is a tree around which the Muslims bury their dead. At the junction of the main road and the diversion leading to the village there is a small shelter for passengers awaiting the buses, built in stone and lime. A little way down to the north stands the Inspection Bungalow of the State Public Works Department. It is intended for the use of touring government officials, and can also be used by occasional visitors, who have to make a small payment for its use. Further north, at a distance of about two and a half furlongs, is the tank, which in its setting of barren rocks and tall trees provides a beautiful landscape. Between the tank and the road now lie the ruins of the 'summer house' which was built on the tank-bund by the last feudal landlord of the village. In his time it was provided with an electric generator, pipe lines and modern sanitary fittings, but after the Nawab's death it was deserted and is now a melancholy but romantic sight.

The village itself is not built according to a definite plan. A wide main street lies in the centre and runs almost parallel to and roughly a furlong away from the main road. As we proceed northwards down this street we find on the right a number of whitewashed stone buildings housing the various government offices, and on the left there are a number of small tea and betel shops. On the right there are also the residential quarters of the sub-inspector of police who is in charge of the police station, a government granary, living quarters of the police constables, the village dispensary, the school and the post office. Lanes branch off both right and left from the street, and on either side of these lanes are

of the District Boards varied from 50 per cent to higher proportion even to an appropriation of the whole amount giving whatever sum the District Boards might be pleased to give back to Panchayat from which the sum was collected. Tuni Panchayat in East Godavari got Rs. 30,000 by way of public market fees out of which 50 per cent was taken out by the District Board. Similarly the District Board took 50 per cent of the cattle market proceeds amounting to about Rs. 500 per annum. Similarly, Narsapur Panchayat gave all its income from public markets to the District Board. In Tadepalligudam Panchayat, the District Board took Rs. 29,000/- leaving only Rs. 1,000 to Panchayat out of its annual income of Rs. 30,000 from public markets. In Kistna, Vizagapatam, Anantpur and Kurnool Districts, the inroads on Panchayat funds were not so many as in the two Godavari Districts. The District Boards had nothing in return to offer to the Panchayat by way of public amenities in lieu of the moneys they earned from them. Unless the whole scheme of Local Government is reorganised and reformed, such serious inroads into the finances of Panchayats cannot be averted. The District Boards whose existence appears to be superfluous in view of the developed Panchayats and Municipalities can at least be reduced to advisory councils without powers to utilize on such a large scale the moneys they are not really entitled to grab We shall discuss this in detail later.

Cart and Bus Stand Fees and Cycle Licenses: Collection of fees from cart stands and bus stands was a good source of income to the major Panchayats in Madras. The rates of fees even in this matter varied from Panchayat to Panchayat of the same grade in the same district, from one grade to another and from district to district. Again, very few Panchayats really looked after the amenities that were to be provided in these bus and cart stands, such as rest-shelters, canteens or fresh water pots. The Panchayats were only interested in auctioning these to the highest bidder who would pay the amount to the Panchayat in lump sum and take upon himself the responsibility of collecting the fees at the rates fixed by the Panchayats. These rates were to be collected only from carts which would halt at the stands and not on carts which merely passed by them and were not halting. Breach of this rule had led to the filing of suits in Law Courts, on reasons of prestige, where Panchayats had to be admonished.

Bus and cart stand fees varied from place to place. Information available for a few Panchayats showed that the fees for taxies, buses and lorries were more uniform than that for, say, jatkas. The former

In other sample Panchayats it was not possible to ascertain the rates. 651

Even when the majority of the major Panchayats were not collecting this source of income, the minor Panchayats could not be naturally expected to do better. This was also one of the sources of income of Panchayats which deserved greater attention from the inspecting authorities for its proper enforcement. (Column 22.)

Choultry Fees: These were fees which could be collected from travellers who stayed in the public rest places for temporary sojourn now and then. Here also the buildings were of the District Board or of the Panchayat and the rate per diem varied from annas eight to Rs. 2/- per person as in Guntakal where every room in the Panchayat choultry was let out to travellers at the rates of Re. 1/-, Rs. 1/8/- and Rs. 2/- per day, and this fetched on the whole quite a good amount i. e. Rs. 400/-. (Column 16.) 651 485

This was a source of income which could only be collected if there were good choultries in the Panchayat area which could accommodate passengers. There were in some Panchayats choultries which were in a dilapidated condition. They would have to be reconditioned so as to make them habitable and useful sources of revenue.

Grants-in-aid: These were of four categories: 1. grants-in-aid to schools, 2. grants-in-aid to libraries, 3. grants-in-aid for water supply, and 4. grants-in-aid for roads. 652

Grants-in-aid to schools were received by Panchayat schools in East Godavari, West Godavari, Kistna and Anantapur. But this topic is fully discussed in the Section on School Panchayats. But grants-in-aid for roads, grants-in-aid for water-supply and grants-in-aid to libraries formed a negligible part.

Here they were mentioned to indicate that they formed a special part of the Panchayat finance. The chief feature of these grants was that they were not based on any rational basis, like the proportion of the Panchayat income, or population, or other needs, but they were granted on an ad-hoc basis from time to time.

License Fees on Dangerous and Offensive Trades: These license fees were imposed in several Panchayats both major and minor on a variety of trades and callings like boiling camphor, melting tallow or sulphur, storing or otherwise dealing in ophal, blood, bones, hides and skins, storing, selling or curing fish, making fish oil, storing or selling horses, tanning of hides and skins, mustering or drying wool or hair, making soap, manufacturing of distilled sago, 651

367 In the Godavari Districts again, some of the minor Panchayats appeared to be paying heed to this as in Yeditha and Kapileswarapuram but none of the minor Panchayats in other districts showed any interest.

207 **Radio**: This had become more or less a universal feature in most of the Panchayats both major and minor and provided recreation to the listening public.

485 **Provision of Bus Stands and Cart Stands**: This was a practice that was gradually growing but was not yet prevalent on a wide scale. Some of the major Panchayats had this facility within their areas as Razole in East Godavari, Tadepalligudam, Kovvur, Undi, Velpur, Akividu and Peatapadu in West Godavari, Vuyyuru in Kistna, Parvatipuram, Bobbili, Salur and Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Dharmavaram and Gooty in Anantpur, and Nandikotkur, Dhone and Pattikonda in Kurnool.

744 **Help in Case of Epidemics**: This obligation was met with varying degrees of success in the several Panchayats. The Panchayats in the 1st grade were giving every possible attention, while the Panchayats in the 2nd and 3rd grades were not always able to do much though they too appeared to be very enthusiastic. For instance, the 2nd grade Panchayats like Vuyyuru and Jaggayapeta in Kistna and 3rd grade Panchayats like Razole in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Bobbili, Salur and Parvatipuram in Vizagapatam, Markapur, Maddikera, Kadiri and Nandikotkur in Kurnool, Yeditha, Gooty and Penu Konda in Anantpur and Kosgi, Harpanhalli, Kudligi, etc. in Bellary were assisting the villagers in times of infection, by providing additional sanitary help and vaccinators.

743 **Dispensaries and Medical Help**: A few Panchayats began to contemplate of late to undertake this obligation. Panchayats like Amalapuram in East Godavari spent nearly Rs. 2,000 per year on this [232] item. Bhimavaram in West Godavari had constructed a veterinary hospital at a cost of Rs. 4,000 and also gave an annual donation of Rs. 2,500 to it. Tanuku and Ramchandrapuram Panchayats in East Godavari intended opening medical centres. They were found to be making the necessary preparations. Tadepalligudam, another 3rd Grade Panchayat in West Godavari was able to gather about Rs. 2,000 with a view to start a veterinary dispensary of its own. Mukkamala, a minor Panchayat in East Godavari was the first Panchayat in the Presidency to have a medical dispensary of its own since the last twenty years. In Vuyyuru and Bobbili, the

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

THE CHANGING SCENE

Changes in tools and technical processes are also important. Barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths are now using factory-made tools and instruments. The village tailor has a sewing machine. It is significant that there has been no mentionable change in agricultural tools. In farming methods, however, some changes have taken place. Improved seeds are being used by many cultivators. The value of green manure is realized by an increasing number of agriculturists. Oil cakes, castor, ammonium sulphate, and a special concoction of chemical fertilizers known as 'paddy mixture' are now being used. More attention is given to growing vegetables. A greater percentage of cultivators is now growing 'cash crops'.

Communications too have now improved. Many persons take advantage of the bus service. There are six private bicycles in the village. A shop-keeper has four more which can be hired. The headman of the village has recently bought a 1928 model Ford. The traditional bullock carts are still largely used for transportation of goods, and also for travel.

The opening of a small dispensary in the village, and the availability of excellent facilities of modern medical treatment in the city have considerably changed the attitude of the people towards diseases and their treatment. Although people still believe that smallpox and cholera are the result of the wrath of two goddesses and annually organize ceremonies in their honour on behalf of the village, the old fear of vaccination and inoculation has now practically disappeared. People no longer run away from the village on the appearance of the vaccinator, nor do they offer him bribes or threats for being spared the cruelty of vaccination. Divination, protective magic, chants and spells are all still employed to ward off disease and difficulty, but at the same time increasing use is being made of modern medicine. Age-old prescriptions of indigenous herbs are generally used for fevers and other common ailments. But when the disease takes a serious turn the patient may even be removed to a hospital in the city. Injections which were greatly feared a few decades ago are now eagerly sought as they are believed to give quick and sure relief from all ailments. Some people keep a limited stock of some of the popular and cheap patent medicines. Medicines for virility and strength prominently advertised in newspapers are obtained by post.

The social structure of the community is basically the same,

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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242 [782] The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

232 *Cattle diseases—Kurama.*—The ox or cow when it suffers from this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

342 *The village.*—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

463 [286] 465 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no longer raised.

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets mamuls called *thirijamu* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four putties; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same mamuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 489 There is a local road which passes by this village running from Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

Economic condition.—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee	
Ragi	...	...	...	10	„ „
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10	„ „
Cholam	...	...	...	9	„ „
Tamarind		...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*	
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6	„
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8	„

The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

Expenditure on religious festivals.—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

Sanitary condition.—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¼ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzalu or cholam about 1¾ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

THE SETTING

the death of Kemal Yar Jung the property came under the administration of the Court of Wards. In the meantime, vast changes were taking place in Hyderabad. After the Police Action of 1948, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Republic. With the inauguration of the democratic order the Nizam has become a constitutional ruler and the feudal system within the State has been abolished. In consequence Shamirpet now comes under the jurisdiction of the normal district administration.

Shamirpet is situated at a distance of about a furlong from the north-bound road which runs between Hyderabad and Karimnagar. An unmetalled road links the village with the main road, from which some of the houses in the village are clearly visible. Between the road and the village there is a flat and fairly level patch of ground, and in the centre of this ground there is a tree around which the Muslims bury their dead. At the junction of the main road and the diversion leading to the village there is a small shelter for passengers awaiting the buses, built in stone and lime. A little way down to the north stands the Inspection Bungalow of the State Public Works Department. It is intended for the use of touring government officials, and can also be used by occasional visitors, who have to make a small payment for its use. Further north, at a distance of about two and a half furlongs, is the tank, which in its setting of barren rocks and tall trees provides a beautiful landscape. Between the tank and the road now lie the ruins of the 'summer house' which was built on the tank-bund by the last feudal landlord of the village. In his time it was provided with an electric generator, pipe lines and modern sanitary fittings, but after the Nawab's death it was deserted and is now a melancholy but romantic sight.

The village itself is not built according to a definite plan. A wide main street lies in the centre and runs almost parallel to and roughly a furlong away from the main road. As we proceed northwards down this street we find on the right a number of whitewashed stone buildings housing the various government offices, and on the left there are a number of small tea and betel shops. On the right there are also the residential quarters of the sub-inspector of police who is in charge of the police station, a government granary, living quarters of the police constables, the village dispensary, the school and the post office. Lanes branch off both right and left from the street, and on either side of these lanes are

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

the law courts in the city. Now and then State officials visited the village on tour. In the second half of the Jagir period these administrative contacts increased very considerably. At the same time the urban contacts of a section of the village population also grew gradually. These included visiting relations and friends in the city, receiving relations and friends from the city, occasional excursions for shopping in the large city stores and markets as well as for sight-seeing, temporary stay of a short or long duration for work in the city, and finally being in everyday touch with officials resident in the village, who were regarded as an urban element in the village population. Increased contacts with the towns and cities were greatly facilitated by the construction of the metalled road joining Hyderabad with the district headquarters of Karimnagar in the interior of the State. This road touches Shamirpet. With the introduction of bicycles and buses frequent and regular contacts with the urban areas were made possible. The progress of education has been rather slow. In the early-Jagir days only a few children belonging to the higher castes, and also to the upper level families, received any schooling. Even this was confined to a bare acquaintance with three R's. With the opening of a school in the village education was placed within the reach of a much larger section and even some untouchable children started attending the school. Some ambitious parents sent their children to the higher schools in the city where they could learn English. Books, periodicals and newspapers which occasionally found their way into the village conveyed to the people 'strange truths regarding the wide world through the medium of the printed word'. The State administration initiated some of its welfare and nation-building activities in the countryside. Agriculture, Veterinary and Animal Husbandry, Medical and Public Health, and Co-operation and Rural Development departments of the State started functioning in the rural areas. Their representatives and propagandists brought some new ideas and techniques to the village. The villagers saw their demonstrations, heard their talks, and were at times even coaxed into doing things in the new ways. This was indeed novel to them. In the earlier period government had only collected land revenue, heard some of their disputes, tried cases arising out of breaches of law, and occasionally forced them to provide practically free labour and 'presents' for touring government officials, but had never interfered with their agricultural

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

4710

Photo by E. Krishnamurti.

APPROACH TO THETTUPALLI.

[facing p. 94]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

implements are bought chiefly in Chintamani, about 18 miles off, and also at Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off.

Articles of consumption are bought at the weekly fair held here on Tuesdays, also in Chintamani, Kothakota and some other places.

Sale of village produce.—The quantities produced here are: paddy 500 puttis,* ragi 200, † sugarcane to the value of about Rs. 1,500, other millets and pulses to the value of about Rs. 1,000.

Out of this whatever is required for household purposes is retained. The rest, more than 50 per cent, is sold away. The nearest market is Chintamani. Sometimes the grain is transported to Bangalore also.

There are about three local roads, one from Gownipalle to Addegal, a village 4 miles off, one from the village to Manchinillakota, a village 6 miles off, and the other up to Todigol, 6 miles off. Another short road running for three miles runs up to the Mysore frontier. On the other side is British territory and there is no road further up. The local road to Tadigol connects with the Bangalore-Cuddapah road. The nearest commercial centres are Chintamani and Bangalore, accessible by the said road. The nearest railway station is Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off, reached by road.

The fair that takes place here every week is a big affair. People from very different parts come here. The fair is nominally held on Tuesday, but it generally extends from Monday to Wednesday. The chief business is carried on in stock, especially sheep and goats. Business in these is carried on to the extent of Rs. 4,000. They are chiefly sent to the Kolar Goldfields for slaughter and consumption.

Economic condition of village.—The customary rates of wages, in money, are from 2 to 3 annas per day, for a man; and 1½ annas for a woman; in kind, 2 seers of ragi, or 3 seers of paddy to a man, 1½ seers of ragi or 2 seers of paddy to a woman.

The current prices of staple foods are—

Rice	...	..	...	8 Mysore seers for a rupee.
Ragi	...	...	...	28 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	20 " "
Cholam	...	...	...	14 " "
Tamarind	...	...	...	Re. 1 for a maund.
Jaggery	...	...	...	Rs. 2 "
Chillis	...	...	...	Rs. 4-8-0 "
Dhôll	...	...	...	8 seers for a rupee.

About four or five families have made savings to the extent of Rs. 5,000, but on the other hand others have contracted debts to the extent of Rs. 10,000. Owing to scarcity of rains and failure of crops the people have been obliged to borrow heavily to meet current and occasional expenses.

There are practically no families who have liberated themselves from debt. While paying off old scores they borrow in new places.

There is a co-operative credit society. The capital is subscribed in shares of Rs. 10 each payable in twenty monthly instalments.

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* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 48 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

137 Shamirpet and the neighbouring cluster of villages. However, villagers are able to collect some fuel as well as small quantities of edible and marketable minor forest produce from the local
136 scrub jungle. In this type of landscape little game is to be expected. Tigers from the forests fifteen or twenty miles away are occasionally seen, but panthers, in search of stray goats, calves and dogs, are more frequent visitors to the village. Wild pigs are plentiful and always do very considerable damage to the crops. Spotted deer make an occasional appearance in the surrounding areas, while hares which abound in the shrubs are very often shot or hunted with dogs trained for this purpose. Wild ducks come seasonally to the large tank near the village, and green pigeons and partridges are among the other feathered game found in the vicinity of Shamirpet.

131 It has been pointed out that Shamirpet is only some twenty-five miles from Hyderabad and Secundrabad, which rank fourth among the cities of India in respect of population and size. It is only fifteen miles from the Bolarum cantonment and twelve miles
• [494] from the military aerodrome of Hakimpet. A regular bus service plying between Hyderabad and Karimnagar touches Shamirpet, and there are about twelve buses running in both directions on this road every day. From this it should not be assumed, however, that Shamirpet is just a suburban extension of Hyderabad. Although it is in regular and constant touch with the capital, it is an independent village with an organization of its own.

621 No village in India can be singled out as being typical of the
631 country as a whole, but Shamirpet possesses most of the characteristics which are common to the rural communities in middle and peninsular India. As an independent socio-economic and ritual unit it enjoys partial self-sufficiency in several aspects of community life. In the wider organization of the rural community it possesses partial autonomy. Its component units are mostly the occupational castes which are integrated into the structure of the village. Finally, it has a semi-judicial village council composed of caste elders and other influential persons. This council administers justice in socio-religious cases involving breaches of the traditional norms of society. The village as a unit of social organization performs several significant functions which form an important agency of social control.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Telugu AWI9

and Tungabhadra valleys lie at 1000–1500 ft, and to the NW the watershed between the Bhima and the Godavari is a great swelling upland reaching 2400 ft in places. But the general aspect nearly everywhere is that of practically senile peneplains, intersected by broad, open, almost completely graded valleys, and littered with monadnocks which range from considerable hill-groups to innumerable fantastic tors which look like dumps of gigantic road-metal. Around Hyderabad City these form "a chaos of granitic boulders . . . piled up in bizarre heaps, as if giants had amused themselves with childish games"; in places these rocky belts form a wilderness wide enough to act as a marchland.[34] With the poor sandy red soils of the gneisses and granites, a variable rainfall of 25–35 ins., and May mean temperatures in the 90s, life is hard except in favoured basins, where soil-wash and tank irrigation give some prosperity. Bare hills, reddish-khaki plains with scattered thorny scrub, rivers merely ribbons of sand for half the year or more, tanks bunded into the little valleys, all combine to produce a landscape with a desolate and brooding charm. The contrast between Hyderabad Marathwara and Telangana is extremely striking, and is brought out by Figs. 130 and 131.

The Ceded Districts are if anything worse.[35] In Marathwara there is hardly any surface water in the hot weather, except in the bigger streams; in Sn Telangana even this exception hardly holds. The railway bridges are stoutly built to withstand the immense volume of monsoon water in rivers which are then half a mile or more wide; in the hot weather they traverse great flats with a yard or so of water in the middle, and the herds of cattle or goats crossing the bed are recognisable from afar by their great clouds of dust.

Except for the jungles of the N, the region presents a decided savannah aspect, poor savannah with widely spaced acacias. Most of the tors are absolutely naked, and their skirts (with much of the more or less level ground) carry only a thorny scrub, in which euphorbias are prominent, while in damper depressions there are scattered palms, toddy or the wild Indian date. The scrub is secondary, on ground long subject to the depredations of sheep and especially goats, or once cultivated.

Agriculture

Rainfall, by and large, is much the same in Telangana as in Maharashtra; if anything more favourable, since the region lies farther from the lee of the Ghats and more open to Bay of Bengal influences. But differences in terrain and soil are decisive. The area here considered is about 75,000 sq mls, of which the TSA is only about 43% (approximately 20,250,000 ac.).[36] Forest

[34] E. Reclus, *L'Inde* (1883), 506; cf. *Hyderabad Gaz.* (1909), 2.
[35] For some vivid remarks, see J. C. Molony, *A Book of South India* (1926), 166.
[36] Figures even more approximate than usual, as those of Hyderabad are internally suspect.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

dicates deposition in shallow but not sheltered waters, and the general lie of the E coast may thus be of great antiquity. The change in strike between the Orissa Hills and the Cuddapahs is very closely followed by the coast.

The hills are wooded and the pattern of relief stands out clearly on forest and population maps (Figs. 18, 30); but the forest is thin, rainfall being only about 40 ins. and the rocks porous or fissured. The few inhabitants are mostly Chenchus, an aboriginal tribe living a semi-pastoral existence eked out by the collection of honey, bamboos, fuel for the railways, and other minor forest produce.

The valleys, however, though on the whole poor enough, have a fair amount of cultivation, mostly jowar (25–30% TSA), other millets, groundnut (16–20%), with some irrigated paddy. The topography in the longitudinal valleys favours the construction of large tanks by bunding a transverse tributary gorge. The main (GIP) Madras–Bombay railway strikes diagonally across the S of the region, and is one of the most interesting traverses in India. The hill country is first entered in the Nagaris, which are the last Cuddapah outliers; here Renigunta and Tirupati are little towns controlling at once the route up the Swarnamukhi, the crossings of the river, and the col to the N between the Palkondas and Velikondas. Beyond, in the Razampeta corridor, the contrast between cultivated floor and barren hills is exceedingly sharp. The generally arid aspect is mitigated by groves of mangoes around the tanks; houses are stone- or mud-walled, and round beehive huts, striped vertically in white and rusty red, attest the Telugu country. After crossing the wide bed of the Cheyyeru, the line emerges at Cuddapah from grey and arid hills into a greyer plain, a vast ash-coloured expanse largely given over to dry cultivation. The region lies on the margin of the October–December rainfall area of the Madras littoral, and the rivers rise in the dry Mysore Maidan, not in the Wn Ghats as do Kistna and Tungabhadra; hence, even in August, the great streams—Penner itself, Cheyyeru, Papagni, Chitravati—may be spreads of quartzite boulders, shingle, or sand, several hundred yards wide with a line of water a yard across, or even not a drop; while only 90 miles to the N the Ghats-fed rivers are full, great ribbons of muddy water half a mile or more wide.

Through the Kunderu valley runs the ill-starred Kurnool Canal, constructed in 1860–76 by a private company which apparently failed to notice the difference in the régimes of Peninsular and extra-Peninsular rivers; the complete, but inefficient, canal had eventually to be taken over by the government in 1882 after two decades of mismanagement. The topographical layout is obviously encouraging, and it is now proposed to recast the whole project, with reservoirs on the Kistna and at Someswaram in the lowest of the Penner watergaps; the project, if carried out in full, would irrigate no less than 3 m. ac., mostly, however, in the coastal plain of Nellore.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

dead, especially since the cessation of coolie emigration to Burma and Malaya.

(b) *The Deltas*

These, like N Kanara on the W coast, form an 'overlap' region, the breaching of the En Hills by the Godavari and the Kistna leaving the limits in the hinterland indeterminate where the hills virtually disappear for about 100 miles. There is of course a marked break of grade where the rivers cross the line of the hills—the Kistna, as we have seen, is actually superimposed across the Nn end of the Cuddapah Ranges, and here the gradient is 3½ ft or more to the mile, against 7–9 ins. near the sea. Their discharge is of course irregular; it has been estimated that in high flood the Kistna carries enough silt "to cover daily an area of 5 sq mls to a depth of one foot".[1]

[1] *Madras Gaz.* (1908), I. 167.

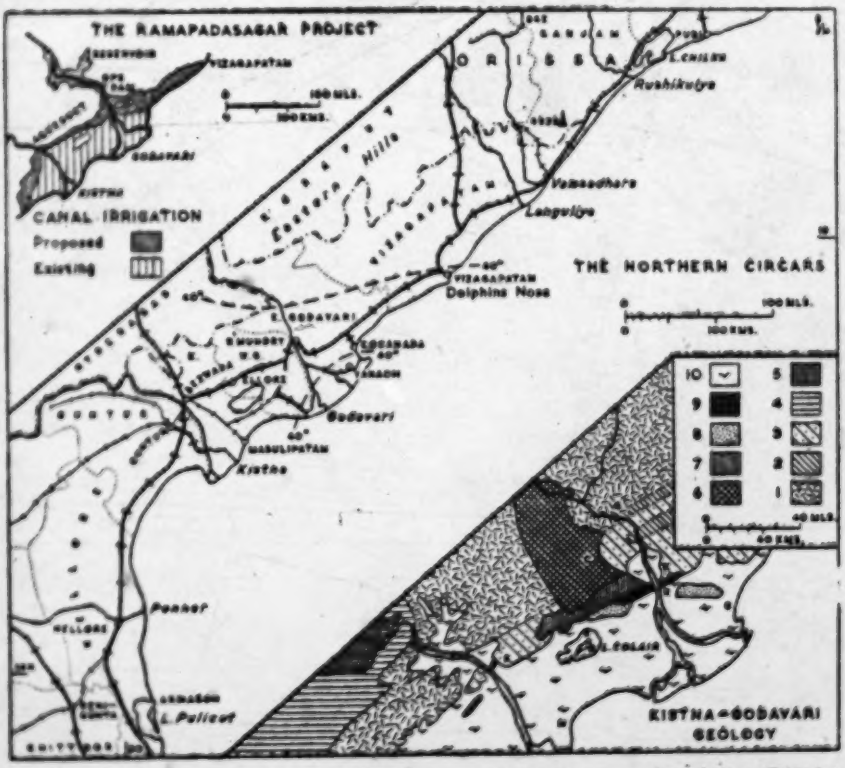

Fig. 140.—ANDHRA DESA: THE NN CIRCARS. On main map, dotted line District boundaries—K, Kistna, WG, W Godavari Dts; all railways ST, BG (thick line) or metre. *Geology*: 1, Archaean gneisses; 2, Charnockites; 3, Khondalites; 4, Cuddapah; 5, Vindhyan; 6, Lower, 7, Upper, Gondwana; 8, Tertiary; 9, Deccan Lava outlier; 10, alluvium. G, graphite; K, kaolin; C, coal (doubtful value); other initials towns, as on main map.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AW17

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The current prices of staple foods are— 435

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Ragi	...	...	...	28	,, ,,
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6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu

161 12 m.; densities increase from Ganjam (420) to E Godavari (714) and then decrease to Guntur (393); beyond the regional limits Nellore, with more Archaean terrain than the central parts of the Circars, and less (and less reliable and well distributed) rain than the Nn, had only 204. On the whole it seems best to treat Ganjam/Vizagapatam and the deltas separately.

(a) *The North*: *Ganjam and Vizagapatam* (*Vizakhapatnam*)

[132] Essentially this is the area with over 40 ins.: the three Sn taluks of
133 Vizagapatam fall a little short of this. The lowland narrows to 12 miles under Mahendragiri, but on either side of this gate are the embayments of the Rushikulya (Ganjam) and the Languliya and Vansadhara (Vizag) valleys. The plains are floored by red lateritic soils near the hills, shading off into black loams and clays; but they are cut up by numerous irregular outliers of the En Hills: thus Vizagapatam itself lies between the 1600-ft Kailana Ridge to the N and the 1100-ft Yaroda to the S; the latter runs out to sea in the bold cliffs (300 ft) of Dolphin's Nose which shelters the port, while in the Nn suburbs of the town are the peculiar Waltair Highlands, *c.* 150 ft high and formed largely by the accumulation, since the Pleistocene, of red loams partly fluviatile and partly perhaps aeolian.[3]

311 Of a TSA of some 4 m. ac., rice accounts for about 1·65 m. ac., ragi
312 390,000, oilseeds (chiefly groundnut) 500,000, the balance being widely
241 distributed amongst millets and pulses mainly. Irrigation is on the whole unimportant, much of it being dependent on temporary mud-and-brush-wood dams across the short rivers.

135 Mineral resources are few—graphite, manganese, kaolin, mica—and hardly developed; a potential resource of some interest in this atomic age, though limited in amount in comparison with other *Indian* occurrences, is the ilmenite and monazite in the dunes and beaches around Vizagapatam.[4]

471 Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

369 Again there is only one real town, 'Vizag' itself (**108,042**), which has
[504] developed considerably since the opening of the railway up the Languliya
316 valley to Raipur and the subsequent dredging of a deep-water harbour in the tidal marshes. The accommodation at quayside is limited, but it is more up-to-date than at most E coast ports. The selection of Vizag as the main shipbuilding centre of *India* is presumably because of its situation as the
[439] nearest *ocean* port to Jamshedpur, but it is still a long way round. Ships up to 8000 tons have been launched. The hinterland extends to Nagpur and the chief trade is in Madhya Pradesh (CP) manganese, and oilseeds and
504 their products. The small ports of Bimlipatam and Gopalpur are quite

[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Sathapathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *IGJ* XXIV (1949), 26–51.

[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Telugu AW17

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(b) *The Deltas*

These, like N Kanara on the W coast, form an 'overlap' region, the breaching of the En Hills by the Godavari and the Kistna leaving the limits in the hinterland indeterminate where the hills virtually disappear for about 100 miles. There is of course a marked break of grade where the rivers cross the line of the hills—the Kistna, as we have seen, is actually superimposed across the Nn end of the Cuddapah Ranges, and here the gradient is 3½ ft or more to the mile, against 7–9 ins. near the sea. Their discharge is of course irregular; it has been estimated that in high flood the Kistna carries enough silt "to cover daily an area of 5 sq mls to a depth of one foot".[1]

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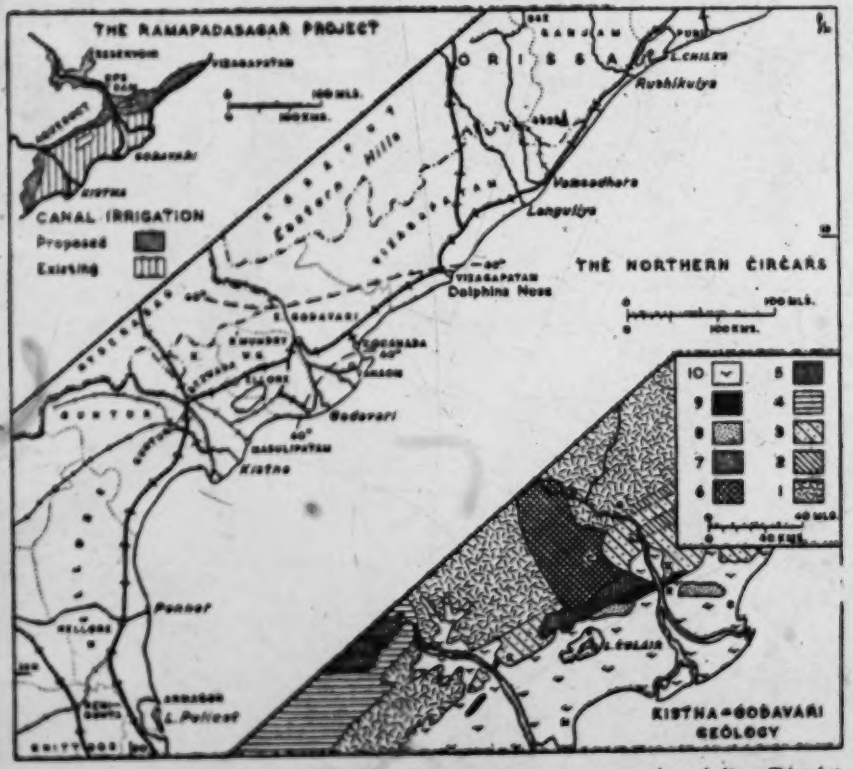

Fig. 140.—ANDHRA DESA: THE NN CIRCARS. On main map, dotted line District boundaries—K, Kistna, WG, W Godavari Dts; all railways ST, BG (thick line) or metre. Geology: 1, Archaean gneisses; 2, Charnockites; 3, Khondalites; 4, Cuddapah; 5, Vindhyan; 6, Lower, 7, Upper, Gondwana; 8, Tertiary; 9, Deccan Lava outlier; 10, alluvium. G, graphite; K, kaolin; C, coal (doubtful value); other initials towns, as on main map.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

For the purely delta taluks, of course, the rice proportion would be higher. Tobacco covers some 200,000 ac. in all, the best being grown on temporary sand-islands in the larger streams. Some sugar is grown, but this tall and long-standing crop must be protected from cyclones by expensive fencing with bamboos.

Again mineral potentialities are slight and development slighter. There are two tiny unworked coalfields, of dubious value, in the Gondwanas along the Godavari; graphite and kaolin are worked in a small way, mainly for Rajahmundry paper mills (which use paddy straw as well as bamboo from the hills) and for the small crucible industry at the same town. Salt evaporation at Cocanada might lead to a chemical industry. Industry itself, though very small-scale, is interesting; as well as the Rajahmundry works just mentioned, and the rice and tobacco trades to be expected, there are cement, silk, fruit canning, and vegetable ghee works. Most of these are congregated along the Kistna below Bezwada and between Rajahmundry and Cocanada. Varied as it is, the total is not impressive: the crucible industry has 150 skilled workers, the paper mill a capacity of 3000 tons p.a.; the 77 rice mills in E Godavari employ only 1800 workers, the three silk factories 122; and the total industrial population of this District is only 7200—0·39% of total population, and at that not much below the figure for Madras State (0·42%). Such as it is, this industrial development has yet led to an ominous, if incipient, competition for land in a few tracts between tobacco and paddy; fortunately the region, except for Guntur, has a sizeable rice surplus (about 400,000 tons less 110,000 tons deficit in Guntur); and counting all foodgrains Guntur also has a surplus.[1]

The industrial, and to some extent the agricultural, future of the region will depend on whether or not the great Ramapadasagar multi-purpose scheme is executed; at present financial difficulties stand in the way. The proposed dam, 428 ft high with foundations 190 ft below the river bed, and 1¼ miles long, would impound 15·6 m. ac.-ft of water, irrigate for paddy some 2·35 m. ac. of un- or under-developed land, improve the supply to 2 m. ac. already irrigated, and develop at least 100,000 kW; it might also, and less beneficially, trap the silt.

There are a fair number of minor towns. The site-significances of Bezwada (161,198) and Rajahmundry (105,276) are plain; Guntur (125,255) and Ellore (64,911) are trading centres with a little industry. The ports of Cocanada (75,140) and Masulipatam (59,146) are of little use. At Masulipatam large ships must lie 5 miles offshore (weather permitting!) and the half-dozen wharves are three miles up a winding creek; yet in early European days it was a place of great importance, famous for carpets and

[1] This discussion is based on (i) Dr. V. L. S. P. Rao's interesting summary of his doctoral dissertation, "Industrial Problems, Development, and Planning [in] . . . the Lower Godavari Region" (*IGJ* XXIII (1948), 1–15); (ii) V. V. Ramanadham and V. L. S. P. Rao, *Economic Atlas of Andhra Desa* (Calcutta, 1949).

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India Telugu AW17

369 chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). 504 Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots 167 of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

133 The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tiru-312 patti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

133 Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses 311 and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between [339] low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

312 The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

135 Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral 471 wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

631 The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which neverthe-197 less is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

511 426 Analysis of the family budgets of the agriculturists in the village revealed that 10% of them were surplus, 24% were balanced and the rest were deficit budgets. Exact figures regarding the extent of indebtedness could not be obtained as the people invariably sought to conceal information on this subject. According to our rough estimate, 55% to 60% of the families are indebted. As relatively few persons can get agricultural or land improvement loans from the government at a reasonable rate of interest, and as there is no co-operative society in the village, most people have to take recourse to the money-lenders either in the village or, preferably, in a neighbouring one. Petty loans may be obtained from well-to-do shopkeepers and peasants. The rate of interest varies greatly. For large loans a mortgage is generally insisted upon, and anything between 6% and 12% compound interest is charged. For petty loans interest is charged at the rate of 2 annas per rupee per month. If ornaments or other valuables are pawned, the rate of interest is reduced even for the smaller loans. Borrowing in kind also takes place. Seeds are often obtained on loan, and are returned after the harvest with 25% interest. In several cases the indebtedness of the family could be attributed to over-spending in socio-religious ceremonies and litigation rather than to agricultural needs.

241 432 The organization of agricultural pursuits rests mainly on the head of the family, although grown-up sons—if they are living with the parents—are also consulted. When buying or selling land the advice of the elders of the extended family is always obtained. This has to be done before mortgaging family property against loans. The scope for individual initiative and innovations is very limited, for the system of agriculture still largely follows the traditional patterns and is governed to a great extent by the agricultural lore passed from generation to generation through oral tradition.

241 465 Most agriculturists can manage the cultivation of their fields with the help of family labour. The traditional system on inter-caste relations secures for them the specialized services of the occupational castes. The more well-to-do landowners have Madiga families attached to them. However, the migration of some Madiga families and concentration of considerable areas of land in the possession of a few families make it almost essential for many agriculturists to employ additional labour. In the busy season even

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437 and some of the occupational castes, four different types of economic dealings have been mentioned: a system of family affiliation under which the family of the occupational caste attaches itself to a family or families of agriculturists for rendering to them services in their agricultural pursuits, similar affiliation for performing definite functions in connection with socio-religious rites and ceremonies, barter of professional services between occupational castes, and finally the rendering of services within the domain of caste monopolies for cash payment. Six occupational castes assist the agriculturists by rendering them services within the 511 field of their functional specialization. It will be interesting to analyse the exact contribution made by each of these four types of 434 economic dealings to their total earnings. The averages in the 437 following table have been calculated from family budgets of the different castes in question. Where the number of families was small, such as among potters, carpenters and blacksmiths, 100% sample was taken; in others a 50% random sample was taken. However, it is necessary to point out that the budgets were made mostly on the basis of verbal estimates of the families. Only substantial payments received during a period of three years were checked. In making these calculations income from the cultivation of land belonging to the family as well as from agricultural labour lying outside the occupational specialization of the family have not been taken into account.

TABLE XI

Caste	*Percentage of income from:*				
	Traditional system of family affiliation	*Services at socio-religious ceremonies*	*Barter of occupational services*	*Services for cash payment*	*Miscellaneous*
Potter	18	3	1	78	–
Carpenter	60	1	2	36	1
Blacksmith	60	–	2	37	1
Barber	40	12	2	43	3
Washerman	30	10	2	55	3
Madiga	50	8	–	40	2

From the above table it will be clear that the carpenters, blacksmiths and barbers derive 63%, 62% and 54% respectively of their total income from one or more types of traditional arrange-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ment. As all the Madiga families in the village are not affiliated to the agriculturists, in these calculations their average income from these sources comes to only 58%, although a few decades ago, when the traditional system worked better, it must have been considerably more. The potters earn much more by selling their earthenware in the markets than by their traditional arrangements with the families of agriculturists. Similarly, some of the washermen have now a clientele in the city. Twice or thrice every month they collect clothes from them, delivering at the same time the previous washing. The barbers have a limited number of clients in the neighbouring villages. All the castes in this group derive an appreciable portion of their total earnings from private work done outside the system of traditional arrangements.

The economy of the village is only partially self-sufficient. The traders, both Komtis and Muslims, buy their goods wholesale from the city and retail them in their shops in the village. People often buy their requirements from the city if they happen to go there. They frequently visit the weekly bazaars also. The weavers buy their spindles from Hyderabad wholesalers, and depend for the sale of their cloth on the cluster of several nearby villages. The customers of the goldsmith are also distributed in several villages of the neighbourhood. The Gaondla produces all the fermented palm-juice required in the settlement from the trees around the village, but he has also to keep a certain quantity of liquor distilled in the city for such customers as may order it occasionally. The occupation of stone-breaking takes the Vaddars to several villages in the neighbourhood where there are no members of their caste. Finally, Madiga families acquiring a reputation for their skill in curing and tanning hides, or in their leather-work, are also commissioned by outsiders occasionally to do some work for them.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

amass wealth, and spend the rest of it worrying about its safety. 554
The cultivator need not be rich. It is enough if he has not to lower 829
himself before others begging for their favours.'

2. STANDARD OF LIVING: FOUR LEVELS

In Shamirpet four levels denoting different standards of living 511
are vaguely recognized by the villagers. They are:

i. Rich.
ii. Well-to-do.
iii. Average.
iv. Poor.

It is difficult to lay down any precise rules to classify the different families living in the village into these levels on the basis of their standards of living. As these distinctions are based primarily on the differences in earning, it may be generally said that families with an income of Rs. 200 per month or more would be regarded as 'rich', those earning between Rs. 100 and 200 as 'well-to-do', those earning Rs. 45 to 100 as 'average' and those earning less than Rs. 45 as 'poor'. The average family unit in these calculations consists of five—three adults and two children.

According to this test which reflects the consensus of opinion in the village, our socio-economic survey of the community would indicate the following classification of the village population:

Rich	4%	Average	34%
Well-to-do	22%	Poor	40%

The following table indicates average percentage of consumer expenditure on different items, based on the family budgets of three consecutive years of a total sample of one hundred and twenty families representing the four levels of living:

ITEMS AND PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE

Level	1 *Food (including fats and spices)*	2 *Clothing (including ornaments)*	3 *Feasts and ceremonies*	4 *Repairs and maintenance of the house*	5 *Luxuries (including tobacco and liquor)*	6 *Miscellaneous (entertainments, medicine, etc.)*
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Rich	34	15	18	11	12	10
2. Well-to-do	40	14	18	10	12	6
3. Average	48	12	12	8	15	5
4. Poor	56	10	11	5	15	3

From the above it is clear that on each successive lower level the percentage of expenditure on food—that is, on cereals, meat,

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511 vegetables, salt, spices and fats—increases steadily. The 'rich' and the 'well-to-do' spend more on clothes and ornaments: on the lower levels expenditure on these items is proportionately less. Similarly expenditure on feasts and ceremonies is proportionately higher in the two upper levels and lower in the poorer sections. Maintenance and repairs of the house and all immovable property other than agricultural land, cattle and implements necessitate a higher percentage of expenditure on each higher level successively. This is accounted for by the fact that on the lower levels people do most of this work themselves, and do not hire any labour. It appears rather paradoxical that the 'average' and 'poor' people spend proportionately more on 'luxuries', but this can be explained by the fact that tobacco and liquor are included under this head and most people in the village are addicted to the habits of smoking and drinking. Finally, under the head 'miscellaneous' —which includes expenditure on entertainments, recreation, medicine and other unforeseen domestic expenses—the 'poor' spend the least, and on each higher level the expenditure is greater.

The visible manifestations of a family's standard of living are: type of dwelling and household possessions, clothing and ornaments, nature of work done by the members of the family and diet. Brief reference has already been made to the different types of dwellings and their average possessions. In a general way it can be said that a house and its belongings indicate the owner's standard of living. Gold and silver ornaments as well as expensive clothes are regarded as marks of superior economic status. Brahmins, Komtis, rich Reddis and well-to-do Muslims are expected 'to wear clothes befitting their status'. Persons belonging to lower castes, particularly untouchables, are criticized for imitating the dress-styles of the higher castes, and even when they acquire wealth they are expected to continue the traditional style of clothing suitable for their humble social status.

In the next two sections we shall examine the division of labour and differences in diet on the four levels of living in the community.

3. WORK: DIVISION OF LABOUR

463 Division of labour in the community is governed by a variety of factors. Important among them are: caste, sex, age and social status.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

426 poorer classes, when they find that their debts have overgrown their income, generally hand over their lands to the lenders of money.

167 Emigrants leave the village for two reasons:—(1) indebtedness and (2) want of sufficient work and means of living. As previously stated two families of weavers have gone to Rajahmundry for factory work, and one family of Komatis to the Gōdāvari Agency. Some of the Panchamas and toddy drawers go to Rangoon, Moulmein, Singapore, and formerly went to Natal and the Transvaal. They return at the end of 1½ or 2 years. Some have made a little profit by going out, but not much. One effect of such emigration is to prevent people from lending money freely to all. The poorer classes do not get loans so easily now for want of security.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—There is no malaria. Six years ago there was a heavy attack of cholera, the number of deaths being between 150 and 200. It was impossible to keep any accurate account. Two years ago there was a serious attack of smallpox, when about 160 adults and children together died. It is significant that among Brahmans not a single person was attacked by either of these diseases. Among the Vaisyas the number of deaths was 5 and 3, respectively, among the Sudras it was 50 from cholera, 60 from small-pox. All the rest of the cases were in the lower castes. The death-rate of the children was far greater than that of adults.

165 The village statistics show 480 children born in the five years from 1911 to 1915, 321 under 14 years of age dying during these 759 years. The record of births is probably very defective, but the rate of mortality among infants and young children is certainly terribly high. There is no effective medical assistance available. The quack doctors of the village are merely deceitful and ignorant and practice the trade with no schooling or knowledge. Men following various occupations, who do not earn much at their proper calling, are the doctors of the village, who administer red or black powders to the patient one after another, call the fever this and that, starve the patient for 15 or 20 days, keep him in comfortable delusions all the while, and having made up 20 or 30 rupees send him to an untimely grave. The villagers prefer to entrust their lives to these doctors than to risk them in the hands of an English trained doctor. The hospital assistant near by has not won a good name for English medicine.

The wife of the barber is the nurse for all cases of pregnancy, and the general authority on all cases of feminine complaints.

758 For want of education, people do not observe the elementary principles of sanitation. For instance in times of epidemic diseases they do not isolate patients. They spread the disease by cleaning all kinds of cloth in village tanks. They do not reveal the disease immediately after the attack. They keep the patients in crowded houses and move and eat and sleep very close to them. Even for ordinary fevers, the patient is starved for 5 or 6 days, so that he will be weak and useless for work for a number of days afterwards.

● 511 356 The poorer classes are often subjected to disease for want of healthy and sufficient food, and clean surroundings. Every poor man has two or three cattle at least; and their huts being crowded, with limited space, it happens generally that the cattle are kept

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

very close to the human inmates. Rubbish and cow-dung are stored up in front of the houses, while in rainy seasons the whole becomes a stagnant pool of water, rubbish and cow-dung. 511 356

The houses of the Pariahs are filled with an awful smell of skins, bones and putrid flesh. The insufficiency of food that they suffer from tempts them to fill their bellies with toddy and other stimulants that ultimately ruin their health.

The Sudras are perfectly temperate and simple in habits and food. The "twice-born" castes are bound to marry their girls before twelve. The lower castes are not bound to do so. But the Sudras and lower castes actually marry their girls at a very early age, both to satisfy the anxiety of elders and for fear they may not have the money afterwards. I know a case in which a girl two months old was married to a boy of two years, the boy dying a year later of cholera. They maintain strict widowhood like the Brahmans. There is no purdah. 582

The villagers bathe and wash clothes and also wash their cattle in the same tank as that used for drinking. 515

Education.—There is one school; its accommodation and equipment being a rented house, an atlas, a globe, text books, some pictures of common objects, civics primers, dumb-bells, a black board, a desk, benches for boys to sit upon. 871

Elementary education is given up to the fourth standard, in the vernacular, in history, arithmetic, geography, civics, etc. This education is most unpractical and incomplete and ill-suited to the villagers, who do not proceed to college classes. It does not enable them to read good books in Telugu or to learn even the elementary principles of sanitation. They are never made to feel that they are citizens of a world, or an empire, or a province, outside the narrow bounds of their village.

Attendance—	Boys.	Girls.
1913	19	4
1914	9	3
1915	45	12
1916	54	8
1917	48	6

About 30 per cent of the adults can read the vernacular; two persons can read and talk English. There is a noted musician in the village but no other pandit. Not less than 25 or 30 per cent of those who have passed through the school have lost their capacity to write or cipher after leaving. One boy has proceeded to the Mechanical Engineering course in the Victoria Technical Institute, Bombay; another to the Arts course in the Madras University. [91]

There are 90 to 100 books, of which 70 are owned by Brahmans, made up of novels, dramas, puranas, the Mahabharata and stories. Among the Sudras, a development of literary taste, though in a very small degree, is perceptible. There are many devotional songs and lives of Telugu saints, while stories of the epics rendered into songs and recited by "Bhagavathars" are very frequent. The latest innovation is the introduction of dramas. Novels are still a rarity, as well as histories. No newspaper comes to the village. 538

The village has no temple except that of the village goddess. Her festival is celebrated with much slaughter of cattle and goats given by their owners whenever there is an outbreak of cholera or small-pox; or, failing these, once in four or five years. The cost is 796

364 certain rent-free lands. Moreover, every morning the womenfolk
351 of each house sweep and clean that portion of the lane which lies directly in front of their own house, sprinkle it with water or water mixed with cow-dung and often decorate the entrance with designs drawn with millet or rice flour. Notwithstanding this, the lanes are not always very clean. The reasons for this are many. The Yetti Madigas do not sweep the village very regularly; and the women, when they have finished their housework, often throw the refuse
[514] into the public thoroughfare. Thirdly, very few people have latrines in their houses, and even those who have them are inclined to make their children ease themselves at the side of the
[23] road. However, the pigs kept by the Erkala caste as well as the large number of dogs in the village are good scavengers and help to keep the village clean.

4. THE HOUSES

342 The dwellings in Shamirpet can be classified into three main
351 groups: the Bhawanti, the Penkutillu and the Gudse.

The Bhawanti. This is a large house with stone walls and tiled roofs; it generally stands in its own compound, which is surrounded by a wall, and invariably has five to six rooms. The following account of the house of I.R., a woman with considerable local influence and a good-sized agricultural holding, will illustrate this type of house. As we enter the gate in the compound wall we find ourselves in front of an open space which constitutes
[372] the courtyard of the house. On one side of this courtyard there is a cattle-shed, the end of which is partitioned off as a store-room for fuel-cakes made of cow-dung. Opposite the gate across the courtyard is a verandah running the whole length of the house; at one end of this verandah there is a small room in which agricultural
[15] implements are kept. The main door of the house leads into an inner court which is open to the sky. In the centre is a stone-lined sink, known as *gachhu*, which can be drained and cleaned, and here, sitting on small wooden stools, the women of the house bath. The inner court is surrounded on three sides by rooms; on one side there are two inter-connected rooms, the first being used as a dining-room and the second as a kitchen. Opposite this, running the whole length of the inner court, is a long room, while opposite to the main house door and across the inner court is a door which

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it is used for the growing of vegetables, specially fruit-bearing creepers, and throughout the year it is used by the household fowls. Similarly, in most of these houses the cattle-shed is very close to the main living-room. Hardly half a dozen houses in the village have latrines; the majority of the people go out into the fields or behind the rocks for answering the call of nature. Notwithstanding some variety, the decorative designs found on all the houses follow a generally established pattern. The floors are swept twice every day in almost all the houses. The mud floor is periodically smeared with cow-dung mixed with water and the walls are washed annually with lime or coloured earth. Grain and provisions are stored in large receptacles made either by the potter and well burnt to a vermilion red or by the Erkala in their traditional styles of basket-work.

All the houses in Shamirpet can be classed into one of these three types. The Gudse-type huts of the Erkalas are, however, a class by themselves. These small, circular huts, made from sheets of weed-matting, are about twenty feet in diameter and are often only six feet high. The interior is unpartitioned and serves as bedroom, dining-room, living-room and kitchen. Pigs and poultry are housed in similar but smaller round huts built in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling-hut.

From time to time groups of families belonging to the nomadic castes come to the village. These have their low, portable huts, which are mostly made of folding bamboo screens. Almost every month some group belonging to this category makes its appearance in Shamirpet and after a stay of a week or so moves off with its huts, dogs and pigs.

5. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHAMIRPET

The nearness of Shamirpet to the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad has been mentioned. People holding small government posts or having urban relations make periodic visits to the city. Others, especially young men, cycle down to Secundrabad or Hyderabad to visit the cinema or to look at the shops.

In the broad social sense, however, Shamirpet's more intimate ties are with the villages in the neighbourhood. In the events and developments of these villages the people of Shamirpet are very keenly interested. The hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli are

Thus while most of the major Panchayats did not collect at the highest rates possible, but struggled to devise ways and means of either escaping it or levying it at the lowest rates possible, the majority of the minor Panchayats evaded it altogether. 651 661

Scavenging Fees: Public health and conservancy were the obligatory duties of the Panchayats. They provided public latrines for males and females in almost all the major Panchayats, and got them cleansed by the Panchayat scavengers. They also extended their service to private latrines and charged the house-holders at particular rates except in cases of Panchayats where scavengers were independent of Panchayats as in Vizagapatam District. (column 5.) 614 651

This amenity was provided mostly by major Panchayats, while the minor Panchayats lagged behind. But the fees that were being collected by Panchayats varied from one to the other in several respects, such as the base the rate, the period for which they were collected, and the institutional discrimination they showed.

There was no uniformity in the rates of scavanging fees collected in several Panchayats. But the fees collected varied from Panchayat to Panchayat of the same and different grades in each and every district. Again the fixation of rate was not based on any rational basis, except according to the fancy of the individual Panchayat Board concerned. Sometimes the fees were charged per latrine, sometimes on the number of members in the family, sometimes according to an arbitrary distinction of big and small families, in some instances the rates were per mensem, and in others they were charged on a quarterly basis. Some Panchayats distinguished between different categories of institutions like office, police lines, schools, union areas and private families and charged separate rates for separate institutions. In some cases the scavenging rates were made a part of the assessment on house tax as in the Ceded Districts.

In the Ceded Districts of Anantpur and Kurnool, scavenging fees were also collected on the basis of rates of house tax: as Re. 1, Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 2 per quarter per latrine. In Bellary, the Kampli Panchayat collected only Re. 0-3-0 per latrine, while Rayadrug had arranged a regular scale related with the capital valuation of the house at Re. 0-6-0, Re. 0-12-0 and Re. 1 per quarter per latrine, according to the capital value of the house Rs. 800, Rs. 800 to Rs. 3000, and Rs. 3000 and over respectively. In West Godavari, the basis of collection was still different in the 3rd grade Panchayats as in Ganapavaram and Undi. In Ganapavaram, the rates

651 514 were Re. 0-12-0 and Re. 1 per mensem for a latrine for cleaning once and twice separately. In Undi the scavenging fees were in a gradation to the members of the family as Re. 0-8-0 for four members, Re. 0-10-0 for four to eight members, Re. 0-12-0 to Re. 1 for eight to twelve members per mensem and Rs. 1-8-0 per rice mill. In Akividu, the rates were based on the individual ability of the families and institutions, i. e. Rs. 9 for all factories, Rs. 6 for latrines of all big families; Rs. 3 for latrines of moderate families, and Rs. 2-4-0 for latrines of ordinary families, and Rs. 1-2-0 for other families. Even here, the division was purely arbitrary and there was no clear cut basis on which these differentiations were made.

In Kistna District, the Panchayats like Kantaram had altogether dispensed with the idea of scavenging service as they had provided bore-hole latrines, while in other Panchayats the same variations in scavenging fees continued.

In Vizagapatam, there was always the difficulty of procuring the services of the scavengers by the Panchayat. In Bobbili and Salur, people had to depend upon the services of the private scavengers. Here the rates were observed to be varying according to the bargaining power of the parties from Re. 0-6-0 to Rs. 1-8-0 per latrine per mensem. In other Panchayats, where the scavenging services were provided through them, the rates were based either on capital valuation of the house or number of persons in the family.

In the Ceded Districts, there was no problem of scarcity or non-availability of scavengers for the Panchayat service. In Kurnool, some of the Panchayats like Dhone and Maddikera made it a habit to relate public scavenging fees to the house tax, with variations ranging from Re. 0-4-0 to Rs. 1-8-0 per mensem.

The question of variations of rates did not arise in the case of minor Panchayats, as most of them did not utilize private scavenging services at all, except in a few instances. Most of the minor Panchayats investigated in East and West Godavari Districts, Kistna, Vizagapatam and the Ceded Districts had not got any private scavenging amenities provided by the Panchayat. Even when it was provided, as in Palivela and Kothapeta in East Godavari, the rates were Re. 0-12-0 per latrine per month in the former while in the latter they started from Re. 0-12-0 Rs. 2-4-0 and Rs. 9 per quarter per latrine.

231 651 **Slaughter House Fees**: Slaughter house fees constituted another important source of income to all major Panchayats, and

transfer of immovable property, collected and credited by the Registration Department after deducting the collection charge. But the Panchayats had to agitate as yet a lot before they could get this income. Data reveals a few stray cases like Bhimavaram in West Godavari in the 1st grade Panchayats, Vuyyuru and Jaggyapeta in Kistna getting Rs. 25,000, Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 2,000, respectively. In West Godavari Velpur got Rs. 1,200. Peatapadu got Rs. 2,000, in Vizagapatam, Parvatipuram got Rs. 2,000, etc. (Column 25.) 651

The complete advantage of this source of income was not taken and when completely enforced this would do much to improve the financial side of the Panchayats.

Magisterial Fines: Magisterial fines were not a big source of income. The fines imposed for offences committed against the Madras Local Boards Act were credited to the Panchayats, after deducting about 10% for collection expenses. (Column 51.)

Vehicle Tax: Vehicle Tax, if properly imposed and collected is capable of yielding a good revenue for most of the Panchayats. However, neither the major nor the minor Panchayats were collecting this with any regularity. In fact, the Panchayats which were actually imposing tax were only a few here and there scattered throughout the State. The income of some of them from this source ranged from Rs. 16,000 to Rs. 24,000 per annum, but others got negligible amounts not exceeding a thousand rupees.

Even though the inspector of Local Boards and the District and Assistant Panchayat Officers who supervised the working of Panchayats had often suggested that this source of income should be more thoroughly exploited, the response of the Panchayats remained to be most unsatisfactory. When the major Panchayats themselvas did not try to exploit this source, the minor Panchayats which usually looked to the lead of the major Panchayats could by no means be encouraged to tap this source of income.

This however could only be made up by declaring the imposition of this tax as obligatory on the part of the Panchayats instead of leaving it to their discretion.

Bore-hole Machine Rentals: Bore-hole latrines were found on a large scale in a few Panchayats in Kistna District, and there alone the Panchayat got some income by lending the machine to the local people. (Column 39.) 651 514

651
[514] The sanitary agency in the Panchayats should encourage bore-hole latrines, where there are no Pucca Latrines, and if they buy the machine and lend it to the people, it would be a worthy encouragement.

Animal Tax: Tax on animals was a source of income again not very often tapped by most of the Panchayats except in rare instances.

Though the Panchayat in Madras were authorised to collect this tax according to sec. 154 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930, none of them were courageous enough to impose this tax for fear of popular disaffection.

Income from Grass Sales: The sale proceeds of grass on river banks were generally obtained by Panchayats by paying a lump sum to the Public Works Department, as lease amount. This was an income which was usually obtained by the minor Panchayats, as most of the major Panchayats had no grass growing areas within their local limits. On account of the disparity between the lease value paid to the P. W. Department, and the actual return from sale of grass, the minor Panchayats were able to make some profit, which, however varied from Rs. 50 to Rs. 4000. (Column 20.)

[312] As the irrigation facilities and fresh water canals and rivers are in abundance in the Delta Districts of the two Godavaries and Kistna, grass grew in abundance on the banks of rivers and canals. This was a source of income available mostly in the minor Panchayats of these areas. In other districts like Vizagapatam or the Ceded Districts, where the land was dry and water facilities were scarce, and where grass was rarely grown, this source of income was not available to Panchayats.

Fishery Rentals: Income from fishery rentals was usually derived by the Panchayats by leasing out or auctioning the right of fishing in the fresh water tanks, pounds or canals in the Panchayat areas. As such, this income was conditioned by the existence of such amenities and could be derived only by such of the Panchayats which had amidst them water sources in case they decided to exploit this income source.

This was a source of income mostly available in the minor Panchayats and rarely in the major Panchayats in Godavari, Kistna and the Ceded Districts, except in places where there were huge tanks or canals. (Column 21.)

364 certain rent-free lands. Moreover, every morning the womenfolk
351 of each house sweep and clean that portion of the lane which lies directly in front of their own house, sprinkle it with water or water mixed with cow-dung and often decorate the entrance with designs drawn with millet or rice flour. Notwithstanding this, the lanes are not always very clean. The reasons for this are many. The Yetti Madigas do not sweep the village very regularly; and the women, when they have finished their housework, often throw the refuse
[514] into the public thoroughfare. Thirdly, very few people have latrines in their houses, and even those who have them are inclined to make their children ease themselves at the side of the
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4. THE HOUSES

342 The dwellings in Shamirpet can be classified into three main
351 groups: the Bhawanti, the Penkutillu and the Gudse.

The Bhawanti. This is a large house with stone walls and tiled roofs; it generally stands in its own compound, which is surrounded by a wall, and invariably has five to six rooms. The following account of the house of I.R., a woman with considerable local influence and a good-sized agricultural holding, will illustrate this type of house. As we enter the gate in the compound wall we find ourselves in front of an open space which constitutes
[372] the courtyard of the house. On one side of this courtyard there is a cattle-shed, the end of which is partitioned off as a store-room for fuel-cakes made of cow-dung. Opposite the gate across the courtyard is a verandah running the whole length of the house; at one end of this verandah there is a small room in which agricultural implements are kept. The main door of the house leads into an
[515] inner court which is open to the sky. In the centre is a stone-lined sink, known as *gachhu*, which can be drained and cleaned, and here, sitting on small wooden stools, the women of the house bath. The inner court is surrounded on three sides by rooms; on one side there are two inter-connected rooms, the first being used as a dining-room and the second as a kitchen. Opposite this, running the whole length of the inner court, is a long room, while opposite to the main house door and across the inner court is a door which

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

353 these are generally out of order and are used rather as decorations than to tell the time.

415 Household utensils are generally made by the local potter. But
[556] shining brassware, including a few large pots for storing water, are a mark of respectability. Food is served on brass, bell-metal or aluminium plates. Water is drunk from metal mugs or brass beakers. In some houses a couple of china cups and saucers and a few glass plates are also to be seen.

342 *The Penkutillu*. This type of house is smaller and less ostentatious,
351 and is built by average cultivators with small holdings, who are neither rich nor poor according to village standards. These houses also have a courtyard and possibly a backyard; a verandah and two or three rooms which are used for various purposes. The walls are of stone, the floor of mud and the roof is tiled. The cattle-shed is generally close to the living-room and there is neither latrine nor bathroom in the house.

352 This type of house is also decorated with carvings on the doors,
353 and designs are painted on the wall. In such houses furniture is
415 regarded as a luxury; there may be a few bedsteads, some small wooden stools and possibly a crude chair or two. People with city contacts decorate the walls of their houses with commercial calendars or coloured magazine covers. The household utensils in this type of house are, except for metal plates used for serving food, of
[556] earthenware, even water being stored in clay pots. Yet respectability demands that such a house should have at least some brass utensils. These are greatly coveted by the ambitious housewife.

342 *The Gudse*. These are the commonest type of dwellings found in Telangana, and are indeed the most numerous in Shamirpet. The walls of these huts are either made of mud or they are made of wattle-screen and plastered with mud. The roof is always thatched. The hut is built in a small enclosure and has generally only one
352 room, from which the kitchen is partly partitioned. These huts have
415 very little furniture and all household utensils are the wares of the local potter. The few metal utensils which the family possesses are among the most treasured parts of the household property.

351 All the three types of village dwellings have some features in
[515] common. Almost all of them have some open space either at the front or at the back. This is generally enclosed. Here women bath and in times of emergency, such as illness or other incapacity, it may also be used as a latrine. During the rainy season

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus

regarded as breaches of the established rules of society and treated accordingly.

It is difficult to summarize the rites and observances involved in a Hindu marriage, for they differ greatly from caste to caste, and from family to family. Here only a very general outline can be given.

The wedding takes place in the bride's house, on an auspicious day fixed by the two parties on the advice of the Brahmin priest. The bridegroom's party, consisting of relations and friends, leave their village in good time to arrive in the bride's village at least a day before the actual date of the marriage. On arrival they are received with great ceremony by the bride's people, and are lodged in a house kept vacant and clean for their use. In the courtesies that are exchanged it is necessary to make some special effort to keep the bridegroom's mother and sisters pleased for any dissatisfaction to them is likely to lead to trouble which may hold up further rites. While the bridegroom's party try to settle down in their house, the bride's people finalize the arrangements for the first dinner. When everything is ready word is sent to the bridegroom's party. After the dinner nothing remains to be done on that day. The guests return to their temporary abode; the hosts get busy to make everything ready for the rites of the next day. When the next day arrives the bride's mother and other female relations carry water and twigs to the groom's mother and other guests so that 'they may wash their mouths'. A little later breakfast is sent to them. The first major rite for the day is the worship of the bride's *kula-devata* or family god. In this both the bride and the bridegroom participate. The second major rite is known as *lagnam*, which must be performed at an auspicious hour determined by the Brahmin on the basis of his astrological calculations. The bride's party go in a procession to bring the guests to the marriage shed. At the appointed hour the *lagnam* is performed by chanting religious verses. The bridegroom ties a necklace of black beads round the bride's neck. This necklace symbolizes her married status, and she should not be without it unless she is widowed. He also puts rings on the second toes of her feet. Before the tying of *mangalsutra* (black beads) the two have to promise to stand by each other through all phases of life, for the mutual satisfaction of bodily, economic and spiritual needs. But the marriage is not yet complete. To put the seal of religious authority on it, the important

LIVING TOGETHER

Sponging children with warm water is now often replaced by two or three cold baths per week; the frequency being more among the Brahmins and Komtis and less among the Muslims and the untouchables. The elders practise considerable deception in their dealings with the children. Efforts at disciplining them tend to be rather erratic; and extremes of affection and strictures are by no means uncommon. Jealousies between siblings may be induced by members of the family who take delight in watching the irritation, anger and aggressiveness of little children. Tantrums during this stage are frequent. The methods commonly employed to pacify the child are: distracting it by making funny noises, rocking it in a cradle, offering it food or milk, scolding it loudly, threatening it, and finally boxing its ears and spanking it.

Later childhood begins at about five and continues until the advent of adolescence. At this stage the children form their own play-groups; spending several hours of the day in their respective age-groups. Now they are free to play in the streets and the open ground outside the village. Maternal attention is now considerably reduced; the elders keep an eye on them, but apart from this they have considerable freedom. As they grow older solicitation of affectionate responses through handling, play and fondling gradually diminishes. Toilet training becomes strict, and the child is expected to have full control over defecation and urination. Cleanliness is insisted upon, and any failure on his part in this respect arouses anger in the elders. The erring child is ridiculed, chastised and punished. Now they must wear clothes and begin to learn to hide their genitals. If the elders find their organs exposed they point to them and ask, '*Arre*, what is that? Why are you exhibiting that little thing?' Children often develop a sense of shame at this stage, blush at such remarks, hide their organs and run away from the elders. Discipline becomes more rigorous and physical punishment is more frequent. Rewards for good behaviour include praise, partiality and favoured treatment on the part of the parents, larger share of food and small gifts of money. Punishments, on the other hand, include rebukes and threats, ridicule, threats to report the matter to the father, spanking and occasionally denial of food or playing things or even locking up in a solitary room. Considerable dishonesty is practised by elders in their dealings with children, which is often detected by the latter and angers them all the more.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

very close to the human inmates. Rubbish and cow-dung are stored up in front of the houses, while in rainy seasons the whole becomes a stagnant pool of water, rubbish and cow-dung. 511 356

The houses of the Pariahs are filled with an awful smell of skins, bones and putrid flesh. The insufficiency of food that they suffer from tempts them to fill their bellies with toddy and other stimulants that ultimately ruin their health.

The Sudras are perfectly temperate and simple in habits and food. The "twice-born" castes are bound to marry their girls before twelve. The lower castes are not bound to do so. But the Sudras and lower castes actually marry their girls at a very early age, both to satisfy the anxiety of elders and for fear they may not have the money afterwards. I know a case in which a girl two months old was married to a boy of two years, the boy dying a year later of cholera. They maintain strict widowhood like the Brahmans. There is no purdah. 582

The villagers bathe and wash clothes and also wash their cattle in the same tank as that used for drinking. 515

Education.—There is one school; its accommodation and equipment being a rented house, an atlas, a globe, text books, some pictures of common objects, civics primers, dumb-bells, a black board, a desk, benches for boys to sit upon. 871

Elementary education is given up to the fourth standard, in the vernacular, in history, arithmetic, geography, civics, etc. This education is most unpractical and incomplete and ill-suited to the villagers, who do not proceed to college classes. It does not enable them to read good books in Telugu or to learn even the elementary principles of sanitation. They are never made to feel that they are citizens of a world, or an empire, or a province, outside the narrow bounds of their village.

Attendance—	Boys.	Girls.
1913	19	4
1914	9	3
1915	45	12
1916	54	8
1917	48	6

About 30 per cent of the adults can read the vernacular; two persons can read and talk English. There is a noted musician in the village but no other pandit. Not less than 25 or 30 per cent of those who have passed through the school have lost their capacity to write or cipher after leaving. One boy has proceeded to the Mechanical Engineering course in the Victoria Technical Institute, Bombay; another to the Arts course in the Madras University. [191]

There are 90 to 100 books, of which 70 are owned by Brahmans, made up of novels, dramas, puranas, the Mahabharata and stories. Among the Sudras, a development of literary taste, though in a very small degree, is perceptible. There are many devotional songs and lives of Telugu saints, while stories of the epics rendered into songs and recited by "Bhagavathars" are very frequent. The latest innovation is the introduction of dramas. Novels are still a rarity, as well as histories. No newspaper comes to the village. 538

The village has no temple except that of the village goddess. Her festival is celebrated with much slaughter of cattle and goats given by their owners whenever there is an outbreak of cholera or small-pox; or, failing these, once in four or five years. The cost is 796

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available.

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission.

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village.

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals.

The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; in return for the service, the government grants them the use of certain rent-free lands. 27

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER SEVEN

Living Together

1. INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS

The people of Shamirpet, like the other peasants of Andhra, exercise considerable reserve in their initial dealings with outsiders. The first impression that one gets regarding their attitude is one of extreme constriction, suspiciousness and guarded behaviour. When this initial reserve is broken down, they reveal themselves in a totally different light—as emotional, communicative, and at times even boisterous. Nearly all of them have great curiosity, and are easily attracted by anything that is even slightly uncommon or unusual. Opinions are freely expressed, and all public gatherings—big or small—are rather noisy. Middle-aged and elderly people generally have a grim expression, and it is considered a mark of respectability in women if they walk with their eyes downcast. But unobtrusiveness is not regarded as a virtue, and the people freely make comments and counter-comments on all subjects with which they may or may not have any concern. There is a great tradition for argument, which can easily drift into becoming a noisy quarrel or altercation. Tempers rise easily, and abuse may be showered volubly by both sides; but differences are patched up as easily, and it is not uncommon to see two people walking together as great friends although on the previous day they may have quarrelled bitterly on some trifling issue. In their inter-personal relations the people are hypercritical and very sensitive. This leads to a perpetual attitude of fault finding. As the people do not easily let go an opportunity of commenting on and criticizing their neighbours, their relations are never very smooth and certain. However, on occasions which demand a display of good-neighbourliness and generosity people

come forward very readily to help those who need it. It is common to suspect others' motives; and not unusual to be always on the alert to read hidden meanings into the seemingly innocent utterances of others. Analysis of their life-histories shows that the people are not given to introspection. They are always on the defensive; but their inter-personal relations are not characterized by detachment. In their thoughts, likes and dislikes they are quite open, and all persons having even casual contacts have a fair acquaintance with one anothers' ideas and attitudes

It is not uncommon for people to analyse and describe the personality-traits of other inhabitants of the village as well as of outsiders coming into the settlement. Positive qualities, having obvious approval, find expression in such epithets as: 'good person', 'hard-working', 'honest', 'respectable', 'well-behaved', 'intelligent', 'generous' or 'large-hearted' and 'faithful'. Epithets describing negative traits which do not meet with social approval are many and varied, and among others include: 'bad person', 'lazy', 'dishonest', 'shameless', 'mannerless', 'foolish', 'miserly', 'small-hearted', 'unfaithful', 'good-for-nothing', 'liar', 'all talk but no deeds', 'ill-tempered', etc. Analysis of such traits is firmly established in the culture-pattern, and occupies an important place in the conversation of the people when they meet in small groups. Although conformity to social norms is idealized and emphasized, when there is a breach of traditional ways the person responsible likes to confess it in confidence to someone else. Long conversations and the mutual sharing of secrets are quite frequent. However, when friendships break up the sanctity of earlier secrets is not protected by any code of honour. Within limits originality and innovation are admired; but excess and ostentation soon lead to social censure and ridicule.

Subjects coming under the critical eye of society are: (i) breaches of traditional norms, (ii) display and exhibitionism, (iii) sexuality, (iv) efforts to rise in the power hierarchy, (v) conspicuous success, and (vi) originality and 'too many new ideas'. Carrying tales and 'whispering about the doings in others' houses' go on in the community on a wide scale. It is criticized by the aggrieved persons and their sympathizers, but no one regards it as inherently bad. 'Incidents' or breaches of established norms are discussed in small conversational groups at first, and the more important ones among them gradually filter through and reach the respon-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

admiration of their age-group. For the girls it is a rather difficult period, as they have to find a middle way between the dictates of their romantic impulses and the fear of the social censure that comes to all wayward girls. Adolescent boys divide their time more or less equally between 'learning to do things' with their parents and being with their playmates. Childish games in the dust are now replaced by more vigorous country sport. Within the age-group itself thoughts and efforts in the domain of sex come to occupy a very important place. Masturbation is now regarded as 'unmanly' and gradually given up. Lying with other boys is also looked down upon. Efforts are made to attract younger girls for first experimentation in heterosexual love. Far more than these actual experiments, fantasies occupy an important place in their thoughts and conversation. Imaginary affairs with a woman believed to be of easy virtue—or with a completely fictitious character from a distant village—are vividly and elaborately described. Growth of the pubic hair and genital organs is closely watched and compared. In this way they slowly reach their youth when talks for their marriage are opened. On marriage they acquire a new social status.

After marriage the young men and women have to give considerable attention to their economic pursuits and crafts, and as such they have relatively little time left for group activity. Yet, their leisure and time are generally spent in the company of persons belonging more or less to the same age-group, who constitute 'a set of friends'. Important activities of these groups include loafing, playing card games, gossip and conversation. They may even go to the city together; and always act in unison when planning mischief. Confidences are exchanged within these groups; and people often narrate to each other their recent exploits. One of the favourite themes is boasting regarding success in sexual adventures. Success—real or imaginary—with an adolescent girl is vividly described within this narrow circle. Graphic and vivid details are always added to make the account more colourful. 'It was her very first experience. Oh, there was so much blood. I did not know whether to pacify her or to concentrate on the act', one would say. This would start a chain in which all others would narrate their parallel experiences—many of which would be slightly modified editions of often-told tales. The *motif* of a girl being frightened by the largeness of a man's organ also

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keeps on repeating itself. Some young men introduce a note of slight sadism when they talk of their 'forcing-in' acts against unwilling partners. General comments about the goings on in the village are an important item in the activities of these groups. The latest scandals are discussed and spread to the rest of the community in one or other of these groups. Women are classified into sexual categories, such as 'the easy' type, 'invite you and later say "no"' type, 'the wrestler' type and 'the hollow'. Code words are employed to describe different persons. Peculiarities and weaknesses of men are also noted and commented upon. Domestic duties do not leave much leisure to young married women. Consequently they cannot plan any group activity. But they too can exchange views, and discuss the latest affairs and developments while they wait near the well for their turn to draw water or when they go out for washing the clothes and bathing.

Middle-aged people have their own groups. These are informal conversational gatherings; but their membership and attendance is nearly fixed. Groups of men and women meet separately; although two or three women in the village are privileged and have access to some of the men's groups. The village has twelve to fourteen men's groups, out of which three are politically and socially influential and important. In practically each quarter of the village there are one or two groups of elderly women. While the membership of the men's groups remains fairly stationary, that of the women's groups changes very often, varying according to recent quarrels or patching up of past differences. Most of the men's groups are formed round some central, politically influential figure. Gossip and politics appear to be their most important functions. Day to day developments in the village are discussed, and often the line to be taken in the central village council is worked out here long before the council's session. All these groups consist of two kinds of members—'regulars', whose loyalty and affiliation are not in doubt; and 'occasionals', whose affiliations are shaky, but who turn up periodically out of curiosity or with a definite purpose. These groups play a significant part in managing the affairs of the village, for their comments circulating in the village by word of mouth set the pace and direction for further action by the community in most matters. It should be added here that these groups comprise mostly the middle-aged people. While some ambitious young men seek to attend them, the aged generally

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

577 unmistakable appreciation. Cowardice and treachery are condemned, but people still indulge in malicious gossip and back-
152 biting. Mutual suspicion characterizes the general nature of inter-personal relations. Two families on the road to prosperity are likely to be jealous of each other; but adversity almost never fails to bring them nearer and closer. Exercising little control over their emotions, people get excited very quickly; anger and friendship are both aroused in them with equal ease.

571 A study of inter-group relations will give us a better idea of the nature and quality of the attitudes that largely govern inter-personal relations in the community. For this we shall first examine the inter-caste attitudes embodied in stereotypes, and later analyse similar attitudes and opinions covering two sets of rival groups—educated and uneducated, and those with urban contacts and those without them.

564 INTER-CASTE ATTITUDES: SOME STEREOTYPES

186 Inter-caste attitudes find expression in several stereotypes which
● [522] are a part of the thought patterns of the people, and find expression both in jest and banter as well as in quarrels and outbursts of anger. Among others, the following stereotypes and related anecdotes were noted in Shamirpet.

The Brahmin is 'pious from outside, but not so at heart'. He is 'tricky and calculating'. 'He instigates people, but always keeps himself in the background.'

The Komti is 'a born coward, but a shrewd business man'. 'When he says anything on oath, take it that he is telling a deliberate falsehood.' 'He spares no ingenuity to save even a counterfeit coin.' 'Gods do not penalize a Komti for telling lies, he is born to do that.' The anecdotes concerning the miserliness of the Komtis are indeed many and varied. 'If a fly falls in butter-milk, rich people will throw the butter-milk away, the poor will throw away the fly and drink the butter-milk. But the Komti squeezes out the butter-milk before throwing the fly away.' 'If a relation comes to the house of a Komti and the time of the evening meal approaches, he will think, "If this guest goes home, I shall be able to save one meal." The guest on the other hand thinks, "If I stay here a little while more, one meal will be saved at home." And a battle of wits goes on to save just one meal.' The stories of their

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

husband is alive must wear, were formerly made by one of the local castes from indigenous materials. Now factory-made glass bangles have captured the market almost completely. Children's dresses are now generally of Western style. Frocks, rompers, shirts and shorts are bought for them from the local market or from the shops in the city. Among other items of everyday wear Western-style shoes with laces are now being used alongside country shoes and sandals.

To the list of articles of daily requirement there have been several significant additions. Aluminium and 'German silver' utensils became very popular with the poorer sections of the population on account of their low prices. Glasses, as well as china cups and saucers, could be seen in several homes. Besides the public buildings five private homes now possess wall or alarm clocks. Kerosene lanterns can be seen in several homes, and there are five kerosene pressure lamps in the village. Some old people use reading glasses, and more then half a dozen young men from the village have bought sun glasses. Several people in the village use safety razors and torches. Cheap fountain-pens are also very fashionable.

In the food habits of the people there has not been much change. Sweets and other dainty eatables are bought from the shops in the city or from the bazaar. Five small stores in the village sell, among other things, lozenges, fruit-drops and biscuits made in Hyderabad. Tea and coffee are also very popular. Even those who do not drink these beverages regularly at home, occasionally have them in the village shop ostentatiously known as the 'hotel'. Aerated waters enjoy an amazing popularity as they are believed to provide relief from many stomach disorders. The cigarette factories at Hyderabad have been producing and popularizing cheap brands of cigarettes, which have been progressively replacing the country cigarettes in which tobacco is rolled in dried leaves. Along with fermented palm-juice, some people now drink other liquors supplied by distilleries in Hyderabad.

Side by side with the traditional recreations of gossip, loafing and playing indigenous games, several new varieties of entertainments are now available to the village people. The village has three gramophones. In the tea shop there is a crystal radio. Some young men in the village play volley-ball. Many people patronize the circus and cinema in the city.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

596 entitles him to maintain a controlling hand in domestic affairs. In the case of the head of the family also, much depends on the character and personality of the individual concerned. An irresponsible head who becomes a liability to the members of his family forfeits his claim to their obedience and respect, and in such cases the sympathy of the village people is generally given to the dissenting members of the family. Even after separation [527] it is good form to treat the elders with courtesy and respect. On the occasions of family reunions, such as those connected with the crises of life or with the annual offering of water to the spirits of the deceased, it is the eldest member of the family who occupies the dominant position. In general, even after separation his help is sought in cases of disease and difficulty, and in all matters involving priority of one or the other, preference is always given to the elder. The exact position of the head of the family would, however, vary according to the equations of different families, with which we propose to deal later.

622 The Deshmukh also figures at the head of the government or semi-government village officials, whose relative positions can be arranged in a tabular form as follows:

[625]

DESHMUKH
[Combining the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel]

Sub-Inspector of Police
Head Constables
Masters
Constables

Patwari

FOURTEEN VILLAGE MENIALS

i. Kawalkar	viii. Kammari
ii. Talari	ix. Kummari
iii. Majkuri	x. Sakali
iv. Neerudi	xi. Mangali
v. Begari	xii. Ausula
vi. Yetti	xiii. Dappu
vii. Wadla	xiv. Kommu

622 625 465 The Deshmukh is the recognized headman of the village. Two hundred and ten acres of rent-free land, the normal revenue of which would have been Rs. 556/6/-, have been granted to him by the State. He also formally holds the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel; in the former capacity he assists the government officials in the collection of land revenue, in the latter he helps the police in the maintenance of law and order. The Deshmukh used to cultivate the rent-free land earmarked by the government for persons working in these two capacities, but he had delegated his powers

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

in Hyderabad. Payment is generally in cash, and only in exceptional cases may a credit account be maintained.

THE PANCH BRAMHA GROUP

In an earlier chapter mention has already been made of the group of artisan castes who designate themselves as Panch Bramha and maintain a certain degree of exclusiveness from the other Hindu castes. Out of these, two groups, namely, the Wadla (carpenter) and the Kammari (blacksmith), enter into relations of permanent affiliation to the agriculturists. Under this system, they have to supply new agricultural implements periodically, and look after their maintenance and repairs. In return for these services they get a share of the crops which they have to collect from the fields when harvesting is in progress. In addition to this, they practise their own occupation independently. All their services to non-agriculturists, as well as their services of a non-agricultural nature, must be paid for. The carpenter makes the wooden marriage-post required for several of the rites of Hindu weddings. For this he is paid a small fee prescribed by tradition. The blacksmith repairs and periodically supplies new iron agricultural implements, but in this case the agriculturist concerned has to supply the iron, charcoal and a labourer to work the bellows. The other three groups, that is the goldsmiths, workers in bell metal and carvers of images, specialize in fields which have little or almost nothing to do with agriculture; and as such they carry on their crafts independently.

THE SAKALI AND THE MANGALI

The barber and the washerman have no direct contribution to make to the agricultural pursuits of the landowners, but their services are required so often by the agriculturist, especially in their socio-religious ceremonies and rituals connected with birth, marriage and death, that the agriculturists find it more convenient to have families from these castes permanently affiliated to their households. For their normal services all the year round, that is for shaving and hair-cutting, or for washing clothes, they collect their share after each harvest. Other services, especialiy those connected with socio-religious activities, are generally provided for in the rituals themselves, for at several points in their progress these castes have to be given something, either in cash

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW7

The image of the goddess is taken from the canopy by the washerman, and a Mādigā takes the head of the buffalo with its foreleg in the mouth, the forehead and nostrils all smeared over with fat, and the earthen lamp still lighted on the top. They then all go in procession to the boundary of the village, first the men carrying the buffalo's head, next the washerman with the image, and last the small wooden cart. When the procession arrives at the extreme limit of the village lands, they go on, for about a furlong, into the lands of the neighbouring village. There the Asādis first chant the praises of the goddess, then some turmeric is distributed to all the people, and finally the image is divested of all its ornaments and solemnly placed upon the ground and left there. The light on the head of the buffalo is extinguished, and the head itself carried off by the Mādigā, who takes it for a feast to his own house. The object of transporting the goddess to the lands of the next village is to transfer to that village the wrath of the deity, a precaution which does not show much faith in the temper of the goddess, nor much charity towards their neighbours!

Gudivada, near Masulipatam. A somewhat different form of ceremonial prevails in some of the villages of the Telugu country nearer the coast. The village of Gudivada, about twenty miles from the important town of Masulipatam, may be taken as a good specimen of a well-to-do village in a prosperous district, and the ceremonies prevailing there are a fair sample of the cult of the village deities in these parts.

The name of the village deity at Gudivada is Pallalamma. Her image is the figure of a woman with four arms, and a leopard's head under her right foot, carved in bas-relief on a flat stone about three feet high, standing in an open compound, surrounded by a low stone wall. The pūjārī, who is a Śūdra, gave me a full account of the rites and ceremonies. Weekly offerings are made every Sunday, when the pujarī washes the image with water and soap-nut seeds early in the morning, and smears it with turmeric

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. But they have several other additional means of subsistence open to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village. As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner. From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes. Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

585 distributes invitations, offers his occupational services in matters of haircutting and shaving, and at the wedding itself, at the time of important rites during the night, holds a lighted torch. The potter supplies the large quantity of earthenware needed for the different [533] rituals as well as for cooking. No marriage ceremony can be performed without the essential instrumental music played by the Madigas. The carpenter has to make the marriage-post, and other wooden fixtures as well, if they are required. The marriage rites require small payments to these occupational castes in the course of the ceremony itself. At the completion of the ceremony, depending on the means of the family, they are paid once again for their labours.

586 587 Divorce and widow re-marriage are allowed in all castes except the Brahmin and the Komti. Divorce or 'driving away the wife' is not very common. In the 380 marriages studied by us there were only 79 cases of desertion and divorce. In all such cases the elders, the village council and the caste council intervene and the parties involved in the dispute have to abide by their decisions.

595 Brahmins do not conduct the re-marriage of widows. Polygyny is permitted among the Hindus; but it is rare. At the time of our investigation there were only seven polygynous Hindu homes in the village.

584 Among the Muslims the standard marriage ritual prescribed by Islam is adhered to with some regional and local variations. Marriage negotiations are initiated by the boy's people, and when they are successful a date for the *nikah* (rites of marriage) is fixed

585 by them in consultation with a Muslim marriage priest. Four days before the actual wedding preliminary rites are started. The ceremony opens with the rite of *manjah* in which the womenfolk of the two sides grind turmeric in their respective homes, and playfully throw turmeric and coloured water on each other in their separate groups. On the second day the groom's people go to the bride's home with gifts for her. These gifts include jewellery, clothes and bangles. The bride is then garlanded by a responsible person from the groom's side; and a little later, with her mother's permission, *missi* (a thick black paste) is applied to her lips and teeth. This symbolizes the actual beginning of the wedding rites. On the third morning, the bride's people (with the exception of her mother) go to the groom's place. They take presents for the bridegroom, and he is garlanded by a younger sister or cousin of

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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and eat the food entirely concealed from view, probably to prevent the evil spirits from seeing them, or the evil eye from striking them. And then some more food is served to the Asādis, who have been for many hours, during the ceremonies of the night, chanting the praises of the goddess. After this the villagers bring their offerings. The Brāhmans, who may not kill animals, bring rice and cocoanuts, and other castes bring lambs, goats, sheep, fowls, and buffaloes, which are all killed by the washermen, by cutting their throats, except the buffaloes, which are always killed by the Mādigās, the lowest class of Outcastes. The heads are all cut off and presented to the goddess. This lasts till about three p.m., when the people go off to the house of the village carpenter, who has got ready a small wooden cart. On their arrival some cooked rice is offered to the cart, and a lamb sacrificed before it, and a new cloth and eight annas are given to the carpenter as his fee. The cart is then dragged by the washermen, to the sound of horns and tom-toms, to the place of sacrifice. The heads and carcasses of the animals already sacrificed are first removed by the Mālās and Mādigās, except the head of the buffalo first offered, which remains in its place till all the ceremonies are finished, when the shrine is removed.

At about seven p.m. another series of ceremonies begins. First a lamb is sacrificed before the goddess, and its blood mixed with some cooked rice, and at the same time a pig is buried up to the neck in a pit at the entrance of the village, with its head projecting above the earth. The villagers go in procession to the spot, while one of the Mādigās carries the rice, soaked in the blood of the lamb, in a basket. All the cattle of the village are then brought to the place and driven over the head of the unhappy pig,[1] which is, of course, trampled to death; and, as they pass over the pig, the blood and rice are sprinkled upon them to preserve them from disease. Then, after this, follows the final ceremony.

[1] Cf. p 58 below.

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The image of the goddess is taken from the canopy by the washerman, and a Mādigā takes the head of the buffalo with its foreleg in the mouth, the forehead and nostrils all smeared over with fat, and the earthen lamp still lighted on the top. They then all go in procession to the boundary of the village, first the men carrying the buffalo's head, next the washerman with the image, and last the small wooden cart. When the procession arrives at the extreme limit of the village lands, they go on, for about a furlong, into the lands of the neighbouring village. There the Asādis first chant the praises of the goddess, then some turmeric is distributed to all the people, and finally the image is divested of all its ornaments and solemnly placed upon the ground and left there. The light on the head of the buffalo is extinguished, and the head itself carried off by the Mādigā, who takes it for a feast to his own house. The object of transporting the goddess to the lands of the next village is to transfer to that village the wrath of the deity, a precaution which does not show much faith in the temper of the goddess, nor much charity towards their neighbours!

Gudivada, near Masulipatam. A somewhat different form of ceremonial prevails in some of the villages of the Telugu country nearer the coast. The village of Gudivada, about twenty miles from the important town of Masulipatam, may be taken as a good specimen of a well-to-do village in a prosperous district, and the ceremonies prevailing there are a fair sample of the cult of the village deities in these parts.

The name of the village deity at Gudivada is Pallalamma. Her image is the figure of a woman with four arms, and a leopard's head under her right foot, carved in bas-relief on a flat stone about three feet high, standing in an open compound, surrounded by a low stone wall. The pūjārī, who is a Śūdra, gave me a full account of the rites and ceremonies. Weekly offerings are made every Sunday, when the pujari washes the image with water and soap-nut seeds early in the morning, and smears it with turmeric

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and kunkuma, offers incense, breaks a cocoanut, and cooks and presents to the image about a seer of rice, which he afterwards eats himself. The rice is provided daily by the villagers. Occasionally fowls and sheep are offered on the Sunday by villagers who have made vows in time of sickness or other misfortunes. When a sheep is sacrificed, it is first purified by washing. The animal is simply killed in front of the image by a Mādigā, who cuts off its head with a large chopper. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground and nothing special is done with it. The head becomes the perquisite of the pūjārī, and the offerer takes away the carcass for a feast in his house. In many villages, both in the Telugu and Tamil districts, water is poured over the sheep's back to see whether it shivers. If it shivers, it is a sign that the goddess has accepted it.[1] Where the people are economical, they keep on pouring water till it does shiver, to avoid the expense of providing a second victim, but, where they are more scrupulous, if it does not shiver, it is taken as a sign that the goddess will not accept it and it is taken away.

A public festival is held whenever an epidemic breaks out. The headman of the village then gets a new earthenware pot, besmears it with turmeric and kunkuma and puts inside some clay bracelets, some necklaces, and ear-rings, three pieces of charcoal, three pieces of turmeric, three pieces of incense, a piece of dried cocoanut, a woman's cloth, and two annas' worth of coppers—a strange collection of miscellaneous charms and offerings. The pot is then hung up in a tree near the image, as a pledge that, if the epidemic disappears, the people will celebrate a festival.

When it does disappear, a thatched shed of palmyra leaves is built near the image, and a special image of clay, adorned with turmeric and kunkuma, is put inside, and beneath it an earthen pot filled with buttermilk and boiled rice. This pot is also smeared with turmeric and

[1] For this widespread superstition see Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, i, 19. Cf. pp. 63, 68, 69, 73, 99, below.

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kunkuma, adorned with margosa leaves, covered with an earthenware saucer, and carried in procession through the village during the day, to the exhilarating sound of pipes, horns, and tom-toms, by the village potter, who takes the rice and buttermilk for his perquisite and renews it every morning of the festival at the public expense. The duration of the festival depends on the amount of the subscriptions, but it always lasts for an odd number of days, excluding all numbers with a seven in them, *e.g.* 7, 17, 27, etc. During the night the barbers of the village chant the praises of the goddess, and the Mādigās beat tom-toms near the image.

On the night before the day appointed for the offering of animal sacrifices by the villagers, a male buffalo, called Devara Potu, *i.e.* devoted to the deity, is sacrificed on behalf of the whole village. First, the buffalo is washed with water, smeared with yellow turmeric and red kunkuma, and then garlanded with flowers and the leaves of the sacred margosa tree. It is brought before the image; and a Mādigā cuts off its head, if possible at one blow, over a heap of boiled rice, which becomes soaked with the blood. The right foreleg is then cut off and placed crosswise in its mouth, according to the widespread custom prevailing in South India, the fat of the entrails is smeared over the eyes and forehead, and the head is placed in front of the image. A lighted lamp is placed, not as in the other villages on the head itself, but on the heap of rice soaked with blood. This rice is then put into a basket; and a Mādigā, the village *vetty* or sweeper, carries it round the site of the village, sprinkling it on the ground as he goes. The whole village goes with him, but there is no music or tom-toms. The people shout out as they go "Poli! Poli!" *i.e.* "Food! Food!" and clap their hands and wave their sticks above their heads to keep off the evil spirits. The rice offered to the goddess, but not soaked with blood, is then distributed to the people. What spirits the rice soaked in blood is supposed to feed is not clear, but the object of sprinkling the blood is evidently to ward off evil spirits

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PLATE VIII

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HEAD OF SACRIFICIAL BUFFALO

[facing p. 51]

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113, 536

For information on the development of the Andhra theater, see 41: Anand AW1 India, category 116 pp. 27-34.

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stricted to finding out whether a particular book satisfied the conditions laid down in a conventional scheme of classification. There was little attempt to examine its various aspects as a whole. The beauties of a particular verse or the propriety of a particular idea were discussed, and literary animosity, professional rivalry, or individual jealousy had free play. Now the western canons of literary criticism are applied and the authorities of western criticism are not only referred to but also quoted *in extenso*. Before the advent of English Sanskrit was the only law-giver and the treatises on aesthetics in that language were the only guides. Now the whole critical literature of the English language is at the disposal of the critic, and in his praise or condemnation of a literary production he makes use of them most freely. Recent works on the art of criticism, the standards of beauty and literary taste, the theories of dramatic technique and dramaturgy abound in references to and quotations from western authors. A lead was given by Dr. C. R. Reddi, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, who in 1899 wrote a critical appreciation of the works of a great poet of the middle ages; this work, which was new in the field, is still read as a model estimate of an author's work. Its success was as much due to his originality as it was to his introduction of methods of interpretation. To-day an accomplished scholar is required to be proficient not only in Telugu but also in English and Sanskrit, and it is not uncommon to find a critic taking an idea or a situation from a Telugu poet and quoting parallels from Shakespeare and Kalidasa at the same time.

Other branches of prose are also slowly developing. *A Short History of the World* by H. G. Wells has been translated into Telugu; short treatises on physics, chemistry, mathematics, economics, co-operation, and other subjects of practical or scientific value are making their appearance; and with the adoption of the modern languages of India as the media of instruction in schools there is a sustained effort to increase the number of publications of an educational nature.

Journalism is another western importation, and its ever-growing popularity is introducing substantial changes into the vocabulary and style of prose, which is gaining in lucidity, facility of expression, and suitability to different demands.

Telugu drama has also been influenced to a great extent by contact with the West. In one way it might be said that Telugu dramatic literature began in 1883, when Veeresalingam published a translation of *Sakuntala* from Sanskrit, which he followed up two years later with a translation of Sheridan's *Rivals*. The form of dramatic literature which he started caught the imagination of the people, and for a continuous period of nearly fifty years every

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538 town of any repute has had its theatre. Amateur and professional
536 actors began to stage dramas which were sometimes translations
177 from Sanskrit, sometimes from English, but also often original productions. But it should not be thought for a moment that the Telugu people before this time had no dramatic art. It was not entirely foreign to them. Examination of the manuscripts of the Tanjore palace library has revealed a good number of literary productions called 'dramas', though most of them do not approach either the Sanskrit or the English drama in plan of construction, characterization, or dramatic value. They were merely scenic representations of detached incidents with the accompaniment of music and dance. There was the invariable element of humour, and the story often centred about the marriage of a prince of a royal family or a god. Puranic stories were also dramatized in the same way, and the stage and its equipment were of a very simple nature. The itinerant village stage still puts on the boards the indigenous Telugu drama, which is very closely akin to the miracle or mystery plays of the sixteenth century in England.

The construction of theatres for the entertainment of large audiences and the cultivation of dramatic art for its own sake were undoubtedly due to western influence, and it is obvious that modern Telugu drama has been profoundly influenced in matter and manner, in sentiment and action by English models. Social topics are freely selected for dramatization, the problems which confront society are presented in an idealized or a realistic atmosphere, and thus the stage has become a powerful institution for the education of the public and for the guidance of public opinion. The modern form of drama began with translations from Sanskrit in 1880, before which time authors restricted themselves to a poetical rendering of Sanskrit works and made no attempt to present them on the stage, probably because actors had no social status and the stage was often in the hands of low-class people. The drama has now abandoned the classical unities of Sanskrit drama and has imbibed the freshness, vigour, and variety of topic found in English works. The stage has seen translations or adaptations of the dramas of Ibsen, Bernard Shaw, and many other European writers; the influence of Bengali literature is also evident, Dwinjendralal Ray and Rabindranath Tagore being models for translation. Tragedies are prohibited in Sanskrit, and for a time this ban was observed in Telugu, but the influence of English literature proved too strong, and to-day tragedy and comedy are accepted types though tragedy is not popular. The living drama is, however, being displaced in popular favour by the films displayed in the ever-growing number of 'talkie-houses', yet another western importation.

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with English. Father Beschi's epic *Themba Ani* was the earliest successful attempt to import biblical themes and incidents into Tamil poetry. In his *Thiru Kavalur Kalambakam*, *Adaikala Malai*, *Annai Azhungal Andhadhi*, and *Kitheri Amman Ammanai* he poured new wine into old bottles. While scrupulously, and even excessively, conforming to the orthodox technique, he worked freely on western models and effected innovations both in design and execution, in materials and make-up, which, if daring, added a new grandeur in numbers and a new vigour in ideology.

To come to later writers, Mr. Krishna Pillai's epic *Rakshanya Yatrikam* is a poetic adaptation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; Mr. V. G. S. Sastri's monostiches, known as *Thani Pasura Thokai*, which have been translated into English by Dr. Pope, are fine imitations of Shakespeare's Sonnets; Munsif Vedanayagam Pillai's *Penmathi Malai* and *Sarva Samaya Kirthanais* are lyrical symphonies on modern themes of current interest. The extempore melodies of the later nationalist poet Bharati, entitled *Swadesa-Githams* (National Songs), touch high levels of perfervid patriotic poesy. He is a product of the new dynamic nationalism which tales of Mazzini's noble passion and Garibaldi's prowess have inspired in young India. His 'soul-stirring songs', as they have been called by a staid Malayali High Court judge, are expressions of the new-born emotions and passion for freedom inspired by western ideas and advanced modern ideals; and they have helped to translate patriotism from the sphere of passion into that of a religion.

To sum up our review, the effects of western influences on modern Tamil culture have been primarily to enlarge the domain of prose and to add extensive and entirely new communes to the republic of Tamil letters, in fiction, drama, and journalism in particular. Even the anaemic languor of later poetry has been dissipated by infusions of healthy young blood, and Tamil poesy has been revitalized by the live currents from the West, which appear to have cured it of the partial paralysis that supervened in the dark ages between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

V. TELUGU

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Telugu, which is the principal member of the Andhra group of Dravidian languages, is the mother tongue of about twenty-six million people in an area of 117,000 square miles, occupying the central portion of the east coast of South India and extending far into the interior of the country, which is comprehensively known as Andhra land. Its existence as a language can be traced back to a period as early as the first century B.C., but its first literary production, which was a translation of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata*,

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197 dates as late as the eleventh century A.D. By then it had absorbed the vocabulary, spirit, and culture of the Sanskrit language, and up
538 to the nineteenth century, through a continuous period of eight centuries, it looked to Sanskrit as the model of literary expression. It took more than two centuries to complete the translation of the *Mahabharata*, and that great work formed the foundation for the superstructure of later literary construction. Early Telugu scholars were invariably acquainted with Sanskrit, and the vast stores of its literature afforded material for study, imitation, adaptation, and translation. Almost all the *Puranas* were translated one after another, and the habit of translation, though discouraged, persists to this day. But one good feature about the Telugu translations is that the genius of the poet-translator often permeates the whole work, so that it reads as if it were an original composition. These *Puranas* are mostly in verse form, with prose interspersed here and there in less poetic portions. Their themes were mostly mythological and religious, but the treatment of them was highly poetical. Stories of selfless love, of filial devotion, of absorbing romance, of great heroism, and of absolute renunciation can be found in scores in these *Puranas*. Another literary type that was evolved and perfected is called the *Prabandha*. A tale of the love and wedding of lovers of high lineage, written mostly in verse interspersed with prose, with a stock plot, overdrawn and ornate descriptions, and perfunctory characterization, was the sum and substance of the average *Prabandha*. Thus, as a rough estimate, it can be said that the two standard types existing in Telugu literature before it began to be subject to western influence were the *Purana*, or mythological long story, and the *Prabandha*, or romantic tale of moderate range.

538 The beginning of western influence can be traced to 1800 or even earlier; two books describing the life of Christ and his
177 teachings and explaining the doctrines of Christianity were written in Telugu in 1750 and 1780 respectively. The introduction of printing and the establishment of public schools teaching the language of the land as well as English were the starting-point of a great change in the life, manners, outlook, and culture of the average Telugu man, and the change was reflected in literature. In force, in variety of topics, in its relationship to the daily life of the people, in its ready assimilation of foreign elements, in its freedom of thought, in the abundance of its literary forms, and in its general output, Telugu literature became altogether a new literature. The change has been unique and all-pervading. The modern author need no longer be bound by convention or be hard pressed for a subject; he is not hampered by traditional literary forms but has been emancipated. He makes new ventures in the

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field of metrical composition. He sings in praise of his motherland and glories in its past history. He essays romance or adapts tales of fiction from English literature. Knowledge of English has given him the key to unlock the vast treasures of western thought. At the same time he is enriched with the learning of traditional Sanskrit lore, so that he can combine the best of the East and the best of the West.

Before we examine the literary output in greater detail and appraise the effect of the West on it, we may refer to the pioneer work done by Mr. C. P. Brown, a member of the Madras Civil Service for thirty-eight years (1817–55). This was a godsend to the Telugu language and literature. As he himself said, 'the flame of Telugu literature was just glimmering in the socket' in 1824, when he first began to make a study of the language. He helped to preserve its ancient literature by printing and publishing some of its classics; the method of collecting and editing manuscripts started by him in 1826 is substantially the same as is adopted even to-day. His essay on Telugu literature published in 1838 paved the way for the biographies of poets and histories of literature written and published in later times. The dictionary of the Telugu language which he compiled between 1845 and 1853, though not the very first of its kind, is still of distinct use.

The modern period of Telugu literature may be said to have begun about the year 1880, and critics have named it the Veeresalinga age (*yuga*) after the late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu, who has a just claim to be called its father. He was a dynamic personality with vast erudition and deep insight into human nature, a man of action and of quick and energetic resolve. The influence of Raja Ram Mohan Ray and of the Bengali reaction to the new light which came from the West was strong upon him, and he was the greatest figure in the field of literary and social reform in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. 'He laid the foundation stone of modern literature and led the way in developing the latent powers of the language into harmony and perfection'. In 1878 he published the first Telugu novel, which nine years later was translated into English and received with appreciation by the English-reading public. He claims in his autobiography to have written the first novel, to have translated the first drama, to have written the first Telugu farce and satire, and to have composed the first treatise on physical science; nearly all the different forms of composition found in English literature were transplanted by him. Literature was with him not a concoction prepared from a conventional recipe. It was an implement of social reform, a means of educating the public, a record of contemporary life, and a picture of the tumultuous changes that took place in his time.

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538 177 It was a whip with which he lashed the conservative elements which were an obstruction in the way of progress. His farces were full of satire, his essays were simple and instructive, his translations and adaptations have the appearance of original conception and execution. Among other works he published lectures on various subjects relating to social reform, a history of the Indian States (1894–5), and *Lives of Noble Ladies and Great Women*, the last of which includes accounts of Grace Darling, Elizabeth Fry, Lady Jane Grey, and Mary Carpenter. In 1892 he published a translation of Goldsmith's *Traveller* in verse form; he also brought out translations and adaptations of some of Shakespeare's dramas and of Sheridan's *Duenna* and *The Rivals*.

He is regarded as the originator of modern Telugu prose, though he was not actually the first to make use of it. An earlier writer, Chinnaya Suri, left a book of stories entitled *Nithichandrika* which is considered a classic; and manuscripts of a few prose works, mostly tales of romance and mythological stories, have been discovered in the Tanjore palace library, which was built up by the rulers of Tanjore between 1535 and 1835. Although, however, prose-writing was not unknown, it was held in low esteem until Veeresalingam gave it dignity; till then verse alone could bestow distinction on a writer.

The stimulus given by Veeresalingam led to an increase of literary production and an improvement in quality. Publishing houses were started, not with the idea of making a profit but with the object of enriching the literature of the land; philanthropy and patriotism were associated with literary activities. One of the first products of the publishing agencies was the 'Vijnanachandrika Series', in which useful books of many different kinds were published under the able guidance of a versatile scholar, K. V. Lakshmanarao. Later he undertook the publication of an encyclopaedia in Telugu on the model of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, but his untimely death stopped progress after the first three volumes had appeared. As paper was cheap and printing was easy, almost every town of any repute or population had its serial publications and its circle of patrons and subscribers. Since then, with the increase of the number of schools and colleges, English education has spread even into remote villages, and the writers of the day exhibit unmistakable signs of western influence in their works.

One way in which contact with the West through the medium of English literature has affected Telugu literature is in a large number of translations and adaptations, some of which make the story fit into the life and conditions of the Telugu country, though others do not. Not only the novel but also the drama, the short

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story, the biography, the lyric, the satire, the essay, and almost every other kind of literary production have been imported from the West by way of translation, adaptation, or abridgement. The extended knowledge and use of English have also enabled inter-provincial contacts, as a result of which scholars have become familiar with the contemporary literature of other Indian languages. A number of works, more especially novels, have been translated or adapted from Bengali, Canarese, Tamil, Marathi, and Hindi; the modern masters of Bengali literature, in particular Rabindranath Tagore and Bankim Chandra Chatterji, have been much drawn upon to enrich Telugu. With all this, the mental horizon of writers has been enlarged. Their outlook has widened and their spirit has become more or less cosmopolitan.

Translation and adaptation are only one aspect of literary development. Another and much more important is the output of productive genius, displaying itself in originality of subject and independence of thought, as, for instance, in what is called the social novel, in which the realities of daily life are portrayed and the complex problems of society tackled. This has served as a popular method of introducing social reform; many a book can be found in which the caste system, early marriage, enforced widowhood, and the illiteracy of women are boldly attacked.

The novel is an entirely new variety of literature introduced from English; the first of its kind, *Rajasekhara Charitra*, was an adaptation of Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*. Fiction soon became popular. Much of it was merely imitative. A number of Scott's novels were translated; coming to the later years of the first quarter of this century, the sensational novel and the detective novel took the fancy of writers; a number of cheap sixpenny dreadfuls have been adapted with and without acknowledgement. The novels of Conan Doyle have been translated or adapted, and counterparts of Sherlock Holmes and Doctor Watson have been created and continued from one book to another as was done by Conan Doyle. The plots of Reynolds's novels have also been imitated; some of his novels have been translated, and an adaptation of *East Lynne* has been published. On the other hand, there is much original work both in plot and construction, e.g. in the novels of Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham, some of which give a picture of Telugu life in all its attractive simplicity. A versatile writer, he also produced historical novels and stories, for which Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* provided material, and he is well known as a dramatist and humorist. The historical novel is very widely read, and almost all topics of Indian history, from the gleanings of Vedic times to the fall of the Mughal Empire, have supplied themes for writers, who have used their knowledge of

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538 English to ransack the books on Indian history published in
177 English in order to enrich the literature of their mother tongue.

The short story has also found considerable favour with the Telugu public and is a regular feature of magazines which have been started in imitation of the *Strand*. The chief themes are love and detection, both of western origin; one author in an English preface to his book frankly acknowledges the sources from which he has drawn, saying: 'Of late I have been reading a deal of sensational fiction, especially the writings of Edgar Allan Poe, Arthur Reave, Conan Doyle, Maurice Le Blanc, William Le Queux and others of note.' Of non-English authors, Tolstoi and Maeterlinck have received special attention.

Other branches of prose literature have in most cases been started in imitation of the West. The critical essays of K. V. Lakshmanarao and Veeresalingam had as their prototype some of the essays of Matthew Arnold, Walter Pater, and John Ruskin. These pioneers led the way and a number of followers have adopted their methods, which are now accepted as ordinary standards of Telugu writing, no one troubling to consider what was the model adopted or imitated. The *Spectator* and the *Tatler* have their counterparts in Telugu; the inimitable *Sakshi* of Mr. Panuganti Lakshmi Narasinham, and the *Vadarubothu*, hailing from Anantapur, are obvious adaptations of those English names. The constitution of the Spectator Club has been copied, but the author's individuality is too strong, and the social and religious conditions of the Telugu country are too unlike those of English society in the eighteenth century to make his papers servile imitations of the western originals. The humour and wit of the author are entirely different from those of Addison or Steele, and the language adopted and the situations created by him are all peculiarly suited to the manners and customs of the Telugus. Unlike the author of the *Spectator*, he not only exposes the small foibles of certain social types but often probes the depths of emotion and the springs of human action. The satire of Veeresalingam is of a more caustic type. In an adaptation of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* he successfully brought Swift's method into play, only with this difference that Swift was a misanthrope and Veeresalingam an optimist. Of more modern humorists we may mention Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham, whose foe is folly and whose weapon wit.

The literature of criticism is one of the branches of Telugu whose nature has been so completely changed that in its present form it must be regarded as a new contribution to the language. Formerly there was very little criticism except of a peculiar type. A few books were written on the lines of the treatises on *Alankara Sastra* in Sanskrit, but the aim of the critic was more or less re-

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India
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stricted to finding out whether a particular book satisfied the conditions laid down in a conventional scheme of classification. There was little attempt to examine its various aspects as a whole. The beauties of a particular verse or the propriety of a particular idea were discussed, and literary animosity, professional rivalry, or individual jealousy had free play. Now the western canons of literary criticism are applied and the authorities of western criticism are not only referred to but also quoted *in extenso*. Before the advent of English Sanskrit was the only law-giver and the treatises on aesthetics in that language were the only guides. Now the whole critical literature of the English language is at the disposal of the critic, and in his praise or condemnation of a literary production he makes use of them most freely. Recent works on the art of criticism, the standards of beauty and literary taste, the theories of dramatic technique and dramaturgy abound in references to and quotations from western authors. A lead was given by Dr. C. R. Reddi, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, who in 1899 wrote a critical appreciation of the works of a great poet of the middle ages; this work, which was new in the field, is still read as a model estimate of an author's work. Its success was as much due to his originality as it was to his introduction of methods of interpretation. To-day an accomplished scholar is required to be proficient not only in Telugu but also in English and Sanskrit, and it is not uncommon to find a critic taking an idea or a situation from a Telugu poet and quoting parallels from Shakespeare and Kalidasa at the same time.

Other branches of prose are also slowly developing. *A Short History of the World* by H. G. Wells has been translated into Telugu; short treatises on physics, chemistry, mathematics, economics, co-operation, and other subjects of practical or scientific value are making their appearance; and with the adoption of the modern languages of India as the media of instruction in schools there is a sustained effort to increase the number of publications of an educational nature.

Journalism is another western importation, and its ever-growing popularity is introducing substantial changes into the vocabulary and style of prose, which is gaining in lucidity, facility of expression, and suitability to different demands.

Telugu drama has also been influenced to a great extent by contact with the West. In one way it might be said that Telugu dramatic literature began in 1883, when Veeresalingam published a translation of *Sakuntala* from Sanskrit, which he followed up two years later with a translation of Sheridan's *Rivals*. The form of dramatic literature which he started caught the imagination of the people, and for a continuous period of nearly fifty years every

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538 town of any repute has had its theatre. Amateur and professional
536 actors began to stage dramas which were sometimes translations
177 from Sanskrit, sometimes from English, but also often original productions. But it should not be thought for a moment that the Telugu people before this time had no dramatic art. It was not entirely foreign to them. Examination of the manuscripts of the Tanjore palace library has revealed a good number of literary productions called 'dramas', though most of them do not approach either the Sanskrit or the English drama in plan of construction, characterization, or dramatic value. They were merely scenic representations of detached incidents with the accompaniment of music and dance. There was the invariable element of humour, and the story often centred about the marriage of a prince of a royal family or a god. Puranic stories were also dramatized in the same way, and the stage and its equipment were of a very simple nature. The itinerant village stage still puts on the boards the indigenous Telugu drama, which is very closely akin to the miracle or mystery plays of the sixteenth century in England.

The construction of theatres for the entertainment of large audiences and the cultivation of dramatic art for its own sake were undoubtedly due to western influence, and it is obvious that modern Telugu drama has been profoundly influenced in matter and manner, in sentiment and action by English models. Social topics are freely selected for dramatization, the problems which confront society are presented in an idealized or a realistic atmosphere, and thus the stage has become a powerful institution for the education of the public and for the guidance of public opinion. The modern form of drama began with translations from Sanskrit in 1880, before which time authors restricted themselves to a poetical rendering of Sanskrit works and made no attempt to present them on the stage, probably because actors had no social status and the stage was often in the hands of low-class people. The drama has now abandoned the classical unities of Sanskrit drama and has imbibed the freshness, vigour, and variety of topic found in English works. The stage has seen translations or adaptations of the dramas of Ibsen, Bernard Shaw, and many other European writers; the influence of Bengali literature is also evident, Dwinjendralal Ray and Rabindranath Tagore being models for translation. Tragedies are prohibited in Sanskrit, and for a time this ban was observed in Telugu, but the influence of English literature proved too strong, and to-day tragedy and comedy are accepted types though tragedy is not popular. The living drama is, however, being displaced in popular favour by the films displayed in the ever-growing number of 'talkie-houses', yet another western importation.

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The progressive change which we have seen in prose and drama is far less pronounced in poetry, owing no doubt to the finished form the latter had attained in pre-British days, its assured place in the heart of the people, and the strength of the traditions which it established. The Telugu classics are in a class by themselves and, as in past centuries, are the subject of continued study. There are conservative writers, the forms and subjects of whose verse reproduce those of the old *Prabandha* and *Purana*. The modern English-educated young Telugu, however, rambles into foreign fields. The works of English poets such as Byron, Shelley, Keats, Milton, and Wordsworth have been adapted. Shakespearian blank verse has created a taste for a particular variety of metre called the Telugu blank verse, which is now used extensively. The odes and the sonnets of English poets have had their effect on modern Telugu compositions, of which short poems on simple topics are a new feature, while the lyric element has received much attention.

Innovation has been the key-note of the young poets of the modern school, who have made it their object to emancipate themselves from the laws, conventional rules, and restrictions observed by poets of earlier generations, and to bring in new metres, new ideas, and new standards of value. Simple topics have been introduced such as 'the darkness', 'her eyes', 'the forest flower', 'the cuckoo'. A higher note has been struck by patriotism, the Andhra land being eulogized and the past greatness of its heroes commemorated. The cry 'This is my own, my native land' began to be raised early in the twentieth century, and it has now swelled into a chorus. The work of the modernists has a certain freshness and vigour, but the older school sees nothing good in it. It is adversely reviewed, often denounced, ridiculed, and satirized, as in a recent collection of poems (*Suklapaksham*), the author of which is himself undoubtedly influenced by Dryden, Pope, and other English satirists. Lack of scholarship, incoherence in thought, and vagueness of expression are a few of the faults laid at the door of the modern poet (*bhava kavi*), and with no little justification. There are some, however, whose writings are free from these defects and in whom western influence can be seen to the best advantage, for they combine the freedom of English literature with the strength of the indigenous culture. One point, however, has to be conceded, viz. that in certain qualities the twentieth-century Telugu poet and scholar suffer in comparison with the ancient Telugu poets. The modern scholar has widened the extent of his knowledge but he has lost in depth. The modern poet has not the same mastery of language as the ancient poets, who had metre, diction, and rhyme at their command, though there are still writers of this type who have not come under the spell of western literature.

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Two more important changes must be briefly mentioned. One is the introduction of the spoken dialect, as opposed to the literary dialect, into the writings of the day. This movement was started as a result of western influence by Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, and it is gaining ground as it gathers adherents from the younger generation. There are many scholars, however, who resist the adoption of this dialect as a literary medium on the ground that it is a defilement of their pure language. The other is the change which the vocabulary has undergone as the result of the infusion of English, a change similar to that which it underwent when it first came into contact with Sanskrit. That process still continues; to-day any Sanskrit word, simple or compounded with another, can be used in a standard work in addition to the words already adopted from Sanskrit which have become domiciled. At present the Telugu language is almost gravitating to a similar position in relation to English, because, in addition to the English words already incorporated in it with the necessary phonetic changes, English verbs and nouns are freely used in the daily speech of the educated and higher classes; as has often been pointed out, the modern graduate cannot speak Telugu for a few minutes without using some English expression or other. Any acceleration of this change will tend to the transformation of the language, which will become anglicized in the same way that it has been Sanskritized, but an effective check is likely to be afforded by the spread of the spirit of nationalism.

VI. URDU

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Urdu is the most commonly used language in India. It is spoken in the greater part of the north and in some parts of the south, including the great Indian State of Hyderabad, Deccan. In other parts of the country it is more or less understood, particularly in large towns. Its literature has thus a wide appeal and its influence is spreading with the growth of literary activity in various branches of knowledge. Though as a literature Urdu is comparatively new, yet as a language it is fairly old. There is an impression abroad that the language was born in the camp of Shah Jahan at Delhi, but this is not correct, though it is not unlikely that the camp was the origin of its name.[1] There are many theories[2] as to the origin of the language. Whatever view may be finally adopted, I think I can safely associate myself with the opinion expressed on this

[1] 'Urdu' is a Turkish word and means a camp.

[2] One theory is that the language developed in the Deccan before it travelled to Delhi. Another theory propounded some years ago by Professor Mahmud Sherani of the Oriental College, Lahore, in his book *Punjab men Urdu* is that it travelled through the Punjab to Delhi.

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very close to the human inmates. Rubbish and cow-dung are stored up in front of the houses, while in rainy seasons the whole becomes a stagnant pool of water, rubbish and cow-dung. 511 356

The houses of the Pariahs are filled with an awful smell of skins, bones and putrid flesh. The insufficiency of food that they suffer from tempts them to fill their bellies with toddy and other stimulants that ultimately ruin their health.

The Sudras are perfectly temperate and simple in habits and food. The "twice-born" castes are bound to marry their girls before twelve. The lower castes are not bound to do so. But the Sudras and lower castes actually marry their girls at a very early age, both to satisfy the anxiety of elders and for fear they may not have the money afterwards. I know a case in which a girl two months old was married to a boy of two years, the boy dying a year later of cholera. They maintain strict widowhood like the Brahmans. There is no purdah. 582

The villagers bathe and wash clothes and also wash their cattle in the same tank as that used for drinking. 515

Education.—There is one school; its accommodation and equipment being a rented house, an atlas, a globe, text books, some pictures of common objects, civics primers, dumb-bells, a black board, a desk, benches for boys to sit upon. 871

Elementary education is given up to the fourth standard, in the vernacular, in history, arithmetic, geography, civics, etc. This education is most unpractical and incomplete and ill-suited to the villagers, who do not proceed to college classes. It does not enable them to read good books in Telugu or to learn even the elementary principles of sanitation. They are never made to feel that they are citizens of a world, or an empire, or a province, outside the narrow bounds of their village.

Attendance—	Boys.	Girls.
1913	19	4
1914	9	3
1915	45	12
1916	54	8
1917	48	6

About 30 per cent of the adults can read the vernacular; two persons can read and talk English. There is a noted musician in the village but no other pandit. Not less than 25 or 30 per cent of those who have passed through the school have lost their capacity to write or cipher after leaving. One boy has proceeded to the Mechanical Engineering course in the Victoria Technical Institute, Bombay; another to the Arts course in the Madras University. [91]

There are 90 to 100 books, of which 70 are owned by Brahmans, made up of novels, dramas, puranas, the Mahabharata and stories. Among the Sudras, a development of literary taste, though in a very small degree, is perceptible. There are many devotional songs and lives of Telugu saints, while stories of the epics rendered into songs and recited by "Bhagavathars" are very frequent. The latest innovation is the introduction of dramas. Novels are still a rarity, as well as histories. No newspaper comes to the village. 538 ●

The village has no temple except that of the village goddess. Her festival is celebrated with much slaughter of cattle and goats given by their owners whenever there is an outbreak of cholera or small-pox; or, failing these, once in four or five years. The cost is 796

366 they were off soon after they were lit. Sometimes there was a partial contract by which the kerosene oil lights were provided by Panchayats while the petromax lights were provided by the contractor or vice versa, and the same evils were revealed to be pregnant in this practice too.

217 **Provision of Libraries and Newspapers**: Libraries and reading rooms were provided by Panchayats in a large number of places. Though most of the 1st grade Panchayats had no such provision except in Tuni, 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats showed greater interest in the matter. The inquiry showed that almost all the 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats and a large number of minor Panchayats too were providing this facility to the public. The charges varied from Re. 0–4–0 to Re. 1 depending on the number of books and periodicals in the library.

Very few Panchayats like Amalapuram had big libraries with a separate manager-clerk and office-boys while the libraries in other Panchayats were managed either by a separate clerk or by the executive of the Panchayat itself. In a few places, individual subscriptions were also collected at the rate of as. 4 and as. 8 according to the nature of facilities given to the subscribers.

The library grants by the Government were few and far between and most of the libraries were not receiving them.

543 **Management of Fairs and Festivals**: Management of fairs and festivals and provision of amenities for the pilgrims — erecting of barracks, stalls, urinals and sheds and other public health amenities—belonged to the domain of Panchayats whenever important celebrations were held within their confines. The money that was to be spent on conveniences was either collected by way of subscriptions or obtained as a grant from the Government or spent from the funds of the Panchayat.

Hardly any of the 1st grade Panchayats had this obligation, while a few in the 2nd and 3rd grades and some of the minor Panchayats seemed to be undertaking this work. Ramchandrapuram, and Tanuku in East Godavari and Bhimavaram in the West Godavari discharged this obligation. In Anantapur, Kadiri Panchayat had to manage every year the Car-festival of Narsinhaswamy. An illustration of a typical expenditure as in Kadiri would indicate the nature of expenditure incurred by Panchayats on such occasions :

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Table of Expenditure in Kadiri on Car Festival.

1	Removal of rank vegetation in the tank ...	Rs.	10	0	0
2	Cost of 15 buckets and 20 ropes ...	„	65	0	0
3	Cost of water pendals ...	„	16	0	0
4	Cost of pots and tumblers ...	„	62	0	0
5	Cost of public latrines ...	„	260	0	0
6	Isolation shed ...	„	20	0	0
7	Street watering by coolies for 6 days ...	„	30	0	0
8	Temporary menials for 14 days ...	„	72	0	0
	„ „ 8 for 5 days ...	„	40	0	0
	„ „ 6 „ 14 days ...	„	106	0	0
	„ „ 8 „ 5 days ...	„	50	0	0
9	Sanitary peons 2 for 15 days ...	„	48	0	0
10	Drain cleaners 2 for 5 days ...	„	30	0	0
11	Sanitary peons 2 for 5 days ...	„	15	0	0
12	Disinfection coolies 2 for 10 days ...	„	30	0	0
13	Baskets ...	„	25	0	0
14	Sand ...	„	30	0	0
15	Entrance, Lights, etc. ...	„	40	0	0
16	Miscellaneous ...	„	60	0	0
		Rs.	1062	0	0

In West Godavari, Velpur, Attili and Achanta Panchayats; in Kistna, Vuyyuru; in Vizagapatam Madugula and Bobbili; in Anantapur, Gooty, Madakasira, Bukkapatnam and Pamidi; and in Kurnool, along with Chembur, Gudur, Koilkuntla, Kadumunur, Markapur, Maddikera and Nandikotkur were some of the major Panchayats which were managing fairs and festivals in their areas.

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Optional Duties of the Panchayats: Plantation of trees, maintenance of cart and bus stands, providing radio, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, collecting donations and catering to welfare activities were among the optional duties of Panchayats in Madras.

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Plantation of Trees: While most of the major Panchayats in every district were paying some attention to this function, the 3rd grade and minor Panchayats needed greater stimulus. While Razole Panchayat in East Godavari had not done anything, Velpur, Achanta, Ganapavaram, and Tadepalligudam in West Godavari; Parvatipuram, Bobbili and Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, and Maddikera in Kurnool were the solitary instances of the 3rd grade Panchayats which had undertaken this function.

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 367

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sale. 443

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

Management of fairs and festivals was done by a few minor or major Panchayats, but, without exploiting their privileged position by means of a pilgrim tax or a tax on the vendors. 543

Optional functions like plantation of trees, provision of cart and bus stands, radio sets for listeners, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, etc. were done only by very few Panchayats. 623

The attendance of the members at the meetings of Panchayats was so irregular that there was often no quorum. Sometimes the Panchayats held no meetings at all for a long time or the members absented themslves continuously without any action being taken against them.

Panchayats were superseded and special officers were appointed to administer them for a year or two, when Panchayats could not work properly either due to local factions or opposition to taxation or any other undesirable features. Fresh Panchayat was ushered in only after the prevailing irregularities were removed and when the prospects of its smooth working were tolerably certain. 687 623

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implements are bought chiefly in Chintamani, about 18 miles off, and also at Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off. 438

Articles of consumption are bought at the weekly fair held here on Tuesdays, also in Chintamani, Kothakota and some other places.

Sale of village produce.—The quantities produced here are: paddy 500 puttis,* ragi 200, † sugarcane to the value of about Rs. 1,500, other millets and pulses to the value of about Rs. 1,000. 433 [804]

Out of this whatever is required for household purposes is retained. The rest, more than 50 per cent, is sold away. The nearest market is Chintamani. Sometimes the grain is transported to Bangalore also.

There are about three local roads, one from Gownipalle to Addegal, a village 4 miles off, one from the village to Manchinillakota, a village 6 miles off, and the other up to Todigol, 6 miles off. Another short road running for three miles runs up to the Mysore frontier. On the other side is British territory and there is no road further up. The local road to Tadigol connects with the Bangalore-Cuddapah road. The nearest commercial centres are Chintamani and Bangalore, accessible by the said road. The nearest railway station is Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off, reached by road. 491 361 [498]

The fair that takes place here every week is a big affair. People from very different parts come here. The fair is nominally held on Tuesday, but it generally extends from Monday to Wednesday. The chief business is carried on in stock, especially sheep and goats. Business in these is carried on to the extent of Rs. 4,000. They are chiefly sent to the Kolar Goldfields for slaughter and consumption. 543 438

Economic condition of village.—The customary rates of wages, in money, are from 2 to 3 annas per day, for a man; and 1½ annas for a woman; in kind, 2 seers of ragi, or 3 seers of paddy to a man, 1½ seers of ragi or 2 seers of paddy to a woman. 465

The current prices of staple foods are— 435

Rice	...	...	8 Mysore seers for a rupee.
Ragi	...	...	28 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	20 " "
Cholam	...	...	14 " "
Tamarind	...	...	Re. 1 for a maund.
Jaggery	...	...	Rs. 2 "
Chillis	...	...	Rs. 4-8-0 "
Dhôll	...	...	8 seers for a rupee.

About four or five families have made savings to the extent of Rs. 5,000, but on the other hand others have contracted debts to the extent of Rs. 10,000. Owing to scarcity of rains and failure of crops the people have been obliged to borrow heavily to meet current and occasional expenses. 454 426

There are practically no families who have liberated themselves from debt. While paying off old scores they borrow in new places.

There is a co-operative credit society. The capital is subscribed in shares of Rs. 10 each payable in twenty monthly instalments. 453

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* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 48 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

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426 The result is that many families that were once rich are now reduced to absolute poverty. The rich few are becoming richer. But 65 to 75 per cent of the population are in debt. Of these 25 to 30 per cent have hopes of clearing it off in three or four years by mortgaging their lands. The rest, 35 to 40 per cent, are not able to escape easily out of debt. The pity is that these classes do not hesitate to contract debts at first, and then they are not in a hurry to return them soon, and small sums accumulate into large amounts.

434 *Trade.*—The villagers purchase commodities for industrial and
●[543] agricultural purposes from weekly fairs held at Nidadavolu and
433 from Rajahmundry; for consumption, partly from weekly fairs at Nidadavolu and partly from the local traders. The amount of village produce sold was approximately as follows:—

	1916-17.	1915-16.
Soap nuts	250 bags.	500 bags.
Horsegram	200 (or 250) bags.	400 „
Gingelly	220 bags.	850 „
Red gram (this is mostly retained for local use).	50–60 „	100 „
Bengal gram	25–30 „	100 „
Ghee	50 60 tins.	50–60 tins.
Cholam (this is retained for local use; no crop this year).	...	50 bags.
Black gram	20 bags.	12 „

249 *Jaggery trade.*—The most noteworthy feature of the village is
438 the jaggery trade, carried on during the summer season. Nearly half the field area of the village consists of dry sand, filled with palmyra trees. These trees are rented out to the toddy tappers, who have to pay from Rs. 15 to 20 each in rent. One man can draw toddy from about 60 trees. Some 1,000 to 1,200 of these tappers come from the different taluks of the Kistna and Godavari districts to this village in summer; while 200 to 225 go from the village itself. These people settle in the fields in the three summer months during which the fields lie waste, and draw toddy from 5 to 10 a.m. and 3 to 7 p.m. They have to climb the tree and suspend pots, lined with lime, beneath the cut ends of the stalks of the fronds of the palm from which the juice (toddy) flows. But for the lime the toddy would immediately begin to ferment. The women at home boil the toddy till it is condensed into jaggery.

Part of the jaggery is sold to the direct agents of Messrs. Parry & Co., who have opened an extensive business in these parts and invested a large capital. These agents of the company purchase jaggery with the company's money and get a commission at the rate of As. 2-6 per bag. They send it to Samalkot, where the company converts it into sugar.

The remainder is sold by the tappers to private capitalists and retail traders, who purchase the jaggery in the fields and sell it again to the company's agent in the village. They receive no commission, but make a profit in three ways: (1) There is a difference in the cost per candy between the prices in the fields (i.e., near the tappers' huts) and in the village. (2) The traders lend money to the tappers in times of need and get "Jattis" executed, promises by which the tappers agree to repay the money in the shape of jaggery

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438 at a reduced price, generally 13 to 15 rupees per candy, while the market price in summer will be Rs. 23 to 29 per candy. Last year, 249 owing to the appearance of a competing company, Messrs. Simpson & Co., the price was Rs. 35 to 42 per candy. No interest is charged for such debts. (3) They invariably use false stones in weighing the jaggery in the fields, while in the village the company's stones are used. This results in an enormous profit.

With these three sources of profit, the private capitalist is able to realize a profit of Rs. 5 at least per cart (of 8 bags) while daily he sends 3 carts at least to the company's agent. The total export of the village during the summer will be from 17,000 to 20,000 bags; this year (1917) it is 18,000 bags, i.e., 6,000 candies.

556 The rich capitalist makes the largest profit out of this[1] trade. Many of the villagers are now a class of capitalists, great or small. Many that were poor three or four years ago are now able to invest a few hundreds and start independent businesses in this line. There are three people who invested about Rs. 30,000 each this year.

465 The toddy tappers are not materially better off. As a class they are only a little above the level of absolute poverty, while individually, there are only four or five who own a property of Rs. 500. Though their gross earnings are from Rs. 20 to 25 for the three months, the net income will be Rs. 6 to 8 only.

The village barber and washerman earn at least Rs. 30 to 35 during the three months. The lime dealer earns 50 to 60 rupees. The Pariahs who carry firewood get wages at the rate of 4 annas to 6 annas per day. Owners of carts get rent at the rate of Rs. 2 per turn to carry jaggery from the field-huts to Nidadavolu, the headquarters of the company. Makers of tin-pots, used in boiling the toddy, get 100 to 150 rupees. Pariah women prepare baskets of palmyra leaves to hold the jaggery, for which they are paid Re. 1 per 100. Brahmans are employed to prepare the accounts and are paid Rs. 10 per mensem.

Besides these payments for services rendered (which are in the shape of jaggery in most cases) there are certain extra perquisites or "mamuls" which the toddy tapper is compelled to pay. These illegitimate exactions mount up to thousands of rupees. The village servants also get presents, while the coolies are profited by carrying • [545] rice or other articles to the fields. There are many small shops opened by retail traders in the fields themselves for the benefit of the tappers; while the performance of two or three dramas, based on some popular mythological story by country actors is not of rare occurrence.

464 The effects on the village are innumerable and many sided. One of the greatest difficulties for the Indian labourer is want of proper employment; it is no exaggeration to say that many families are reduced to poverty, simply for want of sufficient local demand for their labour. This village is to a certain extent relieved of this anxiety during a season when, the fields being fallow, they have no agricultural occupation to attend to. Many a poor family would have long ago left the village but for this attraction. Industrially, it has raised the efficiency of every craft, by providing it with more work to turn out. While in all the other seasons the whole village is entirely agricultural in character, in summer it can be said to be industrial and commercial in tone.

[1] [i.e., jaggery. -- Analyst]

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husband is alive must wear, were formerly made by one of the local castes from indigenous materials. Now factory-made glass bangles have captured the market almost completely. Children's dresses are now generally of Western style. Frocks, rompers, shirts and shorts are bought for them from the local market or from the shops in the city. Among other items of everyday wear Western-style shoes with laces are now being used alongside country shoes and sandals.

To the list of articles of daily requirement there have been several significant additions. Aluminium and 'German silver' utensils became very popular with the poorer sections of the population on account of their low prices. Glasses, as well as china cups and saucers, could be seen in several homes. Besides the public buildings five private homes now possess wall or alarm clocks. Kerosene lanterns can be seen in several homes, and there are five kerosene pressure lamps in the village. Some old people use reading glasses, and more then half a dozen young men from the village have bought sun glasses. Several people in the village use safety razors and torches. Cheap fountain-pens are also very fashionable.

In the food habits of the people there has not been much change. Sweets and other dainty eatables are bought from the shops in the city or from the bazaar. Five small stores in the village sell, among other things, lozenges, fruit-drops and biscuits made in Hyderabad. Tea and coffee are also very popular. Even those who do not drink these beverages regularly at home, occasionally have them in the village shop ostentatiously known as the 'hotel'. Aerated waters enjoy an amazing popularity as they are believed to provide relief from many stomach disorders. The cigarette factories at Hyderabad have been producing and popularizing cheap brands of cigarettes, which have been progressively replacing the country cigarettes in which tobacco is rolled in dried leaves. Along with fermented palm-juice, some people now drink other liquors supplied by distilleries in Hyderabad.

Side by side with the traditional recreations of gossip, loafing and playing indigenous games, several new varieties of entertainments are now available to the village people. The village has three gramophones. In the tea shop there is a crystal radio. Some young men in the village play volley-ball. Many people patronize the circus and cinema in the city.

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rite of *seshahoman* must be performed. For this the bride and bride-groom are seated before a fire, sacred verses are read, and incense is burnt. This completes the marriage. Later the bride and bride-groom are seated facing each other for dinner. The ground around the wooden seats on which they sit is decorated with multi-coloured designs. While eating the two are encouraged to throw a few morsels into each other's plates. Several minor rites follow. In one the newly-married couple are asked to address each other by using personal names. The bride has to show great reluctance in doing this, for a wife generally does not utter the name of her husband. She is given a doll, symbolizing a child, and is asked to entrust it to the care of 'its father' on the pretext that she has to cook or to do other household work. The next day, after a few minor rituals, the girl is 'given away' to her husband and his parents. This is done to the accompaniment of heart-rending and pathetic songs. The father asks her to regard the home of her father-in-law henceforward as her own home; and never to do anything—in thought, word or deed—that might bring discredit to her parents. He then begs the girl's father-in-law to treat her well, to ignore her faults, failings and shortcomings, and to teach her the ways of their family. The girl goes away with her husband. In her new home she has to go through a series of rites, worship of the family god and feasting. After three to seven days she returns to her parents for a brief stay.

Among all the castes the general tone of marriage ritual suggests the influences of Sanskritic rites, but the Brahmin does not officiate at the marriages of all castes. He is invited by the Komti, the agricultural castes, the Kummari, the Golla, the Sale and the Gaondla. The barber and the washerman invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, otherwise they manage with their own caste-priest. The Panch Bramha group has its own priests. The other groups occupying lower positions in the caste hierarchy invite a specialist from their own caste to officiate at the ceremony. Naturally recitation of sacred verses and marriage formulae from the scriptures is confined to ceremonies conducted by the Brahmin; in the other castes, while the pattern followed is essentially the same, the Sanskrit chants are absent. Other occupational castes whose co-operation is required in the ceremony are: the barber, the potter, the Madiga and the carpenter. The barber assists the parties during negotiations, carries their messages,

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ing of these variant customs quite a stimulating, though somewhat tedious, task; but a full ethnographic record of them will be out of place here, and only a broad outline of the essentials will be presented, to illustrate their place in the socio-religious life of the Hindus. As the Muslims differ from the Hindus vitally in respect of their *rites de passage* their observances will be described separately.

Birth. On the birth of a child the mother, as well as other members of the family, is ritually impure. On the third or fifth day after the birth the *purudu* rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of all members of the family except the mother. The mother continues to be ritually impure for twenty-one to thirty days. On the twenty-first day—in some castes on the thirtieth day—the name-giving ceremony of the child takes place. The mother is bathed. The child's head is shaved, and it is put in a cradle. If it is the first child, or the first son, relations from other villages are also invited to participate in the name-giving ceremony. Friends and neighbours from the village itself are always invited. Women sing songs suitable for the occasion. If an ancestor is believed to have taken re-birth the newborn is named after him; otherwise the elders, after mutual consultation or at the suggestion of an important and influential relation, decide upon a name for the child. The name is announced to the assembly of men and women present. Singing is continued for some time longer. The ceremony ends with a feast for relations and some very special friends.

The Brahmin may be consulted for his astrological predictions regarding the future of the child, and also regarding the implications of the position of the stars at the time of birth for the members of the family. On this occasion the Komtis, the Reddi agriculturists as well as other higher caste Hindus with urban contacts may also invite him. Women from the barber's caste act as midwives among all the clean castes; untouchables manage with experienced women from their respective castes. Services of four other castes are essential: the barber for shaving the child's head, the washerman for washing the linen and clothes before the twenty-first day ceremony, the potter for the supply of new pots for ritual purification, and Madigas for playing musical instruments. Payments for these services are prescribed by tradition; and are both in cash and kind.

RITUAL STRUCTURE

844 Among the Muslims an expectant mother is sent for the birth of her first child to her parents; subsequent deliveries generally take place in her own home. During her confinement she is attended by a professional midwife. An amulet is often tied to the
846 mother's waist to facilitate delivery. Within a few hours of its birth the child is bathed and clothed. His grandfather or an elderly relation says the prayers. A date is then dipped in honey and a drop or two of that honey is put into the mouth of the newborn child. Milk should not be given to the child before this has been done. On the sixth day the *chhatti* ceremony is performed.
[431] For this relations from both mother's and father's side are invited. They bring with them gifts for the child, comprising of sets of new clothes, dolls and playthings and possibly a silver spoon. The child
●553 is dressed in new clothes. On the seventh day its head is shaved, and the elders give it a name. Depending on the means of the family, feasts are given to friends and relations on the sixth and seventh days, The mother continues to be out of the normal round of life for forty days. On the fortieth day she is bathed. The midwife is given her remuneration on this day. Once again there is a feast, and presents may be given both to the child and to the mother.

881 *Pre-puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus, the Brahmin and the Komti perform the sacred thread ceremony for the boys before they attain puberty. At these rites the Brahmin priest officiates. The Panch Bramha group of artisan castes also perform this rite; but they do not invite the Brahmin. Their caste-priest conducts the ceremony.

862 In the Muslim community a boy must be circumcised any time between the age of two and ten. A few relations are invited for the occasion, the boy is garlanded and then the operation is performed. It is usual to give small presents to the boy at this time.
[867] Another pre-puberty rite is the *bismilla* ceremony done both for boys and girls. This initiates the child's religious instruction, for from now on it is taught the alphabet and is gradually enabled to read the Koran. In Shamirpet the *bismilla* ceremony is performed for all Muslim children, though relatively few of them learn to read the holy book.

881 *Puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus the girl's first menstruation is attended by elaborate ceremonies. She is secluded for five days, and at the end of this period is bathed and dressed in new clothes.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

2. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION: AUTHORITY AND MACHINERY OF JUSTICE

In the internal organization of Shamirpet two different units can be clearly delineated. The socio-religious organization of the village with its independent set of office-bearers and functionaries is quite distinct from the administrative organization of government and semi-government officials.

The following diagram will illustrate the internal organization of the village in socio-religious matters:

Deshmukh
(Headman of the village)

Panchayat
(Village council)

Ganadi
(Organizers of village ritual)

Kulam-pedda
(Headmen of the different castes)

Peddamanshi
or
Inti-pedda
(Head of the family)

The Deshmukh is the hereditary headman of the village. He is the richest person in the settlement and has very considerable landed property. His forefathers became the headmen of the village some three hundred years ago, and since then the family has retained the title and office. By virtue of his wealth, position and the contacts he maintains with powerful government officials, the Deshmukh is a pivotal figure in the village and enjoys a position of great influence. Although his word is no longer law, he still wields very great influence in the village and is always given a place of honour at all village ceremonies. Village disputes of any importance are always referred to him, and his decisions and wishes are seldom disregarded. However, the Deshmukh takes very few decisions on his own authority and initiative. He seeks the help of the *panchayat*, which can be regarded as the central council for the village as a whole. Of course, the Deshmukh takes a prominent part in the deliberations and discussions of the *panchayat* and often guides it in such a way that his wishes in the matter are carried out.

The *panchayat* or village council consists of the headmen of

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there the procession starts in the direction of the Hanuman shrine outside the village. The Madiga drum-beaters are at the head of the procession. At some distance from them are the Deshmukh, the Brahmin and the other elders. These are followed by the other villagers. At the shrine the Brahmin worships the *shami* leaves and the goddess Durga. When the worship is over people snatch the leaves. Then follows the important social act of exchange of these leaves and a friendly embrace. Between castes of equal social status and between persons of equal kinship and age status within the caste itself, the exchange is on a basis of equality. For example, A will take a few leaves from B; and B will take a few from A. The two will then lock each other in an embrace for a few seconds. On the other hand, people of high caste will give some leaves to those of the low and untouchable castes; and the latter will respond by bowing down to touch the feet of the former. In the case of the untouchables this is a symbolic gesture, for they touch the earth near the feet of their superiors and not the feet. Within the caste itself the nature of this exchange is determined by the age and kinship status of the persons concerned. As a general rule elders and persons with a recognized superior status give some leaves to the juniors; and the latter, in their turn, bend down to touch the feet of their elders. On this day people are expected to forget their quarrels of the last year, and to meet each other in a spirit of friendship. In fact, many petty differences are forgotten, and several people who were hitherto not on speaking terms resume normal friendly relations again.

Deepavali. Deepavali or the 'festival of lights' is one of the most important Hindu festivals and is observed throughout Hindu India. The celebrations extend to two days—the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the dark fortnight of the month of Ashvina. On the first of these two days, known as *Narka Chaturdashi* or *Bhogi*, Hindus get up very early and have their bath. Women in the higher castes, especially among Brahmins, Komtis and Reddis, take lighted lamps on a plate and, waving them before their husbands, perform the *arati* rite otherwise reserved for gods. This has to be completed before the break of dawn. Later in the day images of gods and deities in the house are worshipped and specially cooked dishes are offered to them. In the evening a large number of little earthen lamps are lighted and arranged in front of the house; in other parts of the house, too, one or more of these lamps

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can work for wages and has considerable freedom of movement. Sexual lapses on her part are more liberally viewed. If the husband beats her, she too can beat him. If the abuses of her husband are loud, hers can be louder still. She can leave her husband and take another with comparative ease, and without any social stigma. This would permanently lower the status of persons on the upper level, and would be commented upon very adversely in the intermediate class. The family secrets are announced to the outside world by the members of the family itself in their open-air quarrels. Compromises are often made through mediation and arbitration, but may be disregarded with comparative ease after a few days.

It is probably needless to say that the above three levels are not fixed, nor are they exclusive. Modern education and other modern means of communication—especially the cinema—often infuse a spirit of romantic individualism into the youth of the upper level, who, rather than working for family solidarity, often disintegrate it. Education, urban contacts, 'disgust with rustic ways', and desire for greater respectability according to accepted social standards in some cases set in motion efforts at vertical movement in families on the lower levels.

2. INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY

HUSBAND AND WIFE

According to the traditional norms of the society a husband is expected to be an authoritarian figure whose will should always dominate the domestic scene. As the head of the household he should demand respect and obedience from his wife and children. The wife should regard him as her 'master' and should 'serve him faithfully'. It is the husband's responsibility to provide adequately for the support and maintenance of 'his dependants' and the wife's duty is to 'run the household frugally and efficiently'. In an ideal home 'all major decisions are taken by the husband in consultation with his wife and grown-up children', but the final say in all matters connected with the family is always with the husband. The husband should 'watch the activities and ways of his wife' as well as 'take care of the proper upbringing of his children'. The wife should 'serve her husband with loyalty and devotion'. The husband is 'superior'; the wife is his 'subordinate'. As a mark of the recognition of his superiority, the wife shows respect to her

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Muslim
Hindus

CHAPTER SIX

The Levels of Living

1. STATUS DIFFERENTIATION IN THE COMMUNITY

Six major factors contribute towards status differentiation in the village community of Shamirpet. They are:

i. Religion and caste.
ii. Landownership.
iii. Wealth.
iv. Position in government service and village organization.
v. Age.
vi. Distinctive personality traits.

Religion divides the community into two distinct groups: the Hindus and Muslims, standing out in marked contrast to each other. Hinduism is the older and longer established religion, and the majority of people in the village are Hindus. The Muslim group is largely composed of local converts, drawn from a number of castes—high and low. The Hindus naturally have a feeling of superiority regarding their religious faith and its antiquity, and do not view with favour the indiscriminate mixing of different castes in the Muslim community. But until 1948 they could not express these feelings openly as the Muslims had the backing of the State administration. The State was under Muslim rule, and being of the 'ruling race' the village Muslims were naturally in an advantageous position. They claimed superiority over the Hindus, and tried to dominate the village scene. While practical considerations forced the Hindus to remain silent, the Muslims aggressively denounced them as heathens. It had its reaction: after the Police Action, when Hyderabad was no longer a feudal

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Hindus
Muslims

779 Muslim State, the Hindus had their revenge by pouring scorn
798 openly on Muslim religion and society. It was now the turn of the Muslims to observe silence, and tolerate humiliation and insults. At the time of our investigations, however, most of these passions had subsided, and no significant tensions were observed. As groups both Hindus and Muslims regard themselves as superior
[564] in point of religion. From the socio-economic point of view the Muslims can be regarded as an exclusive caste whose social standing is roughly equal to that of the agricultural castes.

564 Caste as a factor of social differentiation is more significant. It has been pointed out that in its structure, the caste system has definitely a hierarchical character. Between the highest and the lowest castes, there are several intermediate levels. The social status of a person is largely determined by his caste. The mere fact of birth in a particular caste gives a good initial start to some and puts obstacles in the way of others. In a subsequent chapter I propose to examine some of the stereotypes current in the village community regarding the qualities and characteristics of different castes; but notwithstanding these the relative position of the different castes in the village community is determined by the traditional scale.

●554 Religion and caste are more or less fixed and permanent factors. While change of faith is possible, and under certain circumstances a person can even descend from one of the higher castes to the lowest, such changes are very rare. At any rate no one takes recourse to them to bring about a change in his social status.
[771] The only case of change of faith recorded by us in the village is that of the present headmaster of the school who was a Brahmin to begin with, but later embraced Islam. No case of change of caste came to our notice.

556 In a predominantly agricultural society it is natural to expect that possession of land and cattle would contribute greatly to an individual's social status. Birth into a family of landowners ensures that a person will grow up to be a respected member of the village community. Acquisition of land would very materially affect the social position even of a person of humble birth, and if he does not behave tactlessly it would greatly enhance his prestige. An untouchable Mala peasant is now counted among the influential cultivators of the village and is given a place of honour in its counsels. He is still an untouchable and would continue to remain

LEVELS OF LIVING

888 Age is still another important factor of status differentiation.
554 As a general rule the aged and elderly people should be respected: they have 'the authority of grey hair' and wide experience of the vicissitudes of life. The younger members must consult the elders of the extended family in all important matters, and should give due regard to their suggestions and advice. Even where the obligations which emerge from kinship ties do not dictate this respectful behaviour, it is considered polite for young people to show regard to the elders. Intimate social relations, even outside one's family and caste, find expression in the adoption of kinship terminology and one must address the people of another family as 'grandfather', 'uncle' or 'brother' according to their respective ages. Deliberate disregard or disrespect to village elders is adversely commented upon in the society.

555 Finally, distinctive personality traits and possession of uncommon or difficult skills also adds to the prestige of an individual and consequently alters his status in society. Ability to talk persuasively and impressively is regarded as a definite asset. An individual's success or failure in inter-personal relations, as well as his advancement in society in general, would depend to a considerable extent on this factor. Sense of humour is an allied personality trait which is greatly admired. One who can make others laugh is regarded as highly desirable company. Special knowledge and skills contribute substantially towards enhancing an individual's prestige. Two persons belonging to the Sale caste have risen in social esteem because of their local reputation as village doctors practising the indigenous system of medicine, although the traditional status of their caste is not very high. C. R., an untouchable Madiga, enjoys some social prestige because he composes songs in the folk style. B., a barber, too has a similar reputation for being a local composer.

554 562 Four other factors should also be taken into account at this stage. They are sex, education, urban contacts and political affiliations. Of these, considerations regarding the first are ingrained in the social pattern; the other three have a comparatively recent origin. In general man is regarded as superior to woman. In the internal organization of the village all offices are held by men, and with the exception of a few families which have no adult male members, it is a man who is regarded as the head of the family. However, the status of a woman is governed largely by the

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other factors, particularly her caste, landownership and wealth, age, distinctive personality traits, and relationship to persons holding a government or village office. But within the same caste, income-group and age-group, the position of a woman will definitely be inferior to that of a man.

Education is now regarded as important, because it provides 'the key to' the understanding of the 'wide world' and equips one better to assert one's rights and claim one's due from officials and the cunning townspeople. It is easier for educated people to get government jobs. It is generally believed that they can contact and influence government officers much better than their illiterate counterparts in the village. However, most of the 'educated' people in the village had just four years of schooling in village schools. No one has so far had any higher education. At the time of our investigations four boys from the village were studying in secondary schools in the city, and they are the first people in the village to learn the English language. Economic benefits and gain in social prestige derived through modern education have made it a mark of respectability, and it is expected that in the near future a larger number of village boys will attend secondary schools in Secundrabad and Hyderabad.

Although there is considerable prejudice and scepticism among the village people regarding city ways and other urban traits of culture, in general it may be said that the village-folk acknowledge the importance and superiority of the townspeople. Those who have urban contacts seek to distinguish themselves from the ordinary village folk in their dress, manner of speech, food and recreations. Imitation of urban ways in the last decade and a half has come to be recognized as a distinguishing feature of respectable elements of the village population.

Introduction of democratic government in Hyderabad after the Police Action, has brought about a sudden burst of activity by a multitude of political parties in the rural areas of the State. Politics and elections appear to the people to be a sort of game, and they have not yet realized their deeper and wider implications. Affiliation with political parties provides an outlet to those who are ambitious and seek recognition of their importance.

Social status conferred on an individual by the caste system must be classified as 'ascribed status'. It is still a vital factor of status differentiation in the community, but the other factors leave

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554 sufficient scope for an individual to work his way towards the achievement of a new and higher status. While the social framework of caste is rigid and does not easily admit any variation in one's position in the traditional scale of social respectability, by taking recourse to the other factors a man can still improve his position and gain social prestige. In general it could be said that under the impact of modern socio-economic trends in the criteria for status differentiation there has been a swing from an ascribed status system to an achieved status system. However, the grip of the traditional system is still firm, and people from lower castes or others with humble origins must behave with considerable tact and discretion if they seek to enhance their influence and importance in the community. If such people acquire land, wealth, official position or some special skill by their own efforts, they can gain social prestige if they avoid ostentation and exhibitionism and insist on not transgressing the limits imposed on them by tradition. If such a man behaves with becoming modesty, people would say, 'Look, even wealth has not turned his head. He has not forgotten his low birth and traditional status. He is a good man. Such people always succeed in life.' On the contrary, display of self-importance and lack of courtesy on his part would lead to adverse comment. People would say, 'If a person of humble origin grows rich, his head is turned. Look at this man! Until the other day his father was a bricklayer. With a few hundred rupees in his pocket he behaves as if he owns the village.'

554 827 Birth, wealth and special personal qualities are marks of distinction, but they do not fall to the lot of the average man. The common villager regards self-sufficiency and stability as a mark of respectability. Here is a generalized picture of such a person in the words of one of our informants belonging to an average family of Reddi agriculturists: 'He is not rich, but he lives well and eats well. Quarrels are not heard in his home and there are no scandals about them. He lends to no one, but neither does he borrow from anyone. He is a contented man.' In the words of a Muslim cultivator, 'If you get enough to eat twice, if not thrice every day, if your wife and children have sufficient cloth to cover their bodies, and if you have a small house, a pair of bullocks and some fields of your own, there is nothing else that you should desire.' To quote one more informant, a Madiga untouchable: 'How many people can be rich? It is no blessing to worry half your life in order to

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amass wealth, and spend the rest of it worrying about its safety. The cultivator need not be rich. It is enough if he has not to lower himself before others begging for their favours.'

2. STANDARD OF LIVING: FOUR LEVELS

In Shamirpet four levels denoting different standards of living are vaguely recognized by the villagers. They are:

i. Rich.
ii. Well-to-do.
iii. Average.
iv. Poor.

It is difficult to lay down any precise rules to classify the different families living in the village into these levels on the basis of their standards of living. As these distinctions are based primarily on the differences in earning, it may be generally said that families with an income of Rs. 200 per month or more would be regarded as 'rich', those earning between Rs. 100 and 200 as 'well-to-do', those earning Rs. 45 to 100 as 'average' and those earning less than Rs. 45 as 'poor'. The average family unit in these calculations consists of five—three adults and two children.

According to this test which reflects the consensus of opinion in the village, our socio-economic survey of the community would indicate the following classification of the village population:

Rich	4%	Average	34%
Well-to-do	22%	Poor	40%

The following table indicates average percentage of consumer expenditure on different items, based on the family budgets of three consecutive years of a total sample of one hundred and twenty families representing the four levels of living:

ITEMS AND PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE

Level	1 *Food (including fats and spices)*	2 *Clothing (including ornaments)*	3 *Feasts and ceremonies*	4 *Repairs and maintenance of the house*	5 *Luxuries (including tobacco and liquor)*	6 *Miscellaneous (entertainments, medicine, etc.)*
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Rich	34	15	18	11	12	10
2. Well-to-do	40	14	18	10	12	6
3. Average	48	12	12	8	15	5
4. Poor	56	10	11	5	15	3

From the above it is clear that on each successive lower level the percentage of expenditure on food—that is, on cereals, meat,

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178 advantages perceived, responsibilities recognized.'[1] Extending this approach to technical and organizational changes in peasant communities, we can attribute some changes in the life-ways of the people to State compulsion and legal prescription. In some spheres, particularly in material culture and technology, utility, convenience, availability and price determine to a great extent
178 the adoption of new elements and traits. The prestige factor too is
554 significant, for any externally induced or internally inspired change in the system of status evaluation brings in its wake significant modifications in the organization and life-ways of society. Innovation, variety and change for its own sake can also account for substantial variation from established norms in social behaviour at a given point of time. In a small rural community such as Shamirpet, which is situated near a big and modern city and is in everyday contact with it, the prevailing climate of opinion in social, economic and political matters in the city is bound to influence its general outlook and ways, for apart from their practical value city-ways are gradually coming to be regarded as more 'respectable' and 'progressive'.

178 So far State compulsion has been instrumental in bringing about
[151] little social and cultural change in the village community. Compulsory vaccination as well as inoculation at the time of an epidemic appear to be the only significant measures enforced by the State which have been accepted in the everyday life of the com-
[783] munity. Although untouchability has been abolished by law, in actual practice it only gives to the hitherto untouchables an equal share in public utilities, for considerations of pollution bar all effective interaction between the high and the low castes especially in the social spheres of inter-dining and inter-marriage. Symbolic as it is, this gesture of the State has nevertheless brought about a considerable modification in the inter-group attitudes between the clean and untouchable castes.

178 The factors of utility, convenience and availability have played
757 a more important role in bringing several new elements into the life of the community. Although indigenous herbs and magico-religious practices are still continued in the treatment of diseases the efficacy and utility of allopathic drugs and injections have greatly changed the attitude of the people towards modern medicine. I have pointed out earlier that they eagerly seek these

[1] Raymond Firth, *Elements of Social Organization* (London, 1951), p. 85.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

medicines and injections. The old beliefs and practices survive, partly because of the non-availability of quick and efficient modern treatment, and partly also because of its prohibitive cost. Besides the two systems do not conflict, and in order to be doubly sure, most people continue magico-religious practices along with modern medicinal treatment. Adoption of several new tools and instruments for occupational work, as well as of several other items of Western technology, such as buses, railways, razors, and electric torches, introduced in the comparatively recent times is due to their efficiency and utility. In the matter of dress and ornament other factors must also be taken into account. Mill-made cloth was not regarded only as cheap and more durable; it came to be looked upon as more respectable also. The coarse handloom cloth was regarded as rustic, the finer mill-cloth, on the other hand, was more refined and dignified. Further, mill-made cloth allowed a wider range of choice in the matter of colours, designs and patterns. The style of dress was influenced by a variety of factors. Under Muslim rule the style of dress of the rulers became fashionable. With Congress in power there was a sudden switch from the Muslim court-dress to Congress-patronized national dress. Modern Indian—as well as Western-style clothes—cigarettes, sun-glasses and tea are not only popular because of their utility, they possess a great prestige value as well.

Influence of the city has brought about adjustment and modification in several spheres, but the need of balancing different extremes in the organization of the community has so far prevented any drastic structural change in village communities. Under the impact of the new socio-economic factors the family ties have weakened, the kin-group has lost some of its characteristic strength and in the system of status evaluation achieved-status is competing with traditionally ascribed status; but the society still continues to be caste-structured as caste plays a vital role in its social, economic and ritual organization. Democracy has brought in its wake party organization and elections which demand group formation and group allegiance: in several rural areas no new groups have emerged, the loyalties of the people have only been re-affirmed to the pre-existing caste groups. While no important social or economic projects and reforms have so far been put into operation, the first major political change—the

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tion will probably have modified this very considerably in a few decades.

The fundamental drive in the thought and activities of the group seems to be towards the goal of the adjustment of the individual to the universe. Several aspects of man's life are predetermined and he has to reconcile himself to his fate. But one need not therefore resign oneself to that fate, for actions in one's life-time can not only modify what has been predestined, but can also determine the course of life after death. Thus a life ordered according to the prescriptions of *dharma*, the traditionally approved 'correct way of life', mitigates some of the evils of the past and adds to one's merit which in its turn ensures happiness in this and future lives. The ideal pattern of adjustment with the universe is laid down by the *dharma* and comprises performance of sacramental rituals, observance of fasts and festivals, avoidance of acts and thoughts declared by religion as sinful, and rigid adherence to caste rules and taboos. Cheating in regard to some of the social and religious injunctions and prescriptions is practised, and is even regarded as permissible if it can be compensated with greater devotion in some other sphere. When such cheating becomes too open or hits the structural unity, stability and continuity of the community, it is punished; but as long as it remains personal and private one can hope to supplicate divine forces in other ways to win their forgiveness for some lapses and acts of omission and commission. All human acts are not attributed to individual volition; the unseen hand of destiny is found to motivate one's actions and decisions under many situations. Radical departures from traditional life-ways are often attributed to fate. On the whole rigid adherence to traditional life-ways is regarded as the ideal and most satisfactory method of adjustment with the universe and its unseen forces. Activities of political parties, particularly of the Communist Party, have tried to awaken people to a more positive attitude, not without total lack of success, but the new ideas are still greeted with frank dismay and scepticism and so far there has been very little change in their basic attitude towards life and the principal goal of the community, which still remains peaceful adjustment and adaptation to the laws that control the universe.

In inter-personal as well as inter- and intra-group relations, the people tend to view everything as hierarchically structured. All things, groups and people, must fit into higher, equal or lower

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829 554 levels. Castes are either superior, more or less equal, or inferior. This view extends to gods, animals and foods. This hierarchical setting does not denote status only, it denotes power as well. Thus people love to dominate; but they hate being dominated, and where they must accept domination of anyone higher, they in their turn seek to dominate all who occupy a lower position in the hierarchy. Man is superior to woman, therefore, she must obey him. But a mother is superior to children, to sons when they are not adults, and always to daughters and daughters-in-law, and she will therefore dominate them. A child must obey the elders, but he too can dominate a younger sibling. Superior castes can dominate inferior castes; the rich dominate the poor; those in authority dominate those who lack it. Age, kinship status, wealth and authority—together with caste—determine the superior and inferior statuses. When there are conflicts as a result of the desire to dominate in one, and hatred of domination in the other, either there is an open breach, or on 'respectable' levels there is a sort of vague compromise and adjustment under which the person with the superior status maintains the semblance of his authority by letting it become virtually ineffective and the person with the inferior status never challenges it seriously because in actual practice he does not feel its weight. Possessiveness and love of domination characterize most of the thoughts, ambitions and actions of the people, although under certain situations they are compelled to compromise with necessity and shed their power to maintain the fiction of their superiority. The new socio-political climate of the country has necessitated some adjustments and modifications in the nature of hierarchy and tone of domination; but basically the view of the people remains the same. As a concession to the changing times superior castes will not treat inferior castes harshly; but they still expect formal recognition of their superiority from the latter. A defiant low caste person would be subjected to several types of direct or indirect social presure; but one adhering to tradition and 'keeping his status in mind' would succeed in getting much better treatment.

829 The fundamental concepts of the rights and equality of men mean little to these people, whose visions are thus bounded by their own observation of the world. This is perhaps the most unexpected aspect of the village community for a Western mind to grasp, and it leads to its particular view of change. If people

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one, but in village matters his voice is now more effective. He insists on being regarded as low and humble, never offers his opinion unless it is specifically sought, and never fails to behave correctly towards the superior castes. Through this he earns the respect and admiration of the whole community. Again, two Madiga cultivators, belonging to the lowest untouchable caste who are now well-off and own land, are never forced to do free menial work like the other poorer members of their caste.

What is true of land ownership, is true also of the possession of other forms of wealth. Different kinds of houses denote different social status. The rich and the well-to-do people live in substantially built bhawanti-type houses. The average families have *penkutillu*-type houses; while the poorer people live in gudse huts. Along with the house go the other household possessions. Shining brassware, items of furniture, and other similar objects add to the prestige of a family. The significance of gold and silver ornaments possessed by women is also very great in this respect. In the families on the upper level there is keen rivalry among the women to acquire more and more ornaments of precious metals, so that their 'worth' in the estimate of the community may rise. Clothing, food and the type of work done by its members largely go with the financial resources of the family. In determining the social status of a family due consideration should be given to these factors also.

In recent years government service has come to be looked upon as important and desirable. It ensures a fixed and steady income, and permits the possibility of close contact with higher officials. Because of the feudal and authoritarian tradition in the administration of the State, even the minor district officials are viewed with awe and respect by the village-folk; and as such the minor village officials and menials who, having contact with them, can possibly influence them gain in prestige among their neighbours. Persons holding very small menial posts may not win the respect of the village community in general, but within their own income—and caste group—their prestige is noticeably enhanced. Those who hold office in the internal administrative set-up of the village, that is to say the village headman, the Ganadi and the members of the village council, enjoy very considerable prestige and influence by virtue of their office.

LEVELS OF LIVING

888 Age is still another important factor of status differentiation.
554 As a general rule the aged and elderly people should be respected: they have 'the authority of grey hair' and wide experience of the vicissitudes of life. The younger members must consult the elders of the extended family in all important matters, and should give due regard to their suggestions and advice. Even where the obligations which emerge from kinship ties do not dictate this respectful behaviour, it is considered polite for young people to show regard to the elders. Intimate social relations, even outside one's family and caste, find expression in the adoption of kinship terminology and one must address the people of another family as 'grandfather', 'uncle' or 'brother' according to their respective ages. Deliberate disregard or disrespect to village elders is adversely commented upon in the society.

● 555 Finally, distinctive personality traits and possession of uncommon or difficult skills also adds to the prestige of an individual and consequently alters his status in society. Ability to talk persuasively and impressively is regarded as a definite asset. An individual's success or failure in inter-personal relations, as well as his advancement in society in general, would depend to a considerable extent on this factor. Sense of humour is an allied personality trait which is greatly admired. One who can make others laugh is regarded as highly desirable company. Special knowledge and skills contribute substantially towards enhancing an individual's prestige. Two persons belonging to the Sale caste have risen in social esteem because of their local reputation as village doctors practising the indigenous system of medicine, although the traditional status of their caste is not very high. C. R., an untouchable Madiga, enjoys some social prestige because he composes songs in the folk style. B., a barber, too has a similar reputation for being a local composer.

554 Four other factors should also be taken into account at this
562 stage. They are sex, education, urban contacts and political affiliations. Of these, considerations regarding the first are ingrained in the social pattern; the other three have a comparatively recent origin. In general man is regarded as superior to woman. In the internal organization of the village all offices are held by men, and with the exception of a few families which have no adult male members, it is a man who is regarded as the head of the family. However, the status of a woman is governed largely by the

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other factors, particularly her caste, landownership and wealth, age, distinctive personality traits, and relationship to persons holding a government or village office. But within the same caste, income-group and age-group, the position of a woman will definitely be inferior to that of a man.

Education is now regarded as important, because it provides 'the key to' the understanding of the 'wide world' and equips one better to assert one's rights and claim one's due from officials and the cunning townspeople. It is easier for educated people to get government jobs. It is generally believed that they can contact and influence government officers much better than their illiterate counterparts in the village. However, most of the 'educated' people in the village had just four years of schooling in village schools. No one has so far had any higher education. At the time of our investigations four boys from the village were studying in secondary schools in the city, and they are the first people in the village to learn the English language. Economic benefits and gain in social prestige derived through modern education have made it a mark of respectability, and it is expected that in the near future a larger number of village boys will attend secondary schools in Secundrabad and Hyderabad.

Although there is considerable prejudice and scepticism among the village people regarding city ways and other urban traits of culture, in general it may be said that the village-folk acknowledge the importance and superiority of the townspeople. Those who have urban contacts seek to distinguish themselves from the ordinary village folk in their dress, manner of speech, food and recreations. Imitation of urban ways in the last decade and a half has come to be recognized as a distinguishing feature of respectable elements of the village population.

Introduction of democratic government in Hyderabad after the Police Action, has brought about a sudden burst of activity by a multitude of political parties in the rural areas of the State. Politics and elections appear to the people to be a sort of game, and they have not yet realized their deeper and wider implications. Affiliation with political parties provides an outlet to those who are ambitious and seek recognition of their importance.

Social status conferred on an individual by the caste system must be classified as 'ascribed status'. It is still a vital factor of status differentiation in the community, but the other factors leave

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871 578 villagers are simple, superstitious and stupid. They believe anyone. Conditions in the village will never improve so long as they dominate the scene.' 'Without education a man is like a beast.' 'As you goad a bullock, you can goad an uneducated villager.' 'Why do petty government officers harass us so much? Only because we are illiterate.'

It may be pointed out here that so far the educated section consists only of people who have attended primary or secondary village schools for four to six years. The number of these people does not exceed eighty, and from among them also many have virtually relapsed into illiteracy. With the exception of some government officials who are not a permanent part of the village population, none has so far had the advantage of modern scientific education in one of the better schools of the city, although at the time of our investigations some half a dozen boys from the village were attending higher schools. It is interesting to note that persons having education in rural vernacular schools have the same fear, suspicion and general sentiments regarding those who have modern or 'English education', as the illiterate section of the population has about those who have a background of village [555] education. Notwithstanding the popular prejudice against education of both types, its economic advantages as well as prestige value are now generally recognized. With the gradual improvement in the standards and practices of the schools more parents are now anxious to enrol their children there. Fears still persist, however, and people urge that, besides imparting literacy, the school should also equip them better for earning their livelihood.

URBAN VERSUS RURAL

369 578 The general pattern of comment regarding urban and urbanized people is the same as that of the comment of the uneducated about the educated. In the context of urbanization, or even in that of the adoption of some urban traits, supplementary opinions are often added. 'We villagers are simple-hearted; but the town people are crafty, calculating and self-centred.' 'When the relations from the city come to stay with us we receive them well, and give them the choicest share in everything. But when we happen to go to them they have difficulty even in recognizing us. And they treat us as if we were an unwelcome burden on them.' 'Never trust a town-dweller, for he never distinguishes between

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these are generally out of order and are used rather as decorations than to tell the time.

Household utensils are generally made by the local potter. But shining brassware, including a few large pots for storing water, are a mark of respectability. Food is served on brass, bell-metal or aluminium plates. Water is drunk from metal mugs or brass beakers. In some houses a couple of china cups and saucers and a few glass plates are also to be seen.

The Penkutillu. This type of house is smaller and less ostentatious, and is built by average cultivators with small holdings, who are neither rich nor poor according to village standards. These houses also have a courtyard and possibly a backyard; a verandah and two or three rooms which are used for various purposes. The walls are of stone, the floor of mud and the roof is tiled. The cattle-shed is generally close to the living-room and there is neither latrine nor bathroom in the house.

This type of house is also decorated with carvings on the doors, and designs are painted on the wall. In such houses furniture is regarded as a luxury; there may be a few bedsteads, some small wooden stools and possibly a crude chair or two. People with city contacts decorate the walls of their houses with commercial calendars or coloured magazine covers. The household utensils in this type of house are, except for metal plates used for serving food, of earthenware, even water being stored in clay pots. Yet respectability demands that such a house should have at least some brass utensils. These are greatly coveted by the ambitious housewife.

The Gudse. These are the commonest type of dwellings found in Telangana, and are indeed the most numerous in Shamirpet. The walls of these huts are either made of mud or they are made of wattle-screen and plastered with mud. The roof is always thatched. The hut is built in a small enclosure and has generally only one room, from which the kitchen is partly partitioned. These huts have very little furniture and all household utensils are the wares of the local potter. The few metal utensils which the family possesses are among the most treasured parts of the household property.

All the three types of village dwellings have some features in common. Almost all of them have some open space either at the front or at the back. This is generally enclosed. Here women bath and in times of emergency, such as illness or other incapacity, it may also be used as a latrine. During the rainy season

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to be organized by the village community as a whole. If smallpox, cholera or plague is reported in any nearby village or from Shamirpet itself, it has to fix the day on which the whole village shall perform religious worship in order to ward off the epidemic. It fixes the contribution which should be made by the different families to any communal undertaking. In any undertaking concerning the village as a whole the initiative often comes from the *panchayat*. For example, if a temple or shrine has to be constructed or a tank or well has to be repaired, the matter would be placed before the *panchayat*. This body would plan the measure and then proceed to fix all the details. It will determine the amount of the contributions to be raised, and collect it from each family. If it is necessary to approach the government for financial help in the matter, the *panchayat* would first thoroughly analyse the subject and examine all the possibilities. Only after such a discussion would it determine the precise steps to be taken. Similarly, if a complaint has to be made against any government official, the matter is first discussed by the *panchayat*.

In the village community there are several groups and factions; the various cliques often hold divergent views. However, at the meetings of the *panchayat* the minority almost always yields to the majority—mostly without any grumbling. But once the *panchayat* has risen a protégé of the dissenting clique may be instigated to defy the decisions of the council. With the emergence of several factions within the community, and the tacit encouragement given by some of the minority groups to certain offenders to ignore its decisions, the authority of the *panchayat* has been slightly weakened. In consequence, even when the *panchayat* has heard them and given its verdict, some cases drag on in a state of indecision. From time to time they come up for reconsideration, but two or three years often elapse before a final decision is made. Some long-drawn-out cases are decided by the active intervention of the Revenue or Police officials. But such cases are few. Only a comparatively rich person can defy the *panchayat*, for unless he is able to bribe one of the minority cliques, he cannot enlist their sympathy and support in the lengthy proceedings. In most of the ordinary cases the decision of the *panchayat* is binding and final.

It has been pointed out that the *panchayat* includes all the headmen of the different caste-groups as well as of the Muslim community. These headmen do not merely represent their respective

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

According to the caste composition of the villages and existing social bonds between them, people belonging to one particular caste will have their own *panchayat* for a group of villages. Thus in the case of some castes ten to twenty villages have their own caste *panchayat*, while in the case of others thirty to forty villages together have a common council of this type. In some cases endogamous sub-castes have their own *panchayats*; but in many others the wider caste group comprising many sub-castes has a composite council of its own. Caste headmen representing each constituent village are the members of this council—although in actual practice other wealthy and influential, as well as vocal and assertive, persons also gradually come to occupy a seat in it. Serious breaches of the norms and traditions of the caste, as well as important intra-caste disputes, are heard and decided by these caste *panchayats*. Cases of divorce, failure in fulfilling agreements made before finalizing marriage arrangements, serious sexual lapses, and of breaches of the social norms of the caste, such as incest, breaches of the rules of endogamy and exogamy, eating forbidden food and pursuing a 'lower' occupation, etc., would be under the jurisdiction of such a caste *panchayat*. But it must be pointed out that there is no clear-cut distinction between the powers and functions of the caste *panchayat* and the village *panchayat*. For example, when a serious case of incest comes to their notice both these *panchayats* take action independently. Similarly, if a person belonging to one of the Hindu castes kills a cow or is found to have eaten beef, simultaneous action is likely to be taken by both the *panchayats*. In general, however, it can be laid down that matters of a primarily local interest are brought to the village *panchayat*, while those having a bearing on specific caste customs fall under the jurisdiction of the caste *panchayat*. A large number of marginal disputes may be heard by either, and often the local tradition defines their respective jurisdictions. As the *panchayat* in Shamirpet is sufficiently aggressive it has arrogated to itself a considerably wide range of powers.

While all villages and nearly all castes have their own *panchayats*, inter-village *panchayats* are formed from time to time when they are demanded by a special situation. They function as *ad hoc* arbitration committees. Conflicts between two villages, or between two parties belonging to different villages (and not drawn from one particular caste), often necessitate an inter-village

natural and necessary. Only morons and cripples remain single. Though it is rare for people to renounce their home and property in old age, old men and women excessively attached to material goods come in for a good deal of criticism, and people often remark about them, 'Will they carry their wealth with them to the other world when they die?' It is at this time that their thoughts turn more to religion and to the destiny of their souls in the future life, and it is now that they generally undertake pilgrimages to holy places. In a sense the broad essentials of the philosophy of the *ashramas* can be said to permeate the life and thought of the Hindu villagers. The village Muslims share these social attitudes with their Hindu neighbours. With conversion to Islam they have changed their religious faith, but in the socio-cultural spheres of life they still continue to have more or less the same basic attitudes as the Hindus. In their family ethics and ideals the two groups demonstrate considerable similarity.

To the village people the necessity of both marriage and family is self-evident. It is necessary that the family line should be continued. A male heir must be left. An unmarried person past the marriage age is an object of pity. A couple without a son are unhappy. Childlessness and inability to produce a male child on the part of a woman often lead to a polygynous household. Marriage is regarded as essential among all the castes and social groups in the village. In a community of 2,494 persons, demographic survey reveals the presence of only two single persons—both women. One of these is a deaf-mute; the other has been a victim of epileptic fits from her childhood and has in addition the unenviable reputation of being a thief. For the clean-caste Hindus the continuity of the family line is necessary for a further reason. A male child must make a ceremonial offering of water to the spirits of his deceased parents and ancestors, without which their souls may not have peace. The untouchable castes as well as the semi-tribal groups also have this ritual in a modified form. The Muslims neither have this belief nor any attendant ritual, but they too share with the Hindus the sentiment against childlessness.

1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

The patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint family is the normal type of family unit met with in this part of rural India.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus
Muslims

779 Muslim State, the Hindus had their revenge by pouring scorn
798 openly on Muslim religion and society. It was now the turn of the Muslims to observe silence, and tolerate humiliation and insults. At the time of our investigations, however, most of these passions had subsided, and no significant tensions were observed. As groups both Hindus and Muslims regard themselves as superior
[564] in point of religion. From the socio-economic point of view the Muslims can be regarded as an exclusive caste whose social standing is roughly equal to that of the agricultural castes.

564 Caste as a factor of social differentiation is more significant. It has been pointed out that in its structure, the caste system has definitely a hierarchical character. Between the highest and the lowest castes, there are several intermediate levels. The social status of a person is largely determined by his caste. The mere fact of birth in a particular caste gives a good initial start to some and puts obstacles in the way of others. In a subsequent chapter I propose to examine some of the stereotypes current in the village community regarding the qualities and characteristics of different castes; but notwithstanding these the relative position of the different castes in the village community is determined by the traditional scale.

554 Religion and caste are more or less fixed and permanent factors. While change of faith is possible, and under certain circumstances a person can even descend from one of the higher castes to the lowest, such changes are very rare. At any rate no one takes recourse to them to bring about a change in his social status.
[791] The only case of change of faith recorded by us in the village is that of the present headmaster of the school who was a Brahmin to begin with, but later embraced Islam. No case of change of caste came to our notice.

556 In a predominantly agricultural society it is natural to expect that possession of land and cattle would contribute greatly to an individual's social status. Birth into a family of landowners ensures that a person will grow up to be a respected member of the village community. Acquisition of land would very materially affect the social position even of a person of humble birth, and if he does not behave tactlessly it would greatly enhance his prestige. An untouchable Mala peasant is now counted among the influential cultivators of the village and is given a place of honour in its counsels. He is still an untouchable and would continue to remain

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one, but in village matters his voice is now more effective. He insists on being regarded as low and humble, never offers his opinion unless it is specifically sought, and never fails to behave correctly towards the superior castes. Through this he earns the respect and admiration of the whole community. Again, two Madiga cultivators, belonging to the lowest untouchable caste who are now well-off and own land, are never forced to do free menial work like the other poorer members of their caste.

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31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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438 at a reduced price, generally 13 to 15 rupees per candy, while the market price in summer will be Rs. 23 to 29 per candy. Last year, 249 owing to the appearance of a competing company, Messrs. Simpson & Co., the price was Rs. 35 to 42 per candy. No interest is charged for such debts. (3) They invariably use false stones in weighing the jaggery in the fields, while in the village the company's stones are used. This results in an enormous profit.

With these three sources of profit, the private capitalist is able to realize a profit of Rs. 5 at least per cart (of 8 bags) while daily he sends 3 carts at least to the company's agent. The total export of the village during the summer will be from 17,000 to 20,000 bags; this year (1917) it is 18,000 bags, i.e., 6,000 candies.

• 556 The rich capitalist makes the largest profit out of this trade.[1] Many of the villagers are now a class of capitalists, great or small. Many that were poor three or four years ago are now able to invest a few hundreds and start independent businesses in this line. There are three people who invested about Rs. 30,000 each this year.

465 The toddy tappers are not materially better off. As a class they are only a little above the level of absolute poverty, while individually, there are only four or five who own a property of Rs. 500. Though their gross earnings are from Rs. 20 to 25 for the three months, the net income will be Rs. 6 to 8 only.

The village barber and washerman earn at least Rs. 30 to 35 during the three months. The lime dealer earns 50 to 60 rupees. The Pariahs who carry firewood get wages at the rate of 4 annas to 6 annas per day. Owners of carts get rent at the rate of Rs. 2 per turn to carry jaggery from the field-huts to Nidadavolu, the headquarters of the company. Makers of tin-pots, used in boiling the toddy, get 100 to 150 rupees. Pariah women prepare baskets of palmyra leaves to hold the jaggery, for which they are paid Re. 1 per 100. Brahmans are employed to prepare the accounts and are paid Rs. 10 per mensem.

Besides these payments for services rendered (which are in the shape of jaggery in most cases) there are certain extra perquisites or "mamuls" which the toddy tapper is compelled to pay. These illegitimate exactions mount up to thousands of rupees. The village servants also get presents, while the coolies are profited by carrying [545] rice or other articles to the fields. There are many small shops opened by retail traders in the fields themselves for the benefit of the tappers; while the performance of two or three dramas, based on some popular mythological story by country actors is not of rare occurrence.

464 The effects on the village are innumerable and many sided. One of the greatest difficulties for the Indian labourer is want of proper employment; it is no exaggeration to say that many families are reduced to poverty, simply for want of sufficient local demand for their labour. This village is to a certain extent relieved of this anxiety during a season when, the fields being fallow, they have no agricultural occupation to attend to. Many a poor family would have long ago left the village but for this attraction. Industrially, it has raised the efficiency of every craft, by providing it with more work to turn out. While in all the other seasons the whole village is entirely agricultural in character, in summer it can be said to be industrial and commercial in tone.

[1] [i.e., jaggery. -- Analyst]

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Socially, it increases drunkenness in the lower classes; and I find more crimes in summer than in other seasons. 273 674

But it has turned the honest and sympathetic ryots into greedy money-lenders and capitalists. It has increased the lust for gold. True that the poorer classes have an opportunity of clearing off their family debts; true that they find sufficient food to eat in summer at least; true that there is more money in the village now than 20 years ago. But equally is it true that there are more debts now; that the gulf between the rich and the poor is widened more and more; that the once poor are now poorer and the once rich now richer. There is greater struggle, greater competition, and greater rises and falls of life. 178 556 477

Economic history of the village.—When compared with fifteen years ago, the village has, on the whole, progressed economically. True that estates once united are now split up into fragments; and that the once poor have now become poorer. True that there are cases where people borrow money and purchase land with it; and then sell it again to clear off that debt some years later. Still the village has improved. There is increase and improvement in agriculture. Many fields that were once forest are now brought under cultivation. There is more money in the village now than 20 years ago, more produce is now exported from the village than before. The introduction of the railway near by has revolutionized the commercial condition of the village. Prices have risen both of the commodities produced and of land in general, three or four-fold. There is a greater inflow of foreign goods into the village. Kerosene oil has completely driven out castor oil. There are sixteen Japanese wind-proof lamps in the village. The standard of living has decidedly been raised. Among the lower castes to eat solid food was a luxury; conjee, prepared of korra and ragi, was the food for all the lower castes, including Sudras. Now they all eat rice and cholam and wear better clothing. But the money is ultimately finding its destination into the hands of the rich money-lenders. Formerly there was enough corn in the land and there was a sort of self-sufficiency. Now there are more debts, consequently more ruin of families with the higher rates of interest, and greater servitude and misery. 178

If the Government were to open a sugar factory and utilize the jaggery, both the Government and the villagers would be profited. Wells can be very profitably sunk in the fields. But the ryots never do it, though it costs only Rs. 200. A ryot is prepared to spend even Rs. 1,500 in litigation but not Rs. 200 for a well in his fields, even though he is rich and knows that it is profitable. By example they may improve.

The Brahmans have almost lost their former property for want of any profession, while they incur heavy expenses for marriages, etc. Only one family is now well off. The Vaisyas too have lost their former lands by litigation, marriages, and other expenses. On the whole, the Sudras have grown richer, both with agriculture and the jaggery trade, and the rise of prices for their produce. The weavers, washermen, the Panchamas, many of the Sudras, are growing poorer; they are selling off the little lands they have for debts and other expenses.

Lands are sold chiefly to clear off old debts, though there are some cases where profits tempt people to purchase or sell. The 426

[i.e. The seasonal nature of industrial employment--Analyst]

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one, but in village matters his voice is now more effective. He insists on being regarded as low and humble, never offers his opinion unless it is specifically sought, and never fails to behave correctly towards the superior castes. Through this he earns the respect and admiration of the whole community. Again, two Madiga cultivators, belonging to the lowest untouchable caste who are now well-off and own land, are never forced to do free menial work like the other poorer members of their caste.

What is true of land ownership, is true also of the possession of other forms of wealth. Different kinds of houses denote different social status. The rich and the well-to-do people live in substantially built bhawanti-type houses. The average families have *penkutillu*-type houses; while the poorer people live in gudse huts. Along with the house go the other household possessions. Shining brassware, items of furniture, and other similar objects add to the prestige of a family. The significance of gold and silver ornaments possessed by women is also very great in this respect. In the families on the upper level there is keen rivalry among the women to acquire more and more ornaments of precious metals, so that their 'worth' in the estimate of the community may rise. Clothing, food and the type of work done by its members largely go with the financial resources of the family. In determining the social status of a family due consideration should be given to these factors also.

In recent years government service has come to be looked upon as important and desirable. It ensures a fixed and steady income, and permits the possibility of close contact with higher officials. Because of the feudal and authoritarian tradition in the administration of the State, even the minor district officials are viewed with awe and respect by the village-folk; and as such the minor village officials and menials who, having contact with them, can possibly influence them gain in prestige among their neighbours. Persons holding very small menial posts may not win the respect of the village community in general, but within their own income—and caste group—their prestige is noticeably enhanced. Those who hold office in the internal administrative set-up of the village, that is to say the village headman, the Ganadi and the members of the village council, enjoy very considerable prestige and influence by virtue of their office.

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other factors, particularly her caste, landownership and wealth, age, distinctive personality traits, and relationship to persons holding a government or village office. But within the same caste, income-group and age-group, the position of a woman will definitely be inferior to that of a man.

Education is now regarded as important, because it provides 'the key to' the understanding of the 'wide world' and equips one better to assert one's rights and claim one's due from officials and the cunning townspeople. It is easier for educated people to get government jobs. It is generally believed that they can contact and influence government officers much better than their illiterate counterparts in the village. However, most of the 'educated' people in the village had just four years of schooling in village schools. No one has so far had any higher education. At the time of our investigations four boys from the village were studying in secondary schools in the city, and they are the first people in the village to learn the English language. Economic benefits and gain in social prestige derived through modern education have made it a mark of respectability, and it is expected that in the near future a larger number of village boys will attend secondary schools in Secundrabad and Hyderabad.

Although there is considerable prejudice and scepticism among the village people regarding city ways and other urban traits of culture, in general it may be said that the village-folk acknowledge the importance and superiority of the townspeople. Those who have urban contacts seek to distinguish themselves from the ordinary village folk in their dress, manner of speech, food and recreations. Imitation of urban ways in the last decade and a half has come to be recognized as a distinguishing feature of respectable elements of the village population.

Introduction of democratic government in Hyderabad after the Police Action, has brought about a sudden burst of activity by a multitude of political parties in the rural areas of the State. Politics and elections appear to the people to be a sort of game, and they have not yet realized their deeper and wider implications. Affiliation with political parties provides an outlet to those who are ambitious and seek recognition of their importance.

Social status conferred on an individual by the caste system must be classified as 'ascribed status'. It is still a vital factor of status differentiation in the community, but the other factors leave

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non-Aryan groups was taking place in Indian society and Hinduism was consolidating itself. The highly organized craftsmen's guilds of those days may perhaps have succeeded in maintaining their integrity and exclusiveness for a long time, but had ultimately to yield; yet the tension created by their resistance remained, and even when they were absorbed into the fold of Hindu society they were not admitted as equals to the groups of comparable social status and in consequence probably continued to maintain their age-long exclusiveness.

All the castes whose relative positions in the caste-hierarchy have been shown in the accompanying table are endogamous. There is a permanent social distance between them; the individual is born into a caste, and a subsequent change in status is, except to the very lowest strata of society, equally impossible upwards or downwards.[1] In general it may be said that people accept food at the hands of all castes occupying a higher level in this hierarchy, the only exception being that of the Vaddar, who do not accept food from the highly placed Sakali and Mar.gali. Without exception people on a higher level refuse food from those on a lower level. Each caste has a traditional occupation sanctioned by religion, and these monopolies should not be infringed upon, except in the case of agriculture, which all may pursue.

Mention should here be made of the Jangam and the Katike castes, of each of which there is one family in Shamirpet. The Jangam are a semi-priestly caste ritually attached to the Baljas, for whom they tie the 'lingam'—a phallic symbol representing Shiva—and function as priests on the occasion of weddings. On the days of *Pitra Moksha Amavasya*[2] and *Shivaratri*,[3] they visit Hindu houses, particularly of those peasants who follow the Shaivite[4]

[1] When a person is excommunicated or out-casted he is not down-graded and pushed into a lower caste; he is merely denied the privileges of equal participation in the socio-religious life of the community.

[2] The night of the New Moon in the Hindu month of Bhadrapada (August–September).

[3] The day on which Shiva is believed to have drunk the world's poison, retaining it in his throat, and thereby saving mankind from possible harm from this poison.

[4] Of the great gods of the Hindu 'trinity' Brahma is not worshipped because of his sinful infatuation for his own daughter, whilst Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped. Those who principally worship the former, usually in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, are known as Vaishnava; those worshipping the latter as Shaiva or Shaivite. Cf. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London, 1950), pp. 56–59, 296–300, 360–362.

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561

[For information on ritual observances related to the life cycle see category 116, pp. 117-125.]

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ing that they too will have their share after the crops are harvested. Thus, the potter periodically supplies the agriculturist with earthenware and pots for his normal requirements. The barber does the hair-cutting and shaving of the members of the agriculturist's family on this basis. The washerman, too, follows this rule in so far as established cultivators of the village are concerned.

(ii) Obligations to render some occupational services, to the agriculturists as well as to many non-agriculturists, having a bearing on their socio-religious life. Castes such as the barber, the washerman, the carpenter and the potter, and the Madiga have definite functions in the rites and ceremonies connected with the major crises of life. These are performed by them as a matter of routine, without any direct negotiations regarding the wages that they may expect in return for their services. Convention has fixed the basic minimum, and in the course of ritual duties, at different points, a part of this payment has to be made. Depending on their status and financial position, people pay something more for these services at the completion of the ceremony.

(iii) Obligations to render some occupational services to other occupational castes in return for their traditional services. As an example, it may be pointed out that a barber will attend to the grooming of hair and shaving of the members of a weaver's family to which he is attached. No cash payment is either expected or made. However, every year the weaver will give him a few yards of cloth and possibly a *sari* or two for his wife.

(iv) Occupational services rendered with an expectation of cash payment in return for the work. Casual visitors to the village can get the services of the barber only when they pay cash. For making a bullock cart, or for preparing timber for use in the construction of a house, a carpenter would first settle his wages and then undertake to do the work. In this respect he would not make an exception even in the case of established cultivators to whose households his family may have been attached for several years, even for decades. The Vaddar stone-workers also usually undertake an assignment only when the obligations on both sides are settled.

For most of the castes economic dealings falling in category (iv), described above, are of a casual nature, though their economic returns through them may be quite substantial. With a few exceptions, most of the castes have to accept a basis of reciprocity in

796 563 for the sake of the fun that they expect to find in the fair. A closer examination of the Hindu festivals and ceremonies reveals that a large number of all-India Hindu festivals are observed in the community; but a good many of these are restricted to the 'twice born' castes of the Brahmin and the Komti. Some of them are observed by a few other higher castes, or often only by a few 'respectable' families in these castes. Ceremonies and worship connected with these festivals are conducted by the Brahmin in castes occupying a level higher than that of the Sakali and the Mangali (excluding the Panch Bramha group). The Sakali and the Mangali invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, or else they manage with a caste priest. While the Brahmin and the Komti, of all the castes, are most interested in a majority of the festivals of this category, in the common village ritual they are passive and distant observers. In the two major festivals of the village, which involve considerable inter-caste co-operation, it is the Kummari[1] who officiates as the priest and not the Brahmin. The bulk of Hindus celebrate relatively few of the all-India festivals with great enthusiasm, but it could be said that groups occupying higher rungs in the ladder of caste hierarchy are found to observe more of these festivals. In fact the higher the status of a caste the greater is the number of these that it observes; and thus we find the Komtis observing more of these festivals than any other Hindu caste, with the sole exception of the Brahmin who, being of a superior caste, observes a few festivals more than the Komti. The local village cults are still living and vital. In them the participation of the two highest castes is nominal; but that of the other castes complete. The Kapu group of agricultural castes occupying an intermediate position in the caste hierarchy participate in both sets of rituals with equal enthusiasm.

796 564

4. RITUAL OF THE LIFE CYCLE

184 561 The basic pattern of ceremonies connected with the major crises of life is the same in all sections of the Hindus in the village community; but in the minor details of the ritual there is considerable difference in the practices of different castes. More than this, even within a particular caste the rites and observances are not identical, for in some respects individual families have their own traditions. In the course of our field-work we found the catalogu-

1 [i.e., member of potter caste.--ANALYST]

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Hindus
Muslims

ing of these variant customs quite a stimulating, though somewhat tedious, task; but a full ethnographic record of them will be out of place here, and only a broad outline of the essentials will be presented, to illustrate their place in the socio-religious life of the Hindus. As the Muslims differ from the Hindus vitally in respect of their *rites de passage* their observances will be described separately.

Birth. On the birth of a child the mother, as well as other members of the family, is ritually impure. On the third or fifth day after the birth the *purudu* rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of all members of the family except the mother. The mother continues to be ritually impure for twenty-one to thirty days. On the twenty-first day—in some castes on the thirtieth day—the name-giving ceremony of the child takes place. The mother is bathed. The child's head is shaved, and it is put in a cradle. If it is the first child, or the first son, relations from other villages are also invited to participate in the name-giving ceremony. Friends and neighbours from the village itself are always invited. Women sing songs suitable for the occasion. If an ancestor is believed to have taken re-birth the newborn is named after him; otherwise the elders, after mutual consultation or at the suggestion of an important and influential relation, decide upon a name for the child. The name is announced to the assembly of men and women present. Singing is continued for some time longer. The ceremony ends with a feast for relations and some very special friends.

The Brahmin may be consulted for his astrological predictions regarding the future of the child, and also regarding the implications of the position of the stars at the time of birth for the members of the family. On this occasion the Komtis, the Reddi agriculturists as well as other higher caste Hindus with urban contacts may also invite him. Women from the barber's caste act as midwives among all the clean castes; untouchables manage with experienced women from their respective castes. Services of four other castes are essential: the barber for shaving the child's head, the washerman for washing the linen and clothes before the twenty-first day ceremony, the potter for the supply of new pots for ritual purification, and Madigas for playing musical instruments. Payments for these services are prescribed by tradition; and are both in cash and kind.

LEVELS OF LIVING

Caste is an important and rigid determinant of division of labour. Under this system several occupations have been preserved as caste monopolies, while some are 'open' and may be adopted by persons belonging to all castes. This system of division of labour by occupation has been examined at some length in Chapter III.

The factors of sex, age and social status govern the division of labour in nearly all types of work in the community. First, 'masculine' and 'feminine' pursuits are clearly distinguished: a woman doing man's work is laughed at; a man undertaking any specifically feminine tasks provides a favourite theme for popular gossip. Household work, agricultural activities, traditional craft or occupation of the family, and socio-religious rites and ceremonies are all marked by division of work on the basis of sex.

The age factor is equally important, but not so rigid. Six basic age divisions are recognized in the society: (i) 'Infant' from birth to weaning. (ii) 'Child' from weaning to about twelve. (iii) 'Grown-up boys or girls' from twelve until marriage or even a year or two later. (iv) 'Grown-up people' from twenty to about thirty-eight. (v) Middle-aged from about thirty-eight to fifty. (vi) 'Aged', over fifty. Each of these age divisions carries with it a more or less recognized status which determines the nature and quantity of work to be done by the individual in question. Only in the lower strata of the community we find the 'child' burdened with a regular share in domestic and occupational tasks. The children in the families on upper levels may occasionally do odd bits of work, but no responsibility is thrust on them. As they grow up, girls have to take an increasing interest in domestic tasks. 'Grown-up boys and girls' must seriously start 'learning to do things', and are gradually entrusted with some responsibility. However, it is on the 'grown-up people' that the main responsibility of 'doing all the work' and running the affairs of the household rests. The 'middle-aged' people continue to do a part of the practical work; but their time is more occupied by planning, direction and supervision. Depending on their age and personality, the 'aged' continue to supervise and direct the work of the younger members. As they grow older they content themselves merely by giving suggestions and eventually retire from active work or its planning, and devote their time mostly to their grandchildren.

Considerations of general social status also determine the nature

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truth and untruth. He is sweet when he wants us to do something for him; and coarse when the work is over.' 'The ways of city people are strange. They will go to bed even with their cousins and aunts.' 'The villager who has lived in the city for some years learns all the ways of the townspeople. He may be an insignificant menial in the city, but when he returns to the village he behaves like a big lord.'

The people with urban contacts, on the other hand, regard the village-folk as rustic and crude; and consider themselves more forward and civilized. They have an unmistakable tendency to look down upon 'these simple and uncomprehending people', make fun of their ways and occasionally exploit them by exerting undue pressure. 'These people are timid and foolish. They are afraid of anyone who can make some show of authority, and yield very easily to the pressure of officials', said a village youth when he was asked to give his opinion about his fellow villagers, who had not had the benefit of contacts with city ways.

Those who have some urban contacts are gradually coming to the fore in village leadership. They are often criticized and commented upon, but nevertheless their opinions are valued and in general the community looks to them for guidance in all situations 'where it has to face the outside world'.

2. CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND OLD AGE

This section is devoted to a brief study of the three most significant stages of life—childhood, youth and old age. While family, kin-group and caste are important units of social structure which influence the course of an individual's life-cycle, from the point of view of socialization and social control the significance of the village as a unit cannot be minimized. Apart from the family and the caste, people spend most of their time in their respective age-groups, and through this process of growing-up together, common play and participation in youth activity the people tend to have a common value—orientation and certain common basic attitudes towards life.

For the first two or three months of a child's life the mother remains almost in sole charge of it. A young mother is invariably instructed in the technique of mothercraft by an elderly female relative, but at this stage it is her responsibility to look after the

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resent this disability, but nevertheless they recognize the value of realizing their own limitations and continue to conform to the traditional norms of behaviour.

The people of Telangana and Andhra-desa belong to the great family of Dravidian-speaking people who developed a great civilization in the south and have materially contributed to the final make-up of Indian civilization as we know it to-day. Racially they represent a mixture of several elements. In physical types also the people of Shamirpet show great variation. Most of the Muslim inhabitants of Shamirpet are the descendants of local converts and do not therefore greatly differ in physical characteristics from the local Hindu inhabitants, but the few immigrants whose arrival dates from recent times present a marked contrast with their more delicate features and fairer skin colour.

In point of dress and ornament the Hindus and Muslims differ widely. Muslim men and boys wear loose trousers of thin white cloth called *pyjama*, and a vest or a shirt. Out of doors they put on the more conventional long coat buttoned up to the neck known as *sherwani*. They invariably wear a red fez cap or a black cap made of sheepskin. Muslim girls wear a tight *pyjama* and a long, loose tunic which often touches the knees. Round the shoulders and thrown round the back they wear a thin white or coloured scarf known as *dupatta* or *odhni*. On festive occasions these clothes are very colourful. Married Muslim women usually wear a blouse or bodice, and a *sari*—a wide piece of cloth, some five or six yards long, which is tied round the waist to form a skirt that nearly touches the ankles. It is tied in such a way that one end of the cloth is taken over the chest to one shoulder and then passed behind the neck to the other shoulder. Married Muslim women are obliged by the rules of their religion to observe *purdah*, i.e. veil themselves in the presence of all but their closest relations. Whenever they leave their houses they wear this veil known as *burkha*, a garment which falls from the crown of the head to the ground. The Hindu mode of dress is quite different, and varies greatly according to the financial status of the different families. Among the poorer classes, infants remain naked, but occasionally a few rags are tied round their waists; and in childhood they go about in these tattered rags. Boys wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Girls wear a skirt (*lahanga*) and a blouse. Among the poorer classes these clothes are almost always dirty, for within a few days of their

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behalf of the entire village. The head and the forelimbs of the sacrificed animal are left in front of the shrine; the rest of it, along with the *bonam*, is carried home by each family, and when all the sacrifices are over the people return home and feast on the rice and meat. 796

Muslims also participate in this festival. They do not believe in any Hindu gods, but are as afraid of the village gods and goddesses as the Hindus. However, they do not participate in the worship; sacrifices on their behalf are made by the barber or the washerman.

Batkamma Festival. The first nine days of the month of Ashvina are observed as days of festivity with singing and dancing and the worship of Gauri by the Hindu women of the village. Women from the two highest castes, i.e. Brahmin and Komti, do not participate in the dancing, although on the last day they too go out for the final worship with the rest of the village women. Similarly, women from 'respectable' families refuse to join in the dance; and, being untouchables, Mala and Madiga women cannot join the clean-caste women in their dance. Thus the two highest and the two lowest castes keep away from the major part of these celebrations, and so also do the women from urbanized and respectable families. The mythological background of the festival is not clearly understood by anyone: all they know is that during this period Gauri, the wife of Shiva, was piqued by her husband, and that it is to please her that they dance. 796 562

For the first seven days women mostly dance in small groups in their respective living-quarters and lanes. On the last two days women from different quarters of the village form small parties of twelve to thirty and dance in front of all the important houses; for this they get small presents of grain or money. In the evening at about 4 p.m. they arrange various kinds of flowers into beautiful designs on their plates and proceed in a procession towards the tank. At this time Brahmin and Komti women also join them. Near the tank these plates containing flowers are placed on the ground in the centre and the women dance around them. In this dance the Brahmin and Komti women do not participate. When the dance is over the flowers are immersed in water. Then a small portion of a sweet dish prepared with gram and jaggery is also put in the water and the women return home. This is done 796

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tool for correct ordering of intra-family relations is emphasized. Mediation and reconciliation are regarded as the best methods of getting over family difficulties; timely partition of property and separation as the next best.

The people in the upper level not only believe in these ideals, but most of them consciously strive to achieve them in actual practice. A Brahmin will lose respect in the community if he gives up these noble ways and starts imitating the 'animal-like ways' of people on the lower levels. Prosperity of the Komti traders and money-lenders can be built up only when the whole family makes a concerted effort for it. A family of substantial agriculturists can further augment its land and improve its financial status by working hard as a team. This is equally applicable to both Hindu and Muslim agriculturists. People with urban contacts and education have also an urge to rise higher; and that necessitates solidarity, co-operation and understanding within the family. Great emphasis is laid here on correct behaviour towards different members of the family according to their age and kinship status. Disagreements must be expressed through permitted ways. Abuse and foul language should not be employed in referring to or addressing the elders. Any form of physical violence against them would be unthinkable and would cause great resentment in the other members of the family. Women on this level are generally kept confined to the home. Among the Muslims they observe strict *purdah*; among the Hindus for considerations of respectability it would be improper for them to go out to work. Thus they are largely confined to their houses. They have some ornamental value; nevertheless, in the entire social setting the comparative superiority of the male is latent. Family secrets on this level are always discussed in hushed tones, and all possible efforts are made to prevent them from leaking out. When husband and wife quarrel, the angry outburst must not be heard outside the home. If the husband beats the wife, her crying should not be loud enough to attract curious sympathizers into the house. The amours and intrigues of a member of the family, if they cannot be stopped, should at least be kept secret, and efforts should be made to prevent them from developing into open scandals. Mediation or arbitration by family elders is often effective for settling disputes within these families. If the misunderstandings and consequent difficulties seem to be beyond repair, property is gracefully

829 partitioned, and separation granted to the members who want to
565 secede from the family. This is sought to be done in an orderly
593 way, and every possible effort is made to ensure that the differences within the family do not become the subject of local gossip.

When we consider the actual behaviour of the people on the intermediate level, we find that many of these ideals are very considerably diluted. The value of solidarity is understood, but the willingness to make concessions and personal sacrifices for the sake of the family is not sufficiently strong to make it really effective. Age is generally respected, but in angry outbursts abuse
[201] may be showered on parents and uncles. Unable to control his temper one may even spit at them, or throw dust at them (symbolizing their burial, and thus indirectly wishing their death), or strike them. It would probably be necessary to express some sort of an apology for this unbecoming behaviour later, but the unrepentant individual can repeat it when he is provoked again. This type of behaviour is confined to a few individuals, and is socially criticized but none the less tolerated. Here too the superiority of the male is insisted upon, but the woman also works and is not tied down to many of the shackles of respectability. She does not lose face if she is beaten by her husband semi-publicly; occasionally she hits him back. She expresses her anger or suffering by running back to her parental home. In many cases some effort is made to conceal family secrets, but when passions rise, a father and son, or two brothers, but more often a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, will openly quarrel in the courtyard or the village lanes, and in the course of the hearty exchange of abuse these secrets may be broadcast by them at the top of their voices. Family differences are discussed privately and occasionally in public as well, but even when property is divided and separation is completed, mutual bickerings and exchange of harsh words continue for several months in most cases.

829 On the lower level the 'ideals' get diluted so much that it is
593 difficult to find any traces of them in actual practice. Division of
• 562 property and separation at this level are so frequent as to reduce
829 the conception of family solidarity to practically a meaningless ideal. On ritual occasions, respect is shown to people on account of their age or kinship status, but in everyday life one can ignore these considerations with impunity. Although theoretically the woman is inferior, at this level she enjoys much more freedom. She

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can work for wages and has considerable freedom of movement. Sexual lapses on her part are more liberally viewed. If the husband beats her, she too can beat him. If the abuses of her husband are loud, hers can be louder still. She can leave her husband and take another with comparative ease, and without any social stigma. This would permanently lower the status of persons on the upper level, and would be commented upon very adversely in the intermediate class. The family secrets are announced to the outside world by the members of the family itself in their open-air quarrels. Compromises are often made through mediation and arbitration, but may be disregarded with comparative ease after a few days.

It is probably needless to say that the above three levels are not fixed, nor are they exclusive. Modern education and other modern means of communication—especially the cinema—often infuse a spirit of romantic individualism into the youth of the upper level, who, rather than working for family solidarity, often disintegrate it. Education, urban contacts, 'disgust with rustic ways', and desire for greater respectability according to accepted social standards in some cases set in motion efforts at vertical movement in families on the lower levels.

2. INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY

HUSBAND AND WIFE

According to the traditional norms of the society a husband is expected to be an authoritarian figure whose will should always dominate the domestic scene. As the head of the household he should demand respect and obedience from his wife and children. The wife should regard him as her 'master' and should 'serve him faithfully'. It is the husband's responsibility to provide adequately for the support and maintenance of 'his dependants' and the wife's duty is to 'run the household frugally and efficiently'. In an ideal home 'all major decisions are taken by the husband in consultation with his wife and grown-up children', but the final say in all matters connected with the family is always with the husband. The husband should 'watch the activities and ways of his wife' as well as 'take care of the proper upbringing of his children'. The wife should 'serve her husband with loyalty and devotion'. The husband is 'superior'; the wife is his 'subordinate'. As a mark of the recognition of his superiority, the wife shows respect to her

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593 husband by touching his feet. She washes the husband's clothes,
562 and eats the leavings in his plate. The husband cannot do likewise. When the wife errs, the husband reprimands her, and can abuse and beat her. However, a good wife is not expected to answer him back. Even when the husband is wrong she is supposed to bear her lot meekly and submissively. This cultural pattern is reflected in the lament of the wife over her husband's demise, when she wails, 'Where is my lord? Where is my master? Now who will support me? The shield that protected me is gone; now I am helpless.'

This, then, is the 'ideal'. Almost everyone in the village would verbalize the expected husband-wife relationship in similar words. But the reality appears to be very different; and a close study of the actual family records would reveal that these ideals are more or less a social fiction. The husband is, without doubt, superior, and has, in most families, the upper hand; but practically nowhere do we find him a completely dominant, authoritarian and patriarchal figure. Moreover, the quality of inter-personal relations between husband and wife change as they leave one stage of life and enter another.

585 It has been pointed out earlier that married life is started by a
593 couple under the parental roof. During this stage, at least for the first few months, they are not supposed to show any special con-
[591] cern for each other. The man continues to work under the direction of his father or elder brother; the woman carries out the instructions of her mother-in-law. There is hardly any opportunity for them to meet and talk during the day, and when they do meet under the cover of darkness, possibly in a separate room, the proximity of the parents' room does not allow them the liberty of engaging in audible love-play or even of talking freely. Of necessity they have to speak in whispers. The cultural pattern demands that the wife must resist the initial advances of her husband for several nights. She often feigns complete ignorance regarding sexual matters and displays horror and disgust when the husband approaches her. After two or three weeks the wife becomes more co-operative. Now sex dominates their life for the several months that follow. There is casual conversation between the two, but in
593 these first months household affairs are invariably not discussed
606 by them. The husband generally speaks to her about the village affairs and his kinsfolk. He also tells her his experiences of the city.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

the parents often say when they want to persuade one of their older children to yield to an apparently 'unreasonable demand' of the younger. When there is a quarrel between the siblings, it is invariably the elder who is admonished. 'One can understand a young child being unreasonable, but being older you should know better', the parents would say. Younger children very often complain to the parents about the older siblings; the latter prefer to deal with them personally when the parents are away. However, if the parents are too partial to their pet child, the others conspire to put him in disfavour. Spying by the younger children, when it is discovered, is punished by the older siblings. They may boycott them, refuse to speak to them, may not allow them to partake of their share of good things to eat, and may tease them in various ingenious ways. They often have a silly nickname for such a child, or they may keep on referring to some oddity in him, and thus tease and cause offence to him constantly. When they are six or seven, brothers and sisters form different groups. Aware of the pattern of male dominance, the brothers begin to regard themselves as superior to the sisters. They dislike doing anything which is regarded as 'feminine work', and if compelled to do so do not fail to express their extreme distaste. They would prefer to do it only if unobserved by their playmates, for if one of them were to notice it the 'news' would soon spread and the other boys would have funny ditties and remarks ready when next they met him. At this stage they begin to assert their superiority over their sisters. The latter must not join them in boy's games. When they are discovered engaging in anything that is regarded as particularly masculine, they are told, 'Now go and mind the pots; there is plenty to do at home.' Family histories recorded for the purpose of this study do not reveal any permanent tender emotional ties between brothers and sisters. It has already been pointed out that a few years after her marriage a girl returns more or less as a stranger to her parental home. On the *other* hand, there is considerable attachment between the sisters before they are married, but in their case also it gradually wears off after marriage.

The brothers either continue to live in the same house, or, if they separate, they live in the same village. Migrations are comparatively few, and even when one of the brothers moves away he continues to maintain contact with the families of his brothers

WEB OF FAMILY TIES

602 However, in dealing with such relatives who are outside the family circle, one must observe the prescribed etiquette. They must be invited on all ceremonial occasions, and when they arrive they must be 'received well'. At the ceremony itself they should be given a place of honour befitting their age and relationship status. The relationship entitles them to hospitality, and according to the 'resources and capacity' of the family they should be well looked after when they are staying as guests. It is customary to cook special dishes in honour of such guests, and the choicest share of what is prepared is invariably given to them. Due attention should be given to their comforts for the entire period of their stay as guests in the house.

582 Among Muslims, besides cross-cousin marriage, marriage
605 between parallel cousins is permitted and indeed encouraged. As a consequence of this the pattern of inter-personal relations between the children of two brothers is somewhat different from that described for the whole community. Cousins of opposite sexes spend their childhood together with each other playing and behaving as brother and sister. At the age of eight or nine an effort is made to segregate them, but this segregation is neither strict nor complete, and they continue to meet, and if they like they can
● [562] find opportunities to talk with each other. But when formal negotiations for marriage are opened, it is expected that the girl will start observing *purdah* and start veiling herself. From this time onwards the cousins should not have any direct contact. If the cousins are not to be married, they can continue as before. The correct mode of behaviour for them would be to regard each other as brother and sister.

1; Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

888 Age is still another important factor of status differentiation.
554 As a general rule the aged and elderly people should be respected: they have 'the authority of grey hair' and wide experience of the vicissitudes of life. The younger members must consult the elders of the extended family in all important matters, and should give due regard to their suggestions and advice. Even where the obligations which emerge from kinship ties do not dictate this respectful behaviour, it is considered polite for young people to show regard to the elders. Intimate social relations, even outside one's family and caste, find expression in the adoption of kinship terminology and one must address the people of another family as 'grandfather', 'uncle' or 'brother' according to their respective ages. Deliberate disregard or disrespect to village elders is adversely commented upon in the society.

555 Finally, distinctive personality traits and possession of uncommon or difficult skills also adds to the prestige of an individual and consequently alters his status in society. Ability to talk persuasively and impressively is regarded as a definite asset. An individual's success or failure in inter-personal relations, as well as his advancement in society in general, would depend to a considerable extent on this factor. Sense of humour is an allied personality trait which is greatly admired. One who can make others laugh is regarded as highly desirable company. Special knowledge and skills contribute substantially towards enhancing an individual's prestige. Two persons belonging to the Sale caste have risen in social esteem because of their local reputation as village doctors practising the indigenous system of medicine, although the traditional status of their caste is not very high. C. R., an untouchable Madiga, enjoys some social prestige because he composes songs in the folk style. B., a barber, too has a similar reputation for being a local composer.

554 Four other factors should also be taken into account at this
562 stage. They are sex, education, urban contacts and political affiliations. Of these, considerations regarding the first are ingrained in the social pattern; the other three have a comparatively recent origin. In general man is regarded as superior to woman. In the internal organization of the village all offices are held by men, and with the exception of a few families which have no adult male members, it is a man who is regarded as the head of the family. However, the status of a woman is governed largely by the

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

other factors, particularly her caste, landownership and wealth, age, distinctive personality traits, and relationship to persons holding a government or village office. But within the same caste, income-group and age-group, the position of a woman will definitely be inferior to that of a man.

Education is now regarded as important, because it provides 'the key to' the understanding of the 'wide world' and equips one better to assert one's rights and claim one's due from officials and the cunning townspeople. It is easier for educated people to get government jobs. It is generally believed that they can contact and influence government officers much better than their illiterate counterparts in the village. However, most of the 'educated' people in the village had just four years of schooling in village schools. No one has so far had any higher education. At the time of our investigations four boys from the village were studying in secondary schools in the city, and they are the first people in the village to learn the English language. Economic benefits and gain in social prestige derived through modern education have made it a mark of respectability, and it is expected that in the near future a larger number of village boys will attend secondary schools in Secundrabad and Hyderabad.

Although there is considerable prejudice and scepticism among the village people regarding city ways and other urban traits of culture, in general it may be said that the village-folk acknowledge the importance and superiority of the townspeople. Those who have urban contacts seek to distinguish themselves from the ordinary village folk in their dress, manner of speech, food and recreations. Imitation of urban ways in the last decade and a half has come to be recognized as a distinguishing feature of respectable elements of the village population.

Introduction of democratic government in Hyderabad after the Police Action, has brought about a sudden burst of activity by a multitude of political parties in the rural areas of the State. Politics and elections appear to the people to be a sort of game, and they have not yet realized their deeper and wider implications. Affiliation with political parties provides an outlet to those who are ambitious and seek recognition of their importance.

Social status conferred on an individual by the caste system must be classified as 'ascribed status'. It is still a vital factor of status differentiation in the community, but the other factors leave

LEVELS OF LIVING

883 [585] themselves to work. The major responsibility rests on the adults and the middle-aged people, and here the social status of the persons concerned will determine the type of work to be done by them.

461 566 This brings us to social status as a determinant in the division of work in the community. The rich and influential people will not do anything which is regarded as humble or is otherwise classed as menial work. The men on this level generally 'plan and supervise', but the hard manual labour is done by hired labourers. They go to their fields, but only stand in a corner and instruct the servants. They will never be seen taking their plough and the bullocks to the field, or even participating in ploughing or sowing. The popular conception regarding women at this level is 'they sit in their homes loaded with gold and silver, whiling away their time chewing betel leaves and areca nuts.' However, even in these homes, women are never idle, for they have to do the cooking and look after the children. But considerations of respectability prevent them from doing several things which their counterparts in the lower strata of society regard as their normal day-to-day work. They can never be seen going to their fields, carrying headloads, drawing water from public wells, or washing clothes in public places. In fact they do not have to do any work outside their homes and are not expected to earn for the upkeep of the family. The rich Muslim women observe *purdah*, i.e. they never go out of their house without a veil, and considerations of respectability demand that their sphere of activity should strictly be confined to their houses. The situation is materially different in the case of the 'well-to-do' families, but no generalizations can be made regarding this level as a unit, as the social ideals and standards of different castes differ very widely. In general, however, it may be said that the Brahmin and the Komti, being higher castes and respected people in the village, more or less follow the ideals of the rich and refrain from doing heavy manual labour as well as from all other work traditionally regarded as inferior. This is true also of the Muslims on this level who, because of their urban conceptions of middle-class respectability, think it below their dignity to do any inferior work publicly. The women from the above three groups seek to emulate the examples of the women in rich families. But in the other well-to-do families belonging to the agricultural and occupational castes notions of respectability

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1 [NOT WORKING. --ANALYST]

A. Structure: (Table No. 18)

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Number of Members in the Panchayats: According to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930, the minimum and maximum number of members for Panchayats were 8 and 16, but, these numbers were not based on any proportion to population. There was no uniformity of procedure in each grade or among the several grades in any district. The number varied from Panchayat to Panchayat of the same type in every district, as well as in the Panchayats of the several districts. Among the first grade Panchayats, while Tuni in East Godavari with a population of 13,053 had 16, Guntakal in Anantpur with its population of 36,000 had the same number; in West Godavari, Panchayats like Bhimavaram and Narsapur with 32,000 and 30,000 population respectively had only 12 and 14 members respectively. Similarly among the second grade Panchayats, there was a difference in the number of members in the Panchayats of the same district as for instance. Ramachandrapuram and Mandapeta which had 14 and 16 members respectively with their local populations of 12,868 and 13,010 in each. The same disparity in number of members which bore no proportion to the local population of the Panchayats was revealed to be the universal feature of all third grade and minor Panchayats too.

Reserved Seats: Reserved seats had been provided in all the four types of Panchayats, for depressed classes, Muslims and Christians, but, all the three seats were not compulsorily reserved in every Panchayat. The number varied from Panchayat to Panchayat according to the proportion of that particular community in the local population. For instance while Tuni in the 1st grade, had reserved seats for depressed class communities and Christians, there was no reserve seat for Muslims; while in West Godavari, Bhimavaram had reserved seats for Christians and Muslims; Narsapur had reserved seats for all the three Communities. Similarly in the 2nd grade, 3rd grade and minor Panchayats, the practice varied from Panchayat to Panchayat.

Ex-officio Members: It was absent in the Panchayats in the Madras Presidency. Though this had been incorporated in the Panchayat Bill of 1941, it had been dropped from the Madras Panchayat Act of 1946, which did not come into force at the time of this inquiry.

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Women Members: There were no women members in the Madras Panchayats. There was no provision for reservation of seats

623 for them as in the Bombay Village Panchayat Act. As such, few
562 women came forward to contest in the Panchayat elections.

666 **Method of Election** : Method of election was by ballot in all the major Panchayats. Even in minor Panchayats, the elections were revealed to be by ballot as in Kapileswarapuram, Kothapeta, Avidi and by show of hands in Panchayats like Bodasakurru, Yeditha and Alamuru in East Godavari. But, in the majority of minor Panchayats, election was only by show of hands.

623 **Wards and Hamlets** : Representation of members by the several wards in the Panchayat and inclusion of several neighbouring hamlets in the Panchayat jurisdiction were revealed to be the universal features in all the Panchayats surveyed, irrespective of the grade to which they belonged. This revealed, the existence of a fair representative system of Panchayat membership from the several wards and hamlets.

567 **Caste Composition of the Panchayats** : It was revealed to be predominantly Non-Brahmins, in every district and in every grade.

Casual Vacant Seats : Casual vacancies arising in the major or minor Panchayats were generally intimated to the District Panchayat Officer, who on receipt of information went to conduct fresh elections for the seats. But, during the course of the survey some instances came to light, where such intimations were not duly given to the District Panchayat Officer and where consequetly no fresh elections were held.

One Village-One Panchayat : This was the basis which was usually followed, but, there were also instances where joint Panchayats were found to be working well as in East Godavari and Kistna.

Supersession versus Nomination of Panchayat : Election versus nomination of the members of the Panchayats was a controversy that held the ground for a very long time in the discussions of the reform of Local Self-Government in Madras. Even in the Madras Panchayats Bill of 1941, it was contended that a nominated Panchayat was better than an elected one to eliminate friction, where there were contending parties in a village. The period of such bodies to be in power was from 1 to 3 years. This was a time when the Panchayat had to be dissolved for mal-administration and when a special officer had to be appointed for the purpose of carrying on the administration of the village. In practice, Panchayats when they proved unworkable were only superseded. They were not run by nominated members.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

361 489 station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

465 [804] *Economic condition.*—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

435 Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee	
Ragi	...	...	...	10	" "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10	" "
Cholam	...	...	...	9	" "
Tamarind		...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*	
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6	"
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8	"

426 The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

[452] There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

435 Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

796 *Expenditure on religious festivals.*—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

164 [759] [743] *Sanitary condition.*—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

● 562 Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

364 Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

312 For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1½ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzulu or cholam about 1¼ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

426 Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

435 Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

426 Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

796 *Festivals.*—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gowni-palli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, [782] wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. [782] The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease 759 people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest [743] hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

352 All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

582 No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.

● [582] All Muhammadans observe purdah.

312 Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

871 *Education.*—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

munities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos. Until this is done our picture of social systems in rural India will remain vague and inadequate.

From the old ethnographic surveys and some preliminary studies published recently, an outline of the structure and organization of Indian villages is beginning to emerge clearly. Notwithstanding many significant differences, they have a number of structural similarities. In the north, middle and peninsular India, as well as in the eastern and western parts of the country, the following features characterize a very large number of villages.

1. As a territorial, as well as social, economic and ritual unit, the village is a separate and distinct entity. The residents of this settlement recognize their corporate identity, and it is recognized as such by others. It is not uncommon to find in them a sentiment of attachment towards their own settlement site. In several matters the village acts as a unit.

2. These settlements have a composite population comprising a number of groups belonging to different Hindu castes, and in some cases to tribes as well as to other religious groups. As far as the Hindu section of the population goes, these diverse groups are inter-dependent and integrated in the social, economic, ritual and administrative organization of the community. No caste alone is self-sufficient, for it requires the services of several other occupational castes which hold the monopoly of certain crafts and professions. This system of co-operative labour, based on a pattern of inter-caste relations approved by tradition, is not confined only to economic activities but also extends to ceremonial and ritual life. The hierarchical organization of castes within the community is so fixed in the structural patterns of rural India that the tribal as well as the non-Hindu (such as Muslim and Christian) segments of the population come to be regarded as other castes in the village.

In many parts of India, while maintaining their socio-religious identity, several of these non-Hindu groups have acquired some caste characteristics, particularly occupational specialization. For example, in some areas of rural India the Muslims function as an occupational caste variously, making fireworks, weaving, driving *tongas*, *ikkahs* and other hackney-carriages, selling vegetables or playing musical instruments.

3. The members of this local group are bound together by ties

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER TWO

Social Structure

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To understand the social structure of an Indian village it is necessary to examine the various units through which the village community is organized. The basic and primary unit of the society is the elementary or joint family. Every family belongs to an exogamous division of a caste and several such divisions constitute an endogamous caste or an endogamous section of a large caste. Only excommunication or a change of religion can alter the position of the individual in any such social units. On the other hand, every family belongs to the community with whom it shares a settlement site, be it a village or a hamlet attached to a village. In socio-religious affairs, control of the individual is threefold—that of his family, his village and his caste. Often it is only the independent, endogamous division of the caste which takes cognizance of offences and penalizes erring members, and not the caste as a whole. On the other hand, very serious cases or matters concerning more than one village may be heard and decided by a larger judicial organ, comprising members of all the constituent villages. The structure and organization of the family, as well as the criterion of status differentiation in the community, can best be described in a separate chapter; here we shall examine the division of the community into castes, and follow it up by an analysis of the internal organization of the village with special reference to authority and the machinery regulating the administration of justice in the village.

1. CASTE IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

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The Hindus and the Muslims constitute two distinct sections in the population of Shamirpet. Although long residence and close

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

association have brought them in close contact with each other and their cultures are in certain fields inter-related, the two communities retain their own socio-religious identities. The Muslims are in a minority in the population of the village; but they are a close-knit group in socio-religious matters. All Muslims belong to the Sunni division. Among them there are no great inequalities of wealth and possession, and consequently there is, within the Muslim community, no evidence of class distinction. In matters affecting their socio-religious life they act as a separate and self-sufficient group, rarely seeking the help, assistance or advice of their Hindu neighbours. One of the remarkable characteristics of the predominantly Hindu rural society of India is that non-Hindu communities have also been influenced by the caste-hierarchy of Hinduism. Even the non-Hindu groups have had to fit somehow into the rigid framework of the caste-dominated social system; and while they have always remained outside it, never having been regarded as Hindus, they have nevertheless acquired a quasi-caste status in accordance with their general social, economic and political position. As Hyderabad was formerly ruled by a Muslim, his co-religionists had a privileged position in the affairs of the State. Their social status in the rural areas has always been more or less equal to that of the agricultural castes; although from the point of view of religion the Hindus have always regarded them as inferior. Nevertheless, a clean-caste Hindu can sit down with a Muslim, and the less orthodox can even touch them without having to take a subsequent purificatory bath.

The Hindu social system, founded on the division of society into 'castes', presents a social framework of great complexity. The traditional *varna* system, modified in the course of the evolution of Indian social polity, divides Hindu society into five major groups. The first three of these, viz. Brahmins (priests and men of learning), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors) and Vaishyas (traders) are regarded as *dvija* or 'twice born'. According to Hindu ritual only they are allowed to undergo the *upanayana* ceremony which symbolizes their spiritual re-birth and entitles them to wear the sacred thread. The fourth group is composed of numerous occupational castes who are relatively clean and are not classed as untouchables. Finally, in the fifth major group we can place all the untouchable castes. This classification is accepted by the Hindus all over India. The relative positions of the different groups,

1: Dube E-6 (1981-82) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Muslims

to the shrine led by Madiga drum beaters. The Kummari burns incense, and sacrifices on behalf of the village the goats and sheep contributed by the Gollas. The animals are killed by the Sakali and the Mangali, but their heads and forelimbs are offered to the goddess by the Kummari. This is followed by sacrifices on behalf of families who, in fulfilment of a promise or in anticipation of a favour from the goddess, have brought a goat, sheep or fowl to be sacrificed. At this time some people become possessed by the goddess and go into a trance. Late in the evening the people return home and have a feast of rice, meat and other delicacies. 796

Urs of Jalal Miyan. Village Muslims have a tradition for holding semi-religious fairs in honour of holy persons who have had some association with their locality and who have given proof of their supernatural powers by doing some minor miracles. Every winter the Muslims of Shamirpet arrange a fair near the tomb of Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine. On the day of the fair a green cloth is spread on the tomb and green flags are hoisted near it. Shopkeepers from Shamirpet and nearby villages set up their shops on the open ground nearby. When people assemble there in the afternoon, incense is burnt near the tomb and flowers and food are offered to Jalal Miyan. The Mulla reads from the Muslim scriptures. If possible Muslim singers are invited from the city to sing religious songs. On this day also some persons are possessed. People having difficulties or some pressing problems seek remedies and solutions from those who are possessed by the spirit of Jalal Miyan. The fair sometimes includes a programme of country sports, acrobatic feats, singing by young men of the village, and even dramatic performances. Although it is primarily a Muslim fair, Hindus attend it in large numbers.

Analysis of this summary survey of the religious year in the community reveals that the Hindus and the Muslims have two practically independent ritual systems, which have very few points of contact. Muslims participate in the common village ritual, but they do not actually perform any worship. However, most of them share with the Hindus the general belief-pattern associated with these cults. On a social basis, the Muslims join in the Dasara procession of the Hindus; the latter join in the Muslims' Moharram procession. The two groups participate almost equally in Jalal Miyan's fair; but the Hindus do so not for a religious motive, but 796 563

796 for the sake of the fun that they expect to find in the fair. A closer
563 examination of the Hindu festivals and ceremonies reveals that a large number of all-India Hindu festivals are observed in the community; but a good many of these are restricted to the 'twice
796 born' castes of the Brahmin and the Komti. Some of them are
564 observed by a few other higher castes, or often only by a few 'respectable' families in these castes. Ceremonies and worship connected with these festivals are conducted by the Brahmin in castes occupying a level higher than that of the Sakali and the Mangali (excluding the Panch Bramha group). The Sakali and the Mangali invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, or else they manage with a caste priest. While the Brahmin and the Komti, of all the castes, are most interested in a majority of the festivals of this category, in the common village ritual they are passive and distant observers. In the two major festivals of the village, which involve considerable inter-caste co-operation, it is the Kummari[1] who officiates as the priest and not the Brahmin. The bulk of Hindus celebrate relatively few of the all-India festivals with great enthusiasm, but it could be said that groups occupying higher rungs in the ladder of caste hierarchy are found to observe more of these festivals. In fact the higher the status of a caste the greater is the number of these that it observes; and thus we find the Komtis observing more of these festivals than any other Hindu caste, with the sole exception of the Brahmin who, being of a superior caste, observes a few festivals more than the Komti. The local village cults are still living and vital. In them the participation of the two highest castes is nominal; but that of the other castes complete. The Kapu group of agricultural castes occupying an intermediate position in the caste hierarchy participate in both sets of rituals with equal enthusiasm.

4. RITUAL OF THE LIFE CYCLE

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561 The basic pattern of ceremonies connected with the major crises of life is the same in all sections of the Hindus in the village community; but in the minor details of the ritual there is considerable difference in the practices of different castes. More than this, even within a particular caste the rites and observances are not identical, for in some respects individual families have their own traditions. In the course of our field-work we found the catalogu-

1 [i.e., member of potter caste.--ANALYST]

133 dicates deposition in shallow but not sheltered waters, and the general lie of the E coast may thus be of great antiquity. The change in strike between the Orissa Hills and the Cuddapahs is very closely followed by the coast.

137 The hills are wooded and the pattern of relief stands out clearly on forest
132 and population maps (Figs. 18, 30); but the forest is thin, rainfall being
563 only about 40 ins. and the rocks porous or fissured. The few inhabitants are mostly Chenchus, an aboriginal tribe living a semi-pastoral existence eked out by the collection of honey, bamboos, fuel for the railways, and other minor forest produce.

311 The valleys, however, though on the whole poor enough, have a fair
312 amount of cultivation, mostly jowar (25–30% TSA), other millets, groundnut (16–20%), with some irrigated paddy. The topography in the longitudinal valleys favours the construction of large tanks by bunding a transverse
[496] tributary gorge. The main (GIP) Madras–Bombay railway strikes diagonally across the S of the region, and is one of the most interesting traverses
133 in India. The hill country is first entered in the Nagaris, which are the last
361 Cuddapah outliers; here Renigunta and Tirupati are little towns control-
311 ling at once the route up the Swarnamukhi, the crossings of the river, and the col to the N between the Palkondas and Velikondas. Beyond, in the Razampeta corridor, the contrast between cultivated floor and barren hills is exceedingly sharp. The generally arid aspect is mitigated by groves of
[342] mangoes around the tanks; houses are stone- or mud-walled, and round beehive huts, striped vertically in white and rusty red, attest the Telugu country. After crossing the wide bed of the Cheyyeru, the line emerges at Cuddapah from grey and arid hills into a greyer plain, a vast ash-coloured expanse largely given over to dry cultivation. The region lies on the margin of the October–December rainfall area of the Madras littoral, and the rivers rise in the dry Mysore Maidan, not in the Wn Ghats as do Kistna and Tungabhadra; hence, even in August, the great streams—Penner itself, Cheyyeru, Papagni, Chitravati—may be spreads of quartzite boulders, shingle, or sand, several hundred yards wide with a line of water a yard across, or even not a drop; while only 90 miles to the N the Ghats-fed rivers are full, great ribbons of muddy water half a mile or more wide.

312 Through the Kunderu valley runs the ill-starred Kurnool Canal, constructed in 1860–76 by a private company which apparently failed to notice the difference in the régimes of Peninsular and extra-Peninsular rivers; the complete, but inefficient, canal had eventually to be taken over by the government in 1882 after two decades of mismanagement. The topographical layout is obviously encouraging, and it is now proposed to recast the whole project, with reservoirs on the Kistna and at Someswaram in the lowest of the Penner watergaps; the project, if carried out in full, would irrigate no less than 3 m. ac., mostly, however, in the coastal plain of Nellore.

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113, 197, 564, 582, 614

[For information pertaining to language regions, kinship terminology and kin relationships, see 5: Karve AW1 India, category 116, pp. 230-1.]

113, 564 Telugu AW17

[For information on the castes of the Telugu country see 33: Bhattacharya, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 98-101, 126, 221-222 and 286.]

munities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos. Until this is done our picture of social systems in rural India will remain vague and inadequate.

From the old ethnographic surveys and some preliminary studies published recently, an outline of the structure and organization of Indian villages is beginning to emerge clearly. Notwithstanding many significant differences, they have a number of structural similarities. In the north, middle and peninsular India, as well as in the eastern and western parts of the country, the following features characterize a very large number of villages.

1. As a territorial, as well as social, economic and ritual unit, the village is a separate and distinct entity. The residents of this settlement recognize their corporate identity, and it is recognized as such by others. It is not uncommon to find in them a sentiment of attachment towards their own settlement site. In several matters the village acts as a unit.

2. These settlements have a composite population comprising a number of groups belonging to different Hindu castes, and in some cases to tribes as well as to other religious groups. As far as the Hindu section of the population goes, these diverse groups are inter-dependent and integrated in the social, economic, ritual and administrative organization of the community. No caste alone is self-sufficient, for it requires the services of several other occupational castes which hold the monopoly of certain crafts and professions. This system of co-operative labour, based on a pattern of inter-caste relations approved by tradition, is not confined only to economic activities but also extends to ceremonial and ritual life. The hierarchical organization of castes within the community is so fixed in the structural patterns of rural India that the tribal as well as the non-Hindu (such as Muslim and Christian) segments of the population come to be regarded as other castes in the village.

In many parts of India, while maintaining their socio-religious identity, several of these non-Hindu groups have acquired some caste characteristics, particularly occupational specialization. For example, in some areas of rural India the Muslims function as an occupational caste variously, making fireworks, weaving, driving *tongas*, *ikkahs* and other hackney-carriages, selling vegetables or playing musical instruments.

3. The members of this local group are bound together by ties

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2. THE PEOPLE

According to the census of 1951, the total population of Shamirpet, which included the two neighbouring hamlets of Babuguda and Upparpalli, was 2,494, with a total of 508 houses. The following table shows the distribution of the population according to religion:

1. Hindus.	A. Clean castes	1,434
	B. Untouchables or Scheduled castes .	680
2. Muslims		340

The predominant language in Shamirpet is Telugu, the main language of Telangana and Andhra-desa. It is known as 'the Italian of the East' and is praised for its sonorous and lyrical qualities and possesses a vast literature, both classical and modern. However, the dialect of Telugu, which is spoken in Shamirpet, and generally in the countryside, is criticized by the more sophisticated Andhras for its harshness and rustic accent. In the census of 1951, 2,008 persons in this village were recorded as speaking Telugu, while 340 persons were recorded as speaking Urdu, which was until 1948 the official language of Hyderabad administration. These figures are, however, misleading, and make reference only to the mother-tongue. In practice most men in the village are bi-lingual; those whose mother-tongue is Telugu have at least a smattering of Urdu, and of the 340 Urdu speakers at least half possess a working knowledge of Telugu. As a generalization it may be stated that knowledge of the mother-tongue alone is confined only to women, although several women among both the Hindus and the Muslims are also bi-lingual.

Thus the two major divisions in the population of the village may be distinguished on the grounds of religion and language. Culturally also the Hindus and Muslims stand in marked contrast to each other.

The Hindus of Shamirpet can be classed under three broad divisions:

1. Cultivators.
2. Occupational castes, with traditional crafts and professions regarded as clean and respectable.
3. Depressed classes, subsisting by humble and lowly callings.

In the first group we can place the following castes: the Reddi, the Muttarasi, and their subdivisions. These groups are often

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463 564 referred to as 'the Kapu' or agricultural castes. As this name suggests, they derive the major part of their subsistence by tilling the land, although individuals from any of these groups may engage in trade and commerce or may take up urban occupations.

In the second group we can place the following: the Brahmin (priests), the Komti (traders), the Kummari (potters) and the Golla (shepherds). The five sections of the Panch Bramha group of artisan castes, that is, the Wadla (carpenters), the Kammari (blacksmiths), the Ausula (goldsmiths), the Kase (workers in bell-metal) and the Kanchari (sculptors), also belong to this group —although they claim separate identity and are rather exclusive. The Sale (weavers), the Gaondha (toddy-tappers), the Sakali (washermen) and the Mangali (barbers) also follow their traditional occupations; and although in the hierarchy of caste organization their place is a little inferior to the castes mentioned above, they belong to the second group for the purpose of our classification. The position of the once-tribal but now largely assimilated Vaddar (stone-breakers) and the Erkala (hunters and basket-makers) is slightly different, for although they are not untouchables their position among the clean castes is the lowest.

564 783 [641] There are only two untouchable or depressed castes in Shamirpet, the Mala and the Madiga. Of these two, the Malas consider themselves superior to the Madigas, by whose touch they are polluted. However, it should be pointed out that the Indian constitution has abolished untouchability. The untouchable castes can draw water from the public wells and can without discrimination share the public utilities with the clean castes. Their children now freely attend the common village school. But social conservatism dies hard and legislation alone cannot overnight change the deep-rooted complexes of thought and behaviour which are the heritage of many generations of a caste-ridden social system.

582 Caste still retains its endogamous character, and traditional rules prohibit inter-dining with persons of lower castes. Thus in these two spheres at least the untouchable castes have still to confine themselves to their narrow circles. While in the cities the clean castes are no longer sensitive to the touch of a person belonging to these castes, in the countryside an untouchable still cannot approach too close to clean-caste people lest they be polluted by a chance physical contact. Some progressive-minded untouchables

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resent this disability, but nevertheless they recognize the value of realizing their own limitations and continue to conform to the traditional norms of behaviour.

The people of Telangana and Andhra-desa belong to the great family of Dravidian-speaking people who developed a great civilization in the south and have materially contributed to the final make-up of Indian civilization as we know it to-day. Racially they represent a mixture of several elements. In physical types also the people of Shamirpet show great variation. Most of the Muslim inhabitants of Shamirpet are the descendants of local converts and do not therefore greatly differ in physical characteristics from the local Hindu inhabitants, but the few immigrants whose arrival dates from recent times present a marked contrast with their more delicate features and fairer skin colour.

In point of dress and ornament the Hindus and Muslims differ widely. Muslim men and boys wear loose trousers of thin white cloth called *pyjama*, and a vest or a shirt. Out of doors they put on the more conventional long coat buttoned up to the neck known as *sherwani*. They invariably wear a red fez cap or a black cap made of sheepskin. Muslim girls wear a tight *pyjama* and a long, loose tunic which often touches the knees. Round the shoulders and thrown round the back they wear a thin white or coloured scarf known as *dupatta* or *odhni*. On festive occasions these clothes are very colourful. Married Muslim women usually wear a blouse or bodice, and a *sari*—a wide piece of cloth, some five or six yards long, which is tied round the waist to form a skirt that nearly touches the ankles. It is tied in such a way that one end of the cloth is taken over the chest to one shoulder and then passed behind the neck to the other shoulder. Married Muslim women are obliged by the rules of their religion to observe *purdah*, i.e. veil themselves in the presence of all but their closest relations. Whenever they leave their houses they wear this veil known as *burkha*, a garment which falls from the crown of the head to the ground. The Hindu mode of dress is quite different, and varies greatly according to the financial status of the different families. Among the poorer classes, infants remain naked, but occasionally a few rags are tied round their waists; and in childhood they go about in these tattered rags. Boys wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Girls wear a skirt (*lahanga*) and a blouse. Among the poorer classes these clothes are almost always dirty, for within a few days of their

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built the residential houses of the people belonging to the clean castes or to the Muslim community. The house of the Deshmukh, or the village headman, is the very first house and stands a little to the right of the unmetalled road that joins the main road to the village. It has a very high compound wall made of locally available stone and looks more like a small fort than a dwelling-house. In the main section of the village that sprawls to both sides of the main road it is difficult to discern any clear and systematic caste 'quarters' in which only members of one caste live. There is an unmistakable tendency among some castes, as for instance the Sakali (washermen), the Vaddar (stone-workers), the Golla (shepherds) and the Kummari (potters), to occupy houses in compact blocks on contiguous patches of land, but in close proximity are situated the houses of people belonging to other communities. In no sense can the individual clean castes be said to live in separate colonies, nor is any one caste in exclusive possession of any clearly marked out area. In many cases people live outside their own caste 'blocks'. The houses of the clean castes are built so close together that it is clear that considerations of caste distinction do not materially affect their choice of sites for the construction of houses. A Hindu may live in the immediate neighbourhood of Muslims, and often people belonging to quite different castes are one another's neighbours. It is probable that in the beginning the different castes marked out different blocks for themselves on the proposed site for the settlement. People coming later to the village either found a place to construct their houses in their caste block or had to choose a plot elsewhere. However, there are some communities which live in separate colonies or *wada*. To the east, a narrow strip of land separates the main settlement from the *Mala-wada*, or the colony of the Mala untouchables. Further east, and separated from the houses of the Malas by another narrow strip of land, is the colony of the Madigas. Distinct from both these groups, and situated to the north-east of the main village, there is a small colony of Erkala hunters, whose small circular huts stand out in marked contrast to the houses in the rest of the village.

It has already been pointed out that there is a school, a dispensary, a post office and a police station in the village. The school is at present ill-housed; it has five classes meeting in two small rooms and only two masters, who teach both Urdu and Telugu as well as the other subjects of the primary school curriculum.

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621 in fact entered as parts of the village of Shamirpet in government records, and in a sense they are; nevertheless, on a restricted scale
623 they enjoy considerable autonomy. The elders of the hamlets try, as far as possible, to decide the hamlet's minor disputes without referring them either to the headman or to the village council of Shamirpet. They say, 'We are poor inhabitants of a small hamlet. Our resources are limited. The people of Shamirpet are prosperous; they have adopted the ways of the city. If we refer our cases to them, they will impose such fines that our necks will break.' Yet there are many cases in which one of the disputing parties, dissatisfied with the judgement of the elders and possessing the necessary financial resources or influential support, will refer the case to the Shamirpet village council. In all such cases one or two elders and influential people from the hamlet in question are summoned to attend the proceedings of the village council at Shamirpet. Similarly, for all the ceremonies organized jointly by the people of Shamirpet as a whole it is customary to send invitations to Babugura and Upparpalli and it is expected that they will be represented by at least some of the village elders.
[631] When the people of the village as a whole are summoned on government business to the district or subdivisional headquarters, the residents of the two hamlets have also to accompany the people
621 of Shamirpet, for all the three settlements are, according to government records, component units of one village. However, the distance between Shamirpet and the two hamlets is an effective barrier to the pursuance of a common social life. And from this point of view the two hamlets are as independent as two self-contained small villages.

361 The area surrounding Shamirpet is quite densely populated. It
574 is not unusual to find a village or a small hamlet every three to six miles, and Shamirpet is surrounded by a number of villages, some large and others small. With most of these, Shamirpet, as a village, has very little to do. However, individual residents remain in constant touch with friends and relations in the surrounding villages. Ceremonies connected with the major crises of life, i.e. birth, marriage and death, often take people out of Shamirpet to the neighbouring villages, or bring people from there
564 into Shamirpet. For a more or less well-defined block of villages the different castes have their respective caste councils, to which matters concerning the caste only are taken.

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CHAPTER TWO

Social Structure

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To understand the social structure of an Indian village it is necessary to examine the various units through which the village community is organized. The basic and primary unit of the society is the elementary or joint family. Every family belongs to an exogamous division of a caste and several such divisions constitute an endogamous caste or an endogamous section of a large caste. Only excommunication or a change of religion can alter the position of the individual in any such social units. On the other hand, every family belongs to the community with whom it shares a settlement site, be it a village or a hamlet attached to a village. In socio-religious affairs, control of the individual is threefold—that of his family, his village and his caste. Often it is only the independent, endogamous division of the caste which takes cognizance of offences and penalizes erring members, and not the caste as a whole. On the other hand, very serious cases or matters concerning more than one village may be heard and decided by a larger judicial organ, comprising members of all the constituent villages. The structure and organization of the family, as well as the criterion of status differentiation in the community, can best be described in a separate chapter; here we shall examine the division of the community into castes, and follow it up by an analysis of the internal organization of the village with special reference to authority and the machinery regulating the administration of justice in the village.

1. CASTE IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

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The Hindus and the Muslims constitute two distinct sections in the population of Shamirpet. Although long residence and close

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association have brought them in close contact with each other and their cultures are in certain fields inter-related, the two communities retain their own socio-religious identities. The Muslims are in a minority in the population of the village; but they are a close-knit group in socio-religious matters. All Muslims belong to the Sunni division. Among them there are no great inequalities of wealth and possession, and consequently there is, within the Muslim community, no evidence of class distinction. In matters affecting their socio-religious life they act as a separate and self-sufficient group, rarely seeking the help, assistance or advice of their Hindu neighbours. One of the remarkable characteristics of the predominantly Hindu rural society of India is that non-Hindu communities have also been influenced by the caste-hierarchy of Hinduism. Even the non-Hindu groups have had to fit somehow into the rigid framework of the caste-dominated social system; and while they have always remained outside it, never having been regarded as Hindus, they have nevertheless acquired a quasi-caste status in accordance with their general social, economic and political position. As Hyderabad was formerly ruled by a Muslim, his co-religionists had a privileged position in the affairs of the State. Their social status in the rural areas has always been more or less equal to that of the agricultural castes; although from the point of view of religion the Hindus have always regarded them as inferior. Nevertheless, a clean-caste Hindu can sit down with a Muslim, and the less orthodox can even touch them without having to take a subsequent purificatory bath.

The Hindu social system, founded on the division of society into 'castes', presents a social framework of great complexity. The traditional *varna* system, modified in the course of the evolution of Indian social polity, divides Hindu society into five major groups. The first three of these, viz. Brahmins (priests and men of learning), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors) and Vaishyas (traders) are regarded as *dvija* or 'twice born'. According to Hindu ritual only they are allowed to undergo the *upanayana* ceremony which symbolizes their spiritual re-birth and entitles them to wear the sacred thread. The fourth group is composed of numerous occupational castes who are relatively clean and are not classed as untouchables. Finally, in the fifth major group we can place all the untouchable castes. This classification is accepted by the Hindus all over India. The relative positions of the different groups,

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564 ascribing order of precedence and social superiority or inferiority, are recognized everywhere. The legitimate occupations to be followed by people in these major groups (*varnas*) are defined by tradition. Within each group there are several sub-groups (*jati* or castes), which can again be arranged in a hierarchical order within themselves. Inter-relations, between both major groups and their sub-groups, are largely governed by traditional rules, and all major forms of contact, viz. touch, inter-dining and sexual intercourse, come under the purview of these elaborate rules.

Within this general frame of the *varna* system, in the different regions and territorial units of the land, there are several socially autonomous castes, each fitting into one of the five major divisions but otherwise practically independent in socio-religious spheres of life. These castes often share a common generic name and title with castes of comparable status in other regions; but often they do not inter-dine, whilst inter-marriage between them is prohibited. Each caste is further subdivided into several sub-castes which are endogamous and are for all practical purposes independent groups by themselves.

The organization of the Hindu castes and their relative positions in the traditional caste-hierarchy require a detailed and careful examination. From the point of view of caste superiority the different castes in Shamirpet may be grouped in the following order:

'TWICE-BORN' CASTES

Brahmin (Priests)

Komti
(Traders)

OCCUPATIONAL CASTES

Agriculturists, Workers and Labourers

Kapu—Reddi
(Agriculturists)

Kummari
(Potters)

Golla
(Shepherds)

Kapu—Mutarasi
(Agriculturists)

Sale
(Weavers)

Gaondla
(Toddy-tappers)

Sakali
(Washermen)

Mangali
(Barbers)

Vaddar
(Stone-workers)

Erkala
(Hunters and Mat-makers)

Pichha-Kuntla
(Minstrels narrating caste and clan legends)

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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UNTOUCHABLE CASTES

Mala
(An untouchable caste)

Madiga
(An untouchable caste)

The above table does not include the Panch Bramha group. In point of religion they are Hindus, but their position in the caste hierarchy is rather uncertain. This group comprises five divisions: The Wadla (carpenter), the Kammari (blacksmith), the Ausula (goldsmith), the Kase (carver of figures in wood and stone) and the Kanchari (worker in bell-metal). Of these only the first three sections are found in Shamirpet. Inter-dining and inter-marrying, these sections constitute a distinct group of their own. In the local caste hierarchy they should be placed below the Kapu-Kummari-Golla group, but it cannot be said that they rank equal to or below the Sale-Gaondla group.

Among Hindus the Brahmin holds the highest place. He officiates at the ceremonies of all castes, except those of the Vaddar, the Erkala, the Pichha-Kuntla, the Mala and the Madiga. However, he is consulted by these castes also regarding the auspicious timing of agricultural operations or to perform marriage ceremonies; and his astrological calculations are eagerly sought by all people. All castes, except the Panch Bramha group, will accept food at his hands, but being 'pure and high-born' he cannot accept food from the hands of any but his caste fellows.

564 793 [787] [264]

The Komtis rank next to the Brahmins. They are mostly traders and money-lenders, keeping small shops where they sell grain and general provisions. All castes except the Brahmin and the Panch Bramha group accept food at their hands, but they do not take food from those castes whose social position is lower than their own, and thus can only accept food at the hands of the Brahmins.

564 264 582

The Reddi sections of the Kapu (agricultural) group, the Kummari and the Golla castes are of equal caste status. Although each is an endogamous caste, they will freely inter-dine with each other, and social contact between them is on a basis of equality. The position of the other Kapu section, viz. Muttarasi, is a little lower. The first Kapu section as well as the Golla will eat at their hands, but the Kummari will refuse food which they have touched.

On the next level are the Sale and the Gaondla, who enjoy a

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564 more or less similar position but are both endogamous and do not
264 inter-dine. They accept food at the hands of the castes higher than
582 themselves but not from those which are lower. Similarly, the Sakali and the Mangali have a similar caste status, but they do not inter-marry or inter-dine. But again, both the Sakali and the Mangali will dine with the Sale and the Gaondla and all the other castes higher than themselves. The Vaddar and the Pichha-Kuntla will eat with neither the Sakali and the Mangali nor with the untouchable Malas and Madigas, but they can take food at the hands of all castes higher than themselves. The Erkalas will eat from the hands of all castes except those of the Mala and the Madiga. The Sakali and the Mangali do not accept food from the Erkala. The Erkala and the Pichha-Kuntla will accept food from the Vaddar, but the Vaddar will not accept food from the Erkala and the Pichha-Kuntla. Finally, the Mala and the Madiga will eat at the hands of all the higher castes, but the Mala, considering himself superior of the two untouchable castes, will refuse food touched by a Madiga.

The position of the Panch Bramha group is peculiar. They constitute a consolidated and self-sufficient group. They do not accept food at the hands of any other castes, nor do any other castes accept food touched by them. Here the position differs vitally from that found in north India, where the carpenter, the blacksmith, the worker in bell-metal, the goldsmith and the carver of images constitute different endogamous castes which do not, as they do in this area, inter-marry and inter-dine. Their social status is neither very high nor very low. Everywhere they rank lower than the 'twice-born' *varnas* of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, but they are not regarded as impure and their status is infinitely superior to that of the untouchables. In the area under study while the Panch Bramha group is regarded as 'clean', even the untouchable Mala would refuse food touched by them, and it is only in recent years that the Madigas have started to eat from their hands. 'Their very touch poisons the food. How can we accept it?' the people are often heard to remark when they are asked to explain their refusal of food touched by any of the Panch
[881] Bramha castes. The Panch Bramha castes wear the sacred thread
564 of the twice born and refuse food even from the Brahmin. It is probable that their social exclusiveness reflects an attitude which was developed in ancient times when a great fusion of Aryan and

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non-Aryan groups was taking place in Indian society and Hinduism was consolidating itself. The highly organized craftsmen's guilds of those days may perhaps have succeeded in maintaining their integrity and exclusiveness for a long time, but had ultimately to yield; yet the tension created by their resistance remained, and even when they were absorbed into the fold of Hindu society they were not admitted as equals to the groups of comparable social status and in consequence probably continued to maintain their age-long exclusiveness.

All the castes whose relative positions in the caste-hierarchy have been shown in the accompanying table are endogamous. There is a permanent social distance between them; the individual is born into a caste, and a subsequent change in status is, except to the very lowest strata of society, equally impossible upwards or downwards.[1] In general it may be said that people accept food at the hands of all castes occupying a higher level in this hierarchy, the only exception being that of the Vaddar, who do not accept food from the highly placed Sakali and Mar.gali. Without exception people on a higher level refuse food from those on a lower level. Each caste has a traditional occupation sanctioned by religion, and these monopolies should not be infringed upon, except in the case of agriculture, which all may pursue.

Mention should here be made of the Jangam and the Katike castes, of each of which there is one family in Shamirpet. The Jangam are a semi-priestly caste ritually attached to the Baljas, for whom they tie the 'lingam'—a phallic symbol representing Shiva—and function as priests on the occasion of weddings. On the days of *Pitra Moksha Amavasya*[2] and *Shivaratri*,[3] they visit Hindu houses, particularly of those peasants who follow the Shaivite[4]

[1] When a person is excommunicated or out-casted he is not down-graded and pushed into a lower caste; he is merely denied the privileges of equal participation in the socio-religious life of the community.

[2] The night of the New Moon in the Hindu month of Bhadrapada (August–September).

[3] The day on which Shiva is believed to have drunk the world's poison, retaining it in his throat, and thereby saving mankind from possible harm from this poison.

[4] Of the great gods of the Hindu 'trinity' Brahma is not worshipped because of his sinful infatuation for his own daughter, whilst Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped. Those who principally worship the former, usually in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, are known as Vaishnava; those worshipping the latter as Shaiva or Shaivite. Cf. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London, 1950), pp. 56–59, 296–300, 360–362.

●564 faith, and beg from them. In Shamirpet, however, there is only one Jangam, who, being an old woman and having no Balja clients in the village, tours in the neighbouring villages in order to beg sufficient for her needs. In point of social status the Jangam can properly be placed a little above the Komti. With the exception of the Brahmins, the other castes, including the Shaivite Komti, eat at their hands. The Katike, who are Hindu butchers, slaughter goats and sheep and sell the mutton to the village folk. In status the Katike is equal to the Kapu-Kummari-Golla group, and he inter-dines with all of them. As all the non-vegetarian Hindu castes including the respectable Reddis eat the meat of animals slaughtered by the Katike, the status of his group is so high.

Most of the castes enumerated above are further subdivided into endogamous divisions which for all practical purposes are themselves independent castes. The Brahmins of Andhra-desa are divided into two main groups—Vaidiki and Niyogi; each of these sections is further subdivided into a number of branches (*shakha*). These *shakha* are endogamous. There is only one family of Brahmins in Shamirpet and it belongs to the Yajurvedi section of the Vaidiki Andhra Brahmins.

The Komtis are divided into six endogamous divisions: Yegina, Yepa, Doodi, Bandur, Neti and Poga. Of these only Yegina Komtis live in Shamirpet.

The Reddis have four major endogamous divisions—Motati, Gudati, Gone and Paknati. All the Reddis of Shamirpet belong to the Gone division.

The Muttarasi have three sections—Muttarasi, Ediga and Besta. In Shamirpet there is no representative of either the Muttarasi or the Besta sections.

The Kummari caste is also divided into four endogamous divisions. They are Balije, Bandar, Cheluka (also known as Setti) and Dandu, of which only Cheluka Kummari live in Shamirpet. It may be noted that with the exception of the Balije section all the other sections of the Kummari caste inter-dine but do not inter-marry. The Balije abstain from meat and drink and on these grounds regard themselves as superior to the other sections of the Kummari caste, with whom they do not inter-dine.

The Gollas have seven endogamous subdivisions: Erra, Pakanati, Do-guita, Muda-Sarla, Pooja, Mushti and Paddanapu; an eighth and inferior division of the Gollas who weave blankets is

known as Kurma. The Pooja Gollas do not follow the traditional caste occupation of shepherds, and they neither eat meat nor drink liquor. With the exception of the Pooja Golla, from whose hands all sections accept food, and the Kurma, at whose hands no sections do, all the other sections inter-dine but do not inter-marry. In Shamirpet there are only two sections of the Gollas, Erra and Paknati. 564

The Sale in Telangana have no endogamous subdivisions. They call themselves Padmashali to distinguish themselves from the Mala Sale, who are akin to the untouchable Malas in social status, but who also follow the profession of weaving.

The Gaondlas are divided into two major sections on the basis of their faith: Vibhuti-darulu, following the Shaivite, and Tirumani-darulu, following the Vaishnavite faith. However, these sections both inter-marry and inter-dine.

The Sakalis have three endogamous groups—Sakali, Bondili, and Turuka, between whom inter-marriage and inter-dining is not permitted.

Among the Mangalis there are only two divisions, Siri and Konda. Inter-marriage between these groups is not permitted. All the families residing in Shamirpet belong to the Siri section.

The Vaddar have two sections: the Rai Vaddar work with stone, and the Gampa Vaddar work with earth. They are mutually exclusive groups, both inter-marriage and inter-dining being prohibited. In Shamirpet there are a few houses each of both these sections.

Similarly, the Erkala have two divisions—Kunche and Tattagulla, the latter only being represented in Shamirpet.

The Pichha-Kuntla too have two sections—Burra and Ganta. They are mutually exclusive from the point of view of inter-dining and inter-marrying. The one Pichha-Kuntla family in Shamirpet belongs to the Burra group.

Traditionally the Malas believe that their community is divided into twelve and a half sections, but no Mala in Shamirpet was able to give the names of all the twelve sections or to give any explanation for the half section. The section residing in Shamirpet describes itself simply as Mala.

Finally, the largest untouchable caste of Telangana, the Madiga, is divided into six major sections. These are Madiga, Nulka Sandayya, Baindla, Sindu, Mashto and Dakkal. The only section

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

564 living in Shamirpet is the Madiga. The various sections of the Madiga community have their own special functions which are of great significance for the social life and culture of the caste. The Nulka Sandayya are said to be the descendants of Jamavanta,[1] who is believed to be the founder of the entire Madiga 564 caste. The Baindlas are the marriage priests of the Madigas. Of 463 the Sindus, the men are the minstrels of the Madigas and have the function of reciting the sacred caste legends and enacting them in the form of folk-drama; while the women are the prostitutes of the community. The Mashto earn their living by giving acrobatic displays. The Dakkal are the lowest of all Madiga sections and are distinguished by their customary refusal to take food from any non-Madiga. The Brahmin, who is at the apex of the caste-hierarchy, refuses to partake of food at the hands of anyone with a social status lower than his own, in effect from any but his own caste-fellows. And it is a juxtaposition that the lowest of the low castes refuses food from all communities of the higher levels, including the Brahmins.

614 Each independent endogamous division is divided into exogamous *gotram*; these in turn may be further subdivided into numerous *vansham*. The main function of these divisions is the regulation of marital unions. A person cannot marry in his own *gotram*; he must marry in some other *gotram* bearing a different name. Different *gotram* may have a number of common *vansham*, and as marriage between persons of the same *vansham* is forbidden, one must marry not only outside one's *gotram* but in a different *vansham* also. If a person of one's own *vansham* dies, one must observe ceremonial mourning for ten days. These subdivisions seem to perform no other special function. The enumeration of the various *gotram* and *vansham* is difficult and would only result in long and tedious lists running to forty and fifty names, and will not here be given.

The diagram shown opposite will illustrate the organization of the endogamous sub-castes *gotram* and *vansham* within the wider social unit of caste in the area under study.

In the diagram each sub-caste is endogamous; and as such a person born in unit 1 must marry within that unit, and so also persons in units 2, 3 and 4 must confine their marital relations to their respective units only. But each of these units is divided into a

[1] A conspicuous figure playing a significant role in the epic of *Ramayana*.

sexual union of any type between the two is regarded as a kind of incest. It has already been pointed out that these units have no functions beyond those mentioned above and have no common organization, authority or ceremonial distinctively belonging to them.

Although in general we can regard Shamirpet as fairly representative of Telangana villages, some Telugu-speaking castes which play an important part in rural Telangana are not to be found in the village; and it will be perhaps advantageous to make a passing reference to some of these castes here. The Velma are a rich agricultural caste more or less equal in status to the Reddis. The Kamma are another caste of the Kapu group who inter-dine with the Reddi, but they are regarded as equals of the lower clean caste groups. The Balja traders are Shaivite Hindus whose status is regarded as being a little higher than that of the Komti. The Gandla works the oil press, and his status is similar to that of the Sale and the Gaondla. The Yenadi, who in some parts of Telangana act as village guards, are in status equal to the Erkala. The Lambada provide a colourful though somewhat alien element in the population of Telangana. In language, dress and ornament they stand out from the rest of the people of Telangana. Their northern origin is clear both from their physical appearance and from their language. The dress of the Lambada woman is picturesque. Her multi-coloured skirt (*lahanga*), tight bodice (*choli*) and upper covering (*odhni*) are elaborately embroidered and worked with appliquéd mirror. Her ornaments are heavy and distinctive, and their tinkling sound lends an air of romance to the dusty roads of the countryside. There is a Lambada settlement some six miles from Shamirpet and they are a common sight on the nearby road.

Mention should also be made of three wandering caste groups—the Balsantanam, the Sharda-galu and the Dasari. The Balsantanam live in small, low, portable huts and move from village to village. They weave mats, sing songs and legends, and beg from village cultivators. The Sharda-galu are professional story-tellers and earn their livelihood by reciting the legends of their vast repertoire. Similarly, the Dasari are country dramatists who contribute towards the entertainment of the villagers by performing folk plays. Members of many of the castes mentioned above make occasional appearances in Shamirpet.

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to be organized by the village community as a whole. If smallpox, cholera or plague is reported in any nearby village or from Shamirpet itself, it has to fix the day on which the whole village shall perform religious worship in order to ward off the epidemic. It fixes the contribution which should be made by the different families to any communal undertaking. In any undertaking concerning the village as a whole the initiative often comes from the *panchayat*. For example, if a temple or shrine has to be constructed or a tank or well has to be repaired, the matter would be placed before the *panchayat*. This body would plan the measure and then proceed to fix all the details. It will determine the amount of the contributions to be raised, and collect it from each family. If it is necessary to approach the government for financial help in the matter, the *panchayat* would first thoroughly analyse the subject and examine all the possibilities. Only after such a discussion would it determine the precise steps to be taken. Similarly, if a complaint has to be made against any government official, the matter is first discussed by the *panchayat*.

In the village community there are several groups and factions; the various cliques often hold divergent views. However, at the meetings of the *panchayat* the minority almost always yields to the majority—mostly without any grumbling. But once the *panchayat* has risen a protégé of the dissenting clique may be instigated to defy the decisions of the council. With the emergence of several factions within the community, and the tacit encouragement given by some of the minority groups to certain offenders to ignore its decisions, the authority of the *panchayat* has been slightly weakened. In consequence, even when the *panchayat* has heard them and given its verdict, some cases drag on in a state of indecision. From time to time they come up for reconsideration, but two or three years often elapse before a final decision is made. Some long-drawn-out cases are decided by the active intervention of the Revenue or Police officials. But such cases are few. Only a comparatively rich person can defy the *panchayat*, for unless he is able to bribe one of the minority cliques, he cannot enlist their sympathy and support in the lengthy proceedings. In most of the ordinary cases the decision of the *panchayat* is binding and final.

It has been pointed out that the *panchayat* includes all the headmen of the different caste-groups as well as of the Muslim community. These headmen do not merely represent their respective

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623 564 castes; they are expected to do much more. In fact, a caste headman is the link between the residents of the village belonging to his own caste and, on the one hand, the common organization of the village as a unit, and, on the other, the wider caste organization of the entire neighbouring region. When the caste *panchayat* of the entire block constituting the regional community holds its meeting it is invariably the caste headman who participates in its 622 626 564 deliberations on behalf of his village caste group. The office is hereditary, passing from father to son. But if the son has not attained maturity at the time of the death of his father, and is consequently not in a position to take over the responsibility, one of the brothers of the deceased may exercise the authority on behalf of the minor. In some cases even after attaining maturity the son remains only the nominal head, while his uncle continues to be the *de facto* chief. The general consensus of opinion regarding the function of the caste headman appears to be that 'he should keep his people under control' and 'not allow them to stray from the traditional ways of life'. 'If boys of my community do not behave themselves, the *panchayat* reprimands me for not keeping them under control. The village headman says that I must check them, but what powers do I have?' remarked one caste headman. With regard to his functions there is a general unanimity. 'Under a good caste headman boys of the caste obey established authority, respect is shown to the elders and quarrels are not often heard from houses in his jurisdiction.' All this he must do by the sheer force of his personality, for the nature of his authority is not well defined. 'He must be strict and firm, and also considerate and helpful. If he is only strict he will not be able to get the willing co-operation of his people. If he is too lenient nobody will pay any heed to what he says.' It has been pointed out earlier that some of the caste headmen are only nominal members of the *panchayat* and that at its meetings others speak on behalf of the caste. With one exception, these caste headmen lack the above qualities, and in general their caste people do not have much regard for their views. At least two of the hereditary caste chiefs are regarded with scorn by their own people and with ridicule by the villagers. Among the successful caste headmen, E. D. R., the leader of the Kapu (agriculturist) group, may be mentioned. He is in his late thirties, but even older people listen to him. If a son does not show due regard to his parents or a husband and wife quarrel too often and too publicly;

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f one of his caste fellows fails to fulfil the terms of his obligations or in any other way brings dishonour to the caste; if boys get unmanageable or girls earn an evil reputation for easy virtue, he effectively enters the scene, gives suggestions and advice, admonshes people if they do not seem amenable to persuasion, and in the case of adolescents and young boys may even inflict light corporal punishment. In his dealings with people E. D. R. possesses some dramatic qualities which make him something of a hero to his people. With his great influence in the counsels of the village he commands obedience from his own caste fellows as well as from many others. V. P. R., in a sense E. D. R.'s rival, has also a strong personality, and although he is not the recognized head of the caste he exercises considerable control over 'his area of influence'. Because of his influence he is one of those who are invited to participate in the deliberations of the *panchayat*. However, the two men exercise considerable tact in dealing with each other, and so far there has been no effective challenge to the position of E. D. R. The position of the head in a caste is what its holder chooses to make it. Ambitious rivals can steal some of his light and authority. If he proves unsuitable he may for all practical purposes be superseded by someone who is abler or more ambitious and aggressive.

The structure of the family and part played by the 'head' in its affairs will be analysed in a subsequent chapter. It will suffice here to point out that the type of family organization in Shamirpet and the neighbouring rural areas is patrilineal and patrilocal. Joint families are regarded as ideal, although there is a tendency for sons to separate after marriage, and brothers almost always separate some time after the father's death. The eldest male is generally regarded as the chief of the household, and, according to tradition, he must benevolently dominate the scene. Younger members of the household must show respect to him and his wishes. In his turn the head of the family should treat his brothers or sons equally, 'as alike as his two eyes'. A serious socio-religious offence committed by one member of the family would result in the excommunication of the whole family. As such the head of the family must watch the actions of all the members of his household and advise, warn or admonish them according to the necessity of the situation. The head of the family is answerable to the caste and the village councils for the members of his household, and this

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night. Dogs, cats and donkeys dying in the village have to be disposed of by him, for the Madigas only deal with dead cattle and will have nothing to do with other carcases. The Yettis in Shamirpet are from the Sakali and the Madiga castes. The Sakali Yettis do most of the superior kinds of menial work, such as carrying the baggage of touring government officials who would not allow their luggage to be carried by the untouchable Madigas; while the Madiga Yettis have to do all sorts of odd jobs of an inferior nature. They may be required to patrol the village, to keep watch on government buildings and to sweep and clean the village occasionally. They are also required to bring fuel for the use of touring government officials. The Yettis are not paid any salary for their work, and the nominal payments made to them by touring officials bear no proportion to the work done by them. The rest of the village menials are occupational caste groups, also performing some semi-government duties. The Wadla, for example, must repair the flood-gates of the tank, attend to the repairs of furniture and other woodwork in government offices, repair the central flag post in the village and supply free of charge or on nominal payment the pegs required for fixing the tents of touring government officials. When required the Kammari do iron work for the government officials. The Kummari has to supply earthen pots for use on public occasions or for the use of touring government officials. The Sakali cleans the kitchen utensils and plates of touring government officials, washes their clothes and carries their baggage to the next camp. The Mangali lights the lamps in the village rest-house, shaves touring officials and massages their bodies if they require this service. The Ausula has the duty of examining, when required to do so, coins which are believed to be counterfeit. He has also to help the police in weighing stolen ornaments and in making estimates of their approximate market price. Finally, the Dappu and the Kommu, who are both Madigas, play their drums and pipes respectively on public occasions. They make all public announcements by the beat of drum and are, like the Yetti, often required to do other menial work as well.

3. INTER-CASTE AND INTER-VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

The village is a territorial unit, the smallest but most significant among territorial groups in the social organization of the village

communities. Persons belonging to several different castes are united by some common values and obligations in this unit. But caste as a unit of social organization cuts across the narrow boundaries of the village and extends to a fairly wide geographical region. The *varna* system or the fivefold division of Hindu society is an all-India phenomenon, but in the different geographical and linguistic regions these *varnas* are divided into numerous castes (*jati*) which are practically distinct from and independent of comparable castes in other areas. Thus in South India, in the Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu-speaking regions respectively, there are separate groups of Brahmins who constitute independent castes. There are numerous restrictions on inter-dining, and intermarriage between them is not permitted. All these groups will be designated by the generic term Brahmin; but in actual practice they are each a separate caste characterized by endogamy and distinctive local traditions. It has been pointed out earlier that culturally Shamirpet lies in the area of Telangana, which is a part of the larger culture-area of Andhra-desa. Most of the castes in the village confine their social intercourse to Telangana itself, a few extending it to other parts of Andhra-desa. The Muslims, being converts to an alien religion, are not obliged to observe this rule and can freely inter-marry with Muslim immigrants from other parts; but among them also marriage between people already having some blood ties is preferred. For Hindu castes it may be said that in actual practice a number of neighbouring villages constitute for them a quasi-independent local group within the wider regional community. In analysing one hundred and twenty family case-histories, it was found that out of three hundred and eighty marriages over 68% were confined to a group of villages (and the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad) within a radius of approximately thirty-five miles from Shamirpet; 30% to other villages within sixty miles of the village; and only 2% in still more distant villages or towns. In no case was a marital union entered into with a non-Telugu caste, even with a similar caste name and social status in another linguistic or geographical area. Thus the horizontal ties of caste extend to the whole culture area, but active social relationships are generally confined to a cluster of neighbouring villages.

Two types of inter-village organizations deserve to be noted. They are councils of the different castes and inter-village councils.

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THE BRAHMIN

793 791 There is only one Brahmin family in the village. The head of this family enjoys considerable local prestige owing to the fact of his birth, and also because he is a substantial landowner. He is the local priest as well as an astrologer. People consult him regarding the suitability of proposed marriages, and when negotiations are completed they seek his astrological calculations regarding an auspicious date and time for the wedding itself. He officiates at the marriage ceremony among the higher castes. On childbirth he is consulted about the planetary position at the actual time of the baby's birth, and its astrological implications for the child as well as for the parents and the other members of the family. If the reading indicates any difficulty, the Brahmin is often commissioned to offer special worship and perform the necessary rituals to ward off the evil. Similarly, after a death the Brahmin is consulted. If it is found that the time of death was inauspicious the members of the household may be asked to leave the residence temporarily, for a period of three to six months, according to the advice of the Brahmin. These consultations on the occasions of birth and death are generally sought only by the people of higher castes and by those who are well-to-do. Prescribed fees have to be paid to the Brahmin in cash for these consultations. Indirectly, the Brahmin contributes also to the agricultural activities of the community. He advises the agriculturists on when to start sowing at the beginning of the agricultural year. He is also consulted regarding the auspicious dates for starting weeding and harvesting. The date of the New Eating ceremony for the different families in the village is fixed by him. For these consultations no one pays him in cash. He visits the houses of his agriculturist clients fortnightly or once a month, especially in the harvesting season, and is customarily given a certain quantity of grain by each family.

THE KOMTI

564 443 426 The Komtis are traders. They also function as village moneylenders. They keep a permanent small shop at some central point in the village, and also attend the weekly markets in the neighbouring villages. They generally sell provisions for cash, although things may also be bought on credit by those who are known to

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the shopkeeper and are willing to pay slightly higher prices. They advance money to the people for buying bullocks and agricultural implements. A mortgage is not insisted upon in all cases, but the rate of compound interest which they charge is often exorbitant. The Komtis also advance seed grain to the people. For this, too, they charge a heavy interest. Loans are often taken by people against the mortgage of land or a part of the crops, depending upon the sum of money which they borrow. In Shamirpet the Komtis seem to be the only caste whose monopoly has been seriously affected by the change of times. To-day Shamirpet has in all thirteen shops. If we do not take into account some of the petty shops, four of these belong to Komtis, two to Muslims, two to Toddy-tappers and one to a goldsmith. Even in the field of advancing cash and seeds for agricultural purposes, the Komtis have to face the competition of some of the comparatively rich Reddi and Muslim cultivators.

THE KUMMARI

In Shamirpet there are five families of potters, with fourteen people actually working at the wheel. Each family is attached to some agriculturists in the village, and it periodically supplies them with a certain number of earthen pots for domestic use. Every two or three years they also supply the agriculturists with large baked earthen bins for storing grain. For this they do not expect a cash price. At the time of harvesting the potter visits the fields of the family to which he is attached, and is given *bheek-bali*, that is his share of the new crop. The quantity of grain that is given away depends on the size of the land cultivated, and also partly on the owner's financial circumstances. On the occasion of rituals connected with birth, marriage or death a supply of new pots is expected from him. Tradition has prescribed the minimum payment required for these services, although on happy occasions people often give a little more. If he can arrive at an agreement with the other occupational castes, such as the barber, the washerman and the weaver, he will offer them his services in return for their occupational services to his family. The details are fixed by the parties concerned, and often considerable haggling and making of charges and counter-charges against one another go on. Notwithstanding this, the system works quite satisfactorily, for out of forty-four cases of such mutual arrangements studied very

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323 closely at Shamirpet only in six were the relations finally broken
•564 off on account of dissatisfaction to either or both parties. Non-agriculturists and such occupational castes as do not have arrangements with the potter buy their requirements from him for a cash price. The Kummari families of Shamirpet have more clients and customers in some of the neighbouring villages which have no potters' families living in them.

THE GOLLA

[361] The shepherds occupy a block of their own in the village. Some
233 of them cultivate small land-holdings, but the major source of
564 livelihood for all of them is their traditional occupation of keeping
476 herds of goats and sheep. They may keep one or two cows and buffaloes besides these herds which are their livelihood. They have an elaborate lore regarding these animals, and they are experts in caring for quite large herds. They train country dogs to help them in this, and with their aid prevent the goats from going
[782] astray when they are taken out for grazing in the forest. By turns the Golla families in the village contribute goats or sheep for sacrifice in the village ceremonies. For this they are not paid. With this exception, they carry on all other transactions with the village people in cash. When people buy goats and sheep, the owner of the animal is always paid in cash. For goat's milk they expect spot payment, but arrangements for weekly or monthly payments may be made in the case of regular buyers. However, in one respect they may also enter into an agreement with the agriculturists which may entitle them to a small share of each harvest. After the harvest, when all the crops have been reaped, the agriculturists ask the Gollas to graze their herds on their fields and keep them penned in during the night. As there is very little fodder in the fields, the shepherds take the goats and sheep out for grazing in the nearby forest, and during the night keep them in the field.
[241] The urine and dung of the herd is believed to be good manure, and as such this service is much in demand by the agriculturists. The shepherds often fix days with the agriculturists, and each one has his turn only on a limited number of days. According to the nature of agreement between the cultivators and the shepherds, the payment is either in cash or the latter collect their dues from the fields at the time of harvesting.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

THE SALE

The Sale consider themselves superior to the other artisan castes. Nowadays they no longer work on the basis of affiliation to the village agriculturists. According to an old informant, 'In the good old days when the Sale used to spin their thread in addition to weaving cloth, they also entered into a definite arrangement with the agriculturists, as most castes do to-day. They supplied us with a certain length of cloth every year, and in return we gave them some grain at each harvest. But now times have changed. They buy yarn manufactured in the mills, weave fancy cloth and sell it for cash.' The weavers have now practically abandoned the traditional system. Only with certain occupational castes do they arrive at a working arrangement under which, in return for their services, they give them an agreed length of cloth. In the course of our investigations we found that such arrangements existed between weavers on the one hand, and potters, barbers and washermen on the other.

THE GAONDLA

The villagers in this area are very fond of *sendi*, or fermented palm juice. The Gaondla shops are the centre of attraction in the evenings for men—young and old—as well as for many middle-aged and old women. This caste has the monopoly of tapping the different kinds of palm trees, and also of selling the fermented juice, and has admirably succeeded in maintaining it, notwithstanding the introduction of the system by which government leases trees to the highest bidders irrespective of their caste. In Shamirpet, so far, there has been no challenge to their monopoly; although occasionally the Madigas and other poor people steal juice from the pots tied to the trees by the Gaondlas. The Gaondlas first mark out the trees to be tapped, then actually tap them in the afternoons and evenings, and tie pots at the points where each tree has been tapped to collect the dripping juice. Early next morning they go round to these trees again, climb up, and bring back to the village all the juice collected during the night. This is kept by them in large earthen pots and retailed to customers on demand, expecially in the afternoon and in the evening. One of the Gaondla families in the village has a government contract for other liquors and intoxicants. In addition to the fermented palm juice, that shop also sells several other varieties of liquor obtained from distilleries

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in Hyderabad. Payment is generally in cash, and only in exceptional cases may a credit account be maintained.

THE PANCH BRAMHA GROUP

In an earlier chapter mention has already been made of the group of artisan castes who designate themselves as Panch Bramha and maintain a certain degree of exclusiveness from the other Hindu castes. Out of these, two groups, namely, the Wadla (carpenter) and the Kammari (blacksmith), enter into relations of permanent affiliation to the agriculturists. Under this system, they have to supply new agricultural implements periodically, and look after their maintenance and repairs. In return for these services they get a share of the crops which they have to collect from the fields when harvesting is in progress. In addition to this, they practise their own occupation independently. All their services to non-agriculturists, as well as their services of a non-agricultural nature, must be paid for. The carpenter makes the wooden marriage-post required for several of the rites of Hindu weddings. For this he is paid a small fee prescribed by tradition. The blacksmith repairs and periodically supplies new iron agricultural implements, but in this case the agriculturist concerned has to supply the iron, charcoal and a labourer to work the bellows. The other three groups, that is the goldsmiths, workers in bell metal and carvers of images, specialize in fields which have little or almost nothing to do with agriculture; and as such they carry on their crafts independently.

THE SAKALI AND THE MANGALI

The barber and the washerman have no direct contribution to make to the agricultural pursuits of the landowners, but their services are required so often by the agriculturist, especially in their socio-religious ceremonies and rituals connected with birth, marriage and death, that the agriculturists find it more convenient to have families from these castes permanently affiliated to their households. For their normal services all the year round, that is for shaving and hair-cutting, or for washing clothes, they collect their share after each harvest. Other services, especialiy those connected with socio-religious activities, are generally provided for in the rituals themselves, for at several points in their progress these castes have to be given something, either in cash

or in kind. In the course of a long ceremony, two or three times they may get money, twice or thrice some grain or a few brass or bell-metal utensils, and ultimately a set of new clothes. Like the other castes, the barber and the washerman also work independently outside the system of these traditional arrangements.

OTHER CASTES

Before describing the system of family affiliation between the Madiga untouchables and the agriculturists, brief mention should be made of the other castes in the village.

There is only one family of Katike (Hindu butchers) in the village. In point of social status this family ranks equal to the Kapu group. The head of the family slaughters goats and sheep and sells meat to the villagers. The Muslims slaughter their goats and sheep separately or buy their requirement of beef from the market in the city. Shamirpet is largely a Hindu village, and partly out of regard for the sentiments of the majority community, and partly to avoid trouble, the Muslims do not slaughter cows in the village.

The solitary family of the Darzi (tailor) with an old sewing machine is obviously a new addition to the population of the village. Even by modest city standards the abilities of this tailor in his craft must be regarded as rather crude. Yet he has a fairly good business in the village. Except for the well-to-do people, and a few others who maintain regular contact with the city, all others either buy cheap ready-made clothes, or they get their tailoring done by this man in the village, who also attracts considerable custom from nearby villages.

The families of Vaddars (stone-workers) always have sufficient work, either in Shamirpet itself or in some of the neighbouring villages. Those who can afford a house of a superior type have it built of stone. Use of bricks is very rare in this part of the country and thus practically all substantial houses in the village are of stone. The rocky surroundings of the village provide an ample supply, and the Vaddars, adept in the traditional technique of breaking and shaping stone, turn it into a useful building material. Because of their crude technique the work of the Vaddars is very hard indeed and entails considerable physical exertion. Payment for this work is generally on the basis of piece wages. In the busy agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also [illegible] wages.

agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra wages.

The Erkalas earn their livelihood through a variety of means. The menfolk are hunters. They are also adept in the use of snares and traps. They train hunting dogs and use them effectively for chasing and tracking wounded animals. When they succeed in getting some game, they retain a part of it for their domestic consumption and sell the rest to the villagers. The women beg in the countryside by singing songs and narrating legends. They also do some fortune-telling. Family earnings are supplemented by basket-making, a task at which both men and women work. They also rear pigs.

THE MADIGAS

The Madigas are the lowest caste in Shamirpet. Economically they constitute the poorest section of the community. While the Malas, who are also untouchables but a degree higher than the Madigas, either cultivate their own land or work as farm labourers for daily wages, the Madigas affiliate themselves to the households of the substantial agriculturists in the village. According to the size of the land-holding of the cultivator, one or more Madiga families permanently attach themselves to him. At every stage of agricultural operations during the year the attached Madiga, and his wife and children, work in the fields of their master. They are not paid any daily wages. After the crops are harvested they have to go and 'beg' in the master's fields or threshing grounds. The conventions of the community have prescribed the rates of payment, mostly on the basis of the area of land under cultivation and the yield during the particular harvest. Thus for a certain area a basic minimum must be given; but if on account of good crops the yield has been high it is expected that the affiliated Madiga family would be given a proportionately larger share. In former times there used to be considerable compulsion, and, being in no position to protest, the Madigas had to slave for their masters, who could be quite ruthless. If the master was kind and considerate, they regarded it as their good luck. On the whole it was advisable for them to tolerate even a bad master, for any protests or refusal to do the allotted work on their part would eventually have meant their being forced to leave the village. Now, of course, conditions have changed, and Madigas do not any longer put up with indig-

1: Dube E-5 (T951-82) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. But they have several other additional means of subsistence open to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village. As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner. From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes. Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

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796 563 for the sake of the fun that they expect to find in the fair. A closer examination of the Hindu festivals and ceremonies reveals that a large number of all-India Hindu festivals are observed in the community; but a good many of these are restricted to the 'twice 796 born' castes of the Brahmin and the Komti. Some of them are • 564 observed by a few other higher castes, or often only by a few 'respectable' families in these castes. Ceremonies and worship connected with these festivals are conducted by the Brahmin in castes occupying a level higher than that of the Sakali and the Mangali (excluding the Panch Bramha group). The Sakali and the Mangali invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, or else they manage with a caste priest. While the Brahmin and the Komti, of all the castes, are most interested in a majority of the festivals of this category, in the common village ritual they are passive and distant observers. In the two major festivals of the village, which involve considerable inter-caste co-operation, it is the Kummari[1] who officiates as the priest and not the Brahmin. The bulk of Hindus celebrate relatively few of the all-India festivals with great enthusiasm, but it could be said that groups occupying higher rungs in the ladder of caste hierarchy are found to observe more of these festivals. In fact the higher the status of a caste the greater is the number of these that it observes; and thus we find the Komtis observing more of these festivals than any other Hindu caste, with the sole exception of the Brahmin who, being of a superior caste, observes a few festivals more than the Komti. The local village cults are still living and vital. In them the participation of the two highest castes is nominal; but that of the other castes complete. The Kapu group of agricultural castes occupying an intermediate position in the caste hierarchy participate in both sets of rituals with equal enthusiasm.

4. RITUAL OF THE LIFE CYCLE

184 561 The basic pattern of ceremonies connected with the major crises of life is the same in all sections of the Hindus in the village community; but in the minor details of the ritual there is considerable difference in the practices of different castes. More than this, even within a particular caste the rites and observances are not identical, for in some respects individual families have their own traditions. In the course of our field-work we found the catalogu-

1 [i.e., member of potter caste.--ANALYST]

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Hindus
Muslims

Muslim State, the Hindus had their revenge by pouring scorn openly on Muslim religion and society. It was now the turn of the Muslims to observe silence, and tolerate humiliation and insults. At the time of our investigations, however, most of these passions had subsided, and no significant tensions were observed. As groups both Hindus and Muslims regard themselves as superior in point of religion. From the socio-economic point of view the Muslims can be regarded as an exclusive caste whose social standing is roughly equal to that of the agricultural castes.

Caste as a factor of social differentiation is more significant. It has been pointed out that in its structure, the caste system has definitely a hierarchical character. Between the highest and the lowest castes, there are several intermediate levels. The social status of a person is largely determined by his caste. The mere fact of birth in a particular caste gives a good initial start to some and puts obstacles in the way of others. In a subsequent chapter I propose to examine some of the stereotypes current in the village community regarding the qualities and characteristics of different castes; but notwithstanding these the relative position of the different castes in the village community is determined by the traditional scale.

Religion and caste are more or less fixed and permanent factors. While change of faith is possible, and under certain circumstances a person can even descend from one of the higher castes to the lowest, such changes are very rare. At any rate no one takes recourse to them to bring about a change in his social status. The only case of change of faith recorded by us in the village is that of the present headmaster of the school who was a Brahmin to begin with, but later embraced Islam. No case of change of caste came to our notice.

In a predominantly agricultural society it is natural to expect that possession of land and cattle would contribute greatly to an individual's social status. Birth into a family of landowners ensures that a person will grow up to be a respected member of the village community. Acquisition of land would very materially affect the social position even of a person of humble birth, and if he does not behave tactlessly it would greatly enhance his prestige. An untouchable Mala peasant is now counted among the influential cultivators of the village and is given a place of honour in its counsels. He is still an untouchable and would continue to remain

577 unmistakable appreciation. Cowardice and treachery are condemned, but people still indulge in malicious gossip and back-
152 biting. Mutual suspicion characterizes the general nature of inter-personal relations. Two families on the road to prosperity are likely to be jealous of each other; but adversity almost never fails to bring them nearer and closer. Exercising little control over their emotions, people get excited very quickly; anger and friendship are both aroused in them with equal ease.

571 A study of inter-group relations will give us a better idea of the nature and quality of the attitudes that largely govern inter-personal relations in the community. For this we shall first examine the inter-caste attitudes embodied in stereotypes, and later analyse similar attitudes and opinions covering two sets of rival groups—educated and uneducated, and those with urban contacts and those without them.

564 INTER-CASTE ATTITUDES: SOME STEREOTYPES

186 Inter-caste attitudes find expression in several stereotypes which
[522] are a part of the thought patterns of the people, and find expression both in jest and banter as well as in quarrels and outbursts of anger. Among others, the following stereotypes and related anecdotes were noted in Shamirpet.

The Brahmin is 'pious from outside, but not so at heart'. He is 'tricky and calculating'. 'He instigates people, but always keeps himself in the background.'

The Komti is 'a born coward, but a shrewd business man'. 'When he says anything on oath, take it that he is telling a deliberate falsehood.' 'He spares no ingenuity to save even a counterfeit coin.' 'Gods do not penalize a Komti for telling lies, he is born to do that.' The anecdotes concerning the miserliness of the Komtis are indeed many and varied. 'If a fly falls in butter-milk, rich people will throw the butter-milk away, the poor will throw away the fly and drink the butter-milk. But the Komti squeezes out the butter-milk before throwing the fly away.' 'If a relation comes to the house of a Komti and the time of the evening meal approaches, he will think, "If this guest goes home, I shall be able to save one meal." The guest on the other hand thinks, "If I stay here a little while more, one meal will be saved at home." And a battle of wits goes on to save just one meal.' The stories of their

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cowardice are also many. 'A Komti is a warrior in words, but a rat in deeds.' 'If you strike him once he will say, "Strike me a second time and I will see." If you strike him a second time, he will say, "Strike me a third time and I shall show you what it means to beat me." You go on beating him, and all that he will do is to repeat his threats without having the courage to hit back even once.'

Of the Kapu, or agricultural castes, general public opinion seems to be good. 'They are a hard-working people, faithfully attached to the soil.' 'The Kapus are the *annadata*, literally producers of agricultural wealth. If they do not cultivate the land and produce grain, what shall we eat?' Social comment is generally unfavourable on the rich Reddi landlords who make excessive demands on the tenants.

The Kummari's place in common village talk is not very enviable. 'Living in the world of his earthen pots, he knows little of the world outside.' 'Because he works continuously at the wheel, no strength is left in his loins. No wonder, he cannot satisfy his wife.'

More than anyone else, the Golla is the butt of many cruel jokes. He is criticized for his simplicity, for his dirtiness and for his awkward gestures and rustic manner of speech. His shocking cowardice too is often commented upon. 'He tends sheep. He is no better than one of his flock.' 'The Golla is a model of cleanliness. Look at his body, it is covered with lice all over.' 'See, how a Golla talks! If you hear him from a distance you will think that he is quarrelling with someone; but no, he is discussing with his wife what to cook for the evening meal.' In animated discussion the Gollas are certainly given to much gesticulation. 'Others also gesticulate but the mannerisms of the Gollas are remarkably different.' 'In sheer cowardice only a Sale will excel him.' 'Bluff him, threaten him and a Golla will readily agree to what you say. He is too thick-headed to understand you otherwise.' 'You can never know what a Golla will do. Give him a sweet-smelling flower and he will put it in his anus.'

In the village community the Sale caste symbolizes cowardice. If anyone is afraid of going out in the dark or runs away from a fight, people remark, 'Are you the son of a Sale? That alone can explain your remarkable bravery.' This is one of the most widely prevalent and generally accepted stereotypes. Many a Sale would

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186 564 also accept it, and using different words would say, 'We mind our work and do not get mixed up in local affairs. What use is it fighting like animals?' Others generally say, 'If you strike a Komti with a stick, he will hit you back with his tongue. He has at least a store of filthy abuse which he uses as a weapon of defence. But the Sale is too timid to do even this. All that he can do is to run into his house and hide himself.'

The Gaondla, 'when he is poor, carries empty pots of palm-juice from every house; but when he amasses wealth, his head turns. Then he learns to speak the language of the urban people.'

The Sakali is 'after all a washerman. One who washes the dirty clothes of the rest of the community cannot himself remain clean.' Women belonging to this caste have a reputation for their great capacity for drinking. 'They do not require much persuasion for granting sexual favours to people outside the caste; and the devils —Sakali women—are such adepts in sexual technique that anyone falling into their clutches once remains their slave for ever.'

There are several witty stories about the status of the Mangali (barber). 'No doubt his general status is low, but he always has the advantage of the company of rich and influential men. Do you not sit with him while he is cutting your hair and giving you a shave? Even rich agriculturists have to allow him to sit near them as if he were their equal in status.' 'It is true that his status is not very high. But who does not bow to him? While cutting a king's hair the barber orders "Bend a little towards me", and the king unquestioningly obeys him. Who else can catch hold of your hair, pull your ears or slap you on the cheek? Ask a barber to cut your hair and shave you, and you will have the answer.' 'The agriculturists always have to worry about their crops—in some years they grow well, in others they do not. But there is no uncertainty about the crops harvested by a barber—the beards of his clients grow with an unfailing regularity.'

[751] The castes in the Panch Bramha group are not regarded as particularly auspicious. 'While starting on a journey if you happen to see a person belonging to one of these groups, you should take it as a sign of ill-luck. It indicates a possible failure of your mission.'

'The Mala and the Madiga will be rude if you are gentle with them, and will be gentle if you are rude to them.' 'Kick him first

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and then ask him to do a thing, a Madiga will never refuse. Ask him to do something in soft words and he will have a thousand excuses ready.'

Although Shamirpet has maintained, even in the worst years of communal tension, a fairly honourable record of communal harmony and the relations between the Hindu and the Muslim sections of the village population have been cordial in every sense, the two communities have some generalized notions about the inherent qualities and attributes of each other. The Hindus will say, 'The untouchables are impure, but Muslims are poisonous. If you touch a Madiga you may have to sever only the finger with which you touched him, but if you touch a Muslim you will have to cut off the arm itself.' 'The Muslims are good only in two things —they eat and copulate like beasts. Who else except a Muslim would ever think of going to bed with his uncle's daughter, who is next only to his real sister.' The Muslims are regarded as showy and ostentatious. 'A Muslim will eat stale rice inside his house, but when coming out he will apply some clarified butter to his lips. Then he will belch loudly and say, "How much fried rice and meat have I eaten to-day".' With regard to conversion to Islam the Hindus often say, 'A Hindu untouchable of yesterday becomes a Muslim to-day; and to-morrow he will start proclaiming that his forefathers lived in Arabia!' The Muslims, having for generations prided themselves as the ruling race of Hyderabad, tend to look down upon the Hindus, and make fun of their numerous gods and superstitious beliefs. On the whole the Muslims regard the other community as 'cowardly and mean'. But the recent changes in the political fortunes of the State, resulting in the end of Muslim rule, have had a sobering effect on the Muslims, and now they do not take the offensive against their Hindu neighbours, as some of them very commonly did in the period preceding the Police Action of 1948.

I have pointed out earlier that most of these stereotypes find expression in jest and banter, and occasionally in outbursts of anger. While each caste seeks to proclaim and prove its own superiority in some respect it invariably holds some generalized notions, such as those described above, about the inherent qualities of the other castes. It is believed that there can be individual exceptions to the rule, but regarding the castes themselves these stereotypes are valid. However, very few of these notions influence

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578 the general tone of life in the community. Inter-group tension between Hindus and Muslims, engendered partly by political controversies in the Hyderabad State, threatened disharmony and possible breach of peace in the village in the period preceding and following the intervention of the Government of India. The recognition of the *fait accompli* in the State by the Muslims and the change in their approach and attitude towards the Hindus soon 666 established cordial relations between the two communities. At 578 the time of our investigations the Brahmin/non-Brahmin controversy, which was governing the political alignments of people within the State to a considerable extent, had its echoes in Shamirpet also. In the Telangana area, in general, it was taking the shape of an open conflict of interest between Brahmins and Reddis. In Shamirpet the individual relations between the Brahmin household and the Reddi residents of the community were very cordial; but in the discussion of general political and social questions there was a persistent anti-Brahmin feeling. Casteism was a force of no mean significance in the first general elections under the Republican Constitution, and manifested itself in such slogans as 'Reddis must solidly stand together', 'Irrespective of party considerations Reddis must vote for a Reddi candidate', or 'Non-Brahmins must unite to strike a blow to Brahmin domination'. As the interaction between the different castes in the wider political field is still in its initial stages, the pattern of group alignments has not emerged 578 very clearly. A third factor may also be mentioned here. Under ● 564 the influence of the social and political propaganda of the Sched- 185 uled Caste Federation, the untouchable castes have started voicing their grievances and protests against their position in the caste hierarchy. So far these protests have been mild and verbal only. Perceiving the economic advantages of the traditional system, the untouchables have not yet seriously challenged the assumptions that underlie the structure of the community. However, the abolition of untouchability by law, the granting of equal shares to them in all public utility services, and protests against the traditional system by the more vocal and assertive untouchables have aroused some tension with regard to them in the higher castes. 'Times are changing. The untouchables were admitted to schools first, then they started travelling with us in the same railway trains and buses; and now they want to draw water from our wells and eat with us in public eating-houses. The

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government is indulging them; and for vote-getting the political parties are spoiling them. If things go on like this, in the future these low castes will want to marry our daughters and sisters,' remarked a Reddi agriculturist. Those standing nearby nodded their assent. The above remark is illustrative of the general attitude of 'responsible' persons in the higher castes.

EDUCATED VERSUS UNEDUCATED

Adverse comments are frequently heard from the educated and uneducated people against each other. The uneducated especially have some stereotypes regarding the educated; and the latter often express derogatory opinions about the illiterate members of the community.

Remarks echoing the following opinions and sentiments are commonly heard from the uneducated people: 'What use is education to us? After four years at the school all that our children learn is to hold a pen in their hands. What we really want them to learn is the holding of the plough firmly.' 'By learning to read a couple of books at the school the youngsters begin to think that they have in their skulls all the knowledge and learning in the world. They scoff at their parents, belittle the experience of the elders, and seem to think no end of themselves. Realities of life soon teach them a lesson. Sooner or later they repent and fall at the feet of the elders.' 'Everyone says, "Send your children to school; uneducated people are like animals; education makes them human beings." But what do we get out of education? Boys learn to read and write, but they forget the traditional ways. They do not want to cultivate the family land, and are ashamed of their traditional profession. They all want jobs in the city. If things go on like this what will be the future of the community?' 'The educated people excel each other in tall talk and boasting. They will drink, gamble and intrigue. There is nothing else that they can do.' 'What service do the educated people render to the community? They instigate simple illiterate people to quarrel, and later exploit the situation to their own advantage.' 'We village people are simple. Education makes us crooked.' In substance the average attitude boils down to this: education shakes a person's belief in the traditional ways and creates in turn new desires and ambitions; these factors operating simultaneously make the educated persons misfits in the community.

On the other hand, the educated people think: 'The illiterate

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earlier in this chapter, suggests that an extrovert and sensitive people who cannot conceal their approval or disapproval and who do not suppress their immediate reactions cannot have a very peaceful and quiet life. Indeed most of the tensions are short-lived, but quarrels and conflicts are numerous and frequent. As the community is partially autonomous in several spheres of life, it is necessary for it to have an effective mechanism for the control of these conflicts.

Shamirpet, however, is only partially autonomous, for it is a part of a wider social system. The extent of caste organization is regional, and covers a very large number of villages. In several spheres of life it is the caste rather than the village that has the upper hand in controlling the behaviour of its constituents. Details of ritual connected with the life-cycle, and observance of the *mores* and norms of the caste fall in this category. Further the village is but a small unit in the national political structure of a sub-continent. Its laws are made by the State Legislature and the Union Parliament; and the law-enforcing arm of the State extends to it as effectively as it does to the rest of the country. This brings the State police and magistracy on the scene. All important breaches of law go to the civil and criminal courts. What remains of the autonomy of the village appears quite insignificant, but in actual practice relatively few cases go to caste councils, fewer to courts of law, and left to itself to control the inter-group and inter-personal relations of its members the machinery responsible for social control and justice within the village finds itself burdened with considerable work.

How is this mechanism set in motion? How does it work? Presently I shall give a few illustrative cases which will reveal the process in certain typical situations. At this stage it is necessary to point out that all cases of conflict do not go to the village council. In many cases the parties to the dispute boisterously quarrel over the issue and there the matter ends. For a few days they probably will not be on speaking terms, leave each other out of social functions and ceremonies, and continue to indulge in mutual recriminations and behind-the-back slander; but in course of time normal relations will be resumed. In other cases mediation or arbitration of the elders may be sought or may be volunteered by the elders themselves. When influential village elders notice disorderly or unbecoming behaviour on the part of someone

LIVING TOGETHER

Perhaps the fact of the matter was that Aliyabad men had obtained the favour by bribing the guards; but their excessive greed in not allowing any water into Shamirpet fields had exposed their game. Prompt official intervention checked ugly developments; and later the issue was resolved at inter-village level. But in the dispute itself the two villages had forgotten their internal differences and dissensions and each of them had acted as one body. Another instance of such concerted action and village unity is provided by the conflict between the residents of Shamirpet and eight army men from the nearby cantonment. These eight people came to the village in two army trucks and started loading their vehicles with firewood cut and stored by a resident of the village. Obviously the army men intended to take it away without payment. The owner of the house tried to check them, and in the process he was badly beaten up. In the meantime the news had reached the other village people, who came rushing to the spot armed with sticks. They did what they thought proper at the time to avenge the honour of the village. Outnumbered by the villagers, the army men returned to their camp, threatening to bring their company to destroy the entire village. Police intervened and the trouble was not allowed to develop further.

In a society resting on rigid division of the population into castes separated by strict rules governing touching, eating and drinking, sex relations and matrimony, and social distance prescribed by tradition it is essential that people realize certain limitations and accept certain conditions. Caste consciousness develops quite early in one's life and these limitations and conditions are absorbed long before maturity by all through conversation groups, play-groups and general social experience. So far there has been no attack on the general premises on which the society rests, and therefore no serious inter-group or inter-caste conflicts have arisen. The lower castes have accepted their inferior status, and while they have made efforts to improve their lot they have not openly revolted against it. In their turn the higher castes have also shown considerable adaptability, and recognizing the general social trend they have readjusted their attitudes and curbed some of the earlier excesses and injustices. They may still object to being touched by a low caste man, but they will not protest against his wearing superior clothing befitting only the upper castes.

178 The social structure of the village is basically the same
621

THE CHANGING SCENE

although with every administrative or political change in the village there were several organizational changes. The primary unit in this structure is either the elementary family (maintaining close contacts with allied families) or it is a large joint family. The head of each family is known as the 'big man'. The next unit is the caste; or in the case of the Muslims, the group sharing a common religion. Each of these groups has a hereditary caste headman who represents it in the village council. Finally, this council consists of these headmen of the different castes, three Ganadi and the headman of the village who is its presiding officer. The following tables show the significant lines of variation in social organization, with special reference to family, caste and village council:

I—FAMILY

178
596

Then	*Now*
(1) Insistence on family solidarity and cohesion.	(1) Growth of individualism.
(2) Greater attachment to the soil and settlement.	(2) Migrations more frequent.
(3) Intra-family relations governed by regard for age and kinship status.	(3) Less regard for these traditional principles.

II—CASTE

178
564

Then	*Now*
(1) Occupational specialization on the basis of caste.	(1) Caste no longer the final and only determinant of occupation.
(2) Prohibition on inter-dining with some equal castes and all lower castes.	(2) Rules of inter-dining less rigid.
(3) Hierarchy and permanent distance between different castes.	(3) Mild protest against social hierarchy: some modification in actual practice.

III—VILLAGE COUNCIL

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Then	*Now*
(1) Constituted on hereditary principles.	(1) Also admits people with 'achieved status'.
(2) Little outside intervention.	(2) Considerable outside pressure.
(3) Decisions generally accepted.	(3) Defiance or avoidance possible.

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In the organization of the family the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement, and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger people, especially among those who have had some education or urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an increasing scale. In making records of the biographies and general attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two steps of people emerged clearly. While the elderly and the middle-aged, mostly illiterate, complained about the inconveniences of village life, they still regarded it as the only way of life possible for *them*. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal their contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs there; and on the other it has generated disharmony and dissensions within the family causing considerable dislocation in the established principles according to which priorities and concessions went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies is not more than 10% or 15% of the total in their age-group.

The caste system in the community presents only slight variations in some directions. As before, caste still retains its endogamous character. Similarly, caste continues to be a part of, and is sanctioned by, the traditional religion. However, its occupational character has undergone some change. People are now taking to new occupations. A goldsmith has opened a tea shop. Washermen and similar other castes are accepting menial jobs in the city. These are not their traditional occupations. Besides Muslims some non-Komti Hindus have set up general shops in the village; in the traditional system only Komtis could do so. Thus people are either giving up their traditional occupations, or they are taking to occupations which by tradition belong to some other castes.

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564 178 Prohibitions on inter-dining are still there; but they have been greatly relaxed. As a general rule people observe them within the village, but ignore them when they eat in the shops or restaurants in the city. The caste system is still characterized by its traditional hierarchy, but some ineffective verbal protests can now be heard against it. Among the castes on the lower level of the agriculturist group there has been some effort made at rising in the social scale by the adoption of surnames and caste appellations traditionally belonging to the higher groups. Although it has been legally abolished by the Constitution of the Republic of India, untouchability is still practised within the village. However, untouchable children can now attend the village school. Clean castes and unclean castes both ride in the same buses. No objection is taken if untouchables now dress like respectable people of the higher castes. As the colonies of the two untouchable castes are quite separate from the main village settlement and have their own wells, there has so far been no problem of their being able to draw water from the well used by the higher castes. Untouchables certainly resent their degraded status, but they are careful not to voice their protests too loudly or too publicly for they are conscious of the advantages of silence in view of their dependent position in the economic structure of the community.

178 623 Traditionally the membership of the village council is hereditary and should be inherited by the eldest male child on the death of the father. In the case of the inheritance of the office of village headman this principle has been strictly observed. Two Ganadis inherited their office from their fathers, but an additional post of Ganadi has been created in recent years to accommodate a young man who had considerable influence over his age-group and who was creating problems in the village. From among the heads of the different castes resident within the village, eight are at present ineffective, titular members, and are represented in its deliberations by some other more vocal and assertive members of the caste. Seven other rich and influential persons are also invited to participate in the proceedings. It is said that before the Jagir period there was very little outside pressure on the village council. In the Jagir period the estate officials tried to influence it indirectly. At present government officials residing within the village discreetly pull the strings and exert pressure on the council to secure favourable decisions in certain cases in which for some

623 562 for them as in the Bombay Village Panchayat Act. As such, few women came forward to contest in the Panchayat elections.

666 **Method of Election :** Method of election was by ballot in all the major Panchayats. Even in minor Panchayats, the elections were revealed to be by ballot as in Kapileswarapuram, Kothapeta, Avidi and by show of hands in Panchayats like Bodasakurru, Yeditha and Alamuru in East Godavari. But, in the majority of minor Panchayats, election was only by show of hands.

623 **Wards and Hamlets :** Representation of members by the several wards in the Panchayat and inclusion of several neighbouring hamlets in the Panchayat jurisdiction were revealed to be the universal features in all the Panchayats surveyed, irrespective of the grade to which they belonged. This revealed, the existence of a fair representative system of Panchayat membership from the several wards and hamlets.

● 564 **Caste Composition of the Panchayats :** It was revealed to be predominantly Non-Brahmins, in every district and in every grade.

Casual Vacant Seats : Casual vacancies arising in the major or minor Panchayats were generally intimated to the District Panchayat Officer, who on receipt of information went to conduct fresh elections for the seats. But, during the course of the survey some instances came to light, where such intimations were not duly given to the District Panchayat Officer and where consequetly no fresh elections were held.

One Village-One Panchayat : This was the basis which was usually followed, but, there were also instances where joint Panchayats were found to be working well as in East Godavari and Kistna.

Supersession versus Nomination of Panchayat : Election versus nomination of the members of the Panchayats was a controversy that held the ground for a very long time in the discussions of the reform of Local Self-Government in Madras. Even in the Madras Panchayats Bill of 1941, it was contended that a nominated Panchayat was better than an elected one to eliminate friction, where there were contending parties in a village. The period of such bodies to be in power was from 1 to 3 years. This was a time when the Panchayat had to be dissolved for mal-administration and when a special officer had to be appointed for the purpose of carrying on the administration of the village. In practice, Panchayats when they proved unworkable were only superseded. They were not run by nominated members.

312 3 from the Village Panchayat and one from the Panchayatdars. Again in Kampli in Bellary and in Brahmanayeleru in Anantapur, the President of the Panchayat as well as that of the Irrigation Panchayat were the same without any detriment to the good work of either body.

[666] **Method of Election**: This was generally by show of hands and the election was always conducted by the Revenue Divisional Officer.

Term: The term of office for the members of the Irrigation Panchayat was 3 years, but for the last 13 years, there were no elections due to war and the same old bodies were in power.

[564] **Caste Composition**: The majority was always of non-Brahmins, more than of Brahmins. There was no system of reservation of seats or ex-officio membership as in the case of the Village Panchayats.

651 312 **B. Finance**: This was constisted of meagre Government grants supplemented in a few cases by the small proceeds from sale of grass, etc. The Government of Madras had made the following sanctions to the Irrigation Panchayats:

1.	Kovvada Channel	... Rs.	30-0-0
2.	Yendaganda Channel	... „	30-0-0
3.	Aya Bhimavaram Channel I.	... „	60-0-0
4.	„ „ Channel II.	... „	60-0-0
5.	Bhaskararao Channel	... „	20-0-0
6.	Cherukumilli Channel	... „	20-0-0
7.	Kampli Irrigation Panchayat in Bellary		nil.

As regards the income of the Irrigation Panchayats, they did not have any other sources than the grants of the Revenue Department annually as mentioned above; and these were inadequate. Besides these, the Panchayats got some income from the sale of grass on canal bunds, whenever that source was available, but this was possible only in the Circars and not in the Ceded Districts. The actual expenditure was generally in excess of finance and the gap was usually filled in by subscriptions voluntary and methodical. Brahmanayeleru Irrigation Panchayat in Anantpur collected at the rate of Re. 1/- per acre on wet cultivation and as. 4 per acre on dry cultivation in its area.

312 652 **C. Functions**: The income of the Irrigation Panchayats was inadequate to meet the cost of their functions which were generally the same as Bhimavaram and Cherukumilli Irrigation Panchayats, Details of expenditure for these were as below.

PART II

Actual Conditions Revealed by the Survey :

A. Structure : Selection of the sample of the Forest Panchayats was made on the same basis as that of the Village Panchayats in four categories i.e. good, moderate, unsatisfactorily and very unsatisfactorily working according to the connotation explained in the preface. (Table No. 22) 311

The Forest Panchayats were not constituted on one village one Panchayat basis, but they were constituted for a group of villages. Sometimes the Forest Panchayat was for 7 to 8 village hamlets e. g. Bayyavaram in Vizagapatam District, so with almost all the Forest Panchayats in every district.

The membership varied with the number of hamlets to be represented on the Panchayat. If number of hamlets was less and the area of the Forest Panchayat was meagre, naturally, the number of members of the Forest Panchayat was less.

The caste composition was usually cosmopolitan, i. e. 4 were Valamas, 4 were Kapus and one was Raju in Bayyavaram which was typical example. The other Forest Panchayats in other districts revealed a representation of all castes. [564]

The method of election was always by show of hands. The electorate consisted of the cattle owners. [641] [666]

There was no ex-officio membership of the Village Officials.

The ability of the Forest Panchayat and its working depended mostly on the team work of the members and their sense of responsibility, not to speak of the resources at their disposal.

B. Finance : Generally the income of the Forest Panchayats was constituted of the proceeds of the grazing fee, the sale of dead wood, fuel and quarry's stone, income from minor forest produce, bark, leaves, Tangedu, Avaram, etc. Income from sandalwood trees was generally taken by the Forest Department of the Government. Similarly income from big fuel coups was also taken away by the Government except an insufficient share given to the Forest Panchayats for meeting the cost of cutting the wood. (Table No. 23). 311 651

The grazing permits of the Forest Panchayats were usually determined according to the extent of the acreage under command of the Panchayat. The incidence per cow came usually to 3 acres. But the rate of the grazing permits varied from one Panchayat to another Forest

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CHITTOOR DISTRICT.

THETTUPALLI.

[*By E. Krishnamurthi, Christian College, Madras.*]

361 133 *Preliminary.*—Thettupalli, belonging to the Punganūr Zamindari in the Chittoor district, is situated in a valley, surrounded by some rocky, and some gently sloping hills on three sides within a radius of 1½ miles, and on the north by hills more distant. The hills are not cultivated. Some have grass, some scrub jungle, some thick forest, about ten miles away there is dense jungle with tigers. It is on the same level as the Mysore plateau, about 2,000 feet above sea-level.

162 The total population of the caste village is 149—men 43, women 43, children 63 (36 males, 27 females).

[564] Castes 11.—Brahman, Komati (Vaisya), Kapu (cultivators), Balija (cultivators), Dhoby, Karamala (Blacksmith), Boya (cultivating low caste), Yekili (low caste Muhammadan), Kummara (Potter), Muhammadan, Dommara. The Dommaras are travelling pedlars who also cultivate and manufacture country carts.

Caste.		Brahman.	Komati.	Kapu.	Balija.	Dhoby.	Karamala.	Boyas.	Yekili.	Kummara.	Muhammadans.	Dommara.
Number of families		2	2	4	4	2	1	8	1	1	2	2
Individuals ...	Males.	1	2	6	4	4	1	13	1	2	3	4
	Females	2	1	4	7	4	3	11	2	2	2	4
	Children under 12.	3	5	8	6	9	1	12	4	3	7	4
	Total ...	6	8	18	17	17	5	36	7	7	12	12
Children living under 12 ...		3	5	8	6	9	1	12	4	3	7	4
Dead		...	...	2	6*	4	...	8	2	...	4	3

* All the six belong to one family. Seven were born, of whom 6 died and the remaining one is a baby 3 months old.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

MYSORE.

GOWNIPALLE.

[*By E. Krishnamurti, Christian College, Madras.*]

361 *Preliminary.*—Gownipalle, Srinivaspur taluk, Kolar district, Mysore, is situated in a low marshy district.

133 It has no forests or even jungle—only thick under-growth. No big rivers—only a stream about a furlong from the outskirts of the village. No hills near by. But about nine miles off there is a very big hill clothed with forest and abounding in good game.

162 *Population.*—Total population of caste village 417—men 119, women 133, boys 77, girls 88; homesteads 116.

[54] *Castes.*—Brahman, Komati (traders), Dhobis, Kammala (blacksmith), Bōya and Yekili (agricultural labourers), Kummara (potters), Muhammadan, Barber, Besta (labourers), Edigi-Gandla (oil-mongers), Sāthāni (non-Brahman temple servants).

Number of families and individuals in each caste—

Caste.	Brahmans.	Komati.	Dhobi.	Bōya.	Yekili.	Kommara.	Barbers.	Besta.	Kammara.	Edigi-Gandla.	Sāthāni.	Muhammadans.
Number of families.	11	..	..	14	1	1	..	6	1	1	2	30
Males ...	16	6	6	10	..	1	..	6	1	1	2	44
Females ...	24	10	6	13	1	2	7	6	1	3	1	45
Children. { Boys ...	13	6	2	9	..	3	3	8	1	3	1	23
Children. { Girls ...	15	7	4	8	..	1	4	7	2	2	3	25
Total ...	68	29	18	40	1	7	22	27	5	9	6	137

Paracheri—Population.—Total 126—men 41, women 40, boys 20, girls 25. Number of families 31.

Statistics of births and deaths—

Year.	Population.				Total.	Births.	Deaths.				Total.
	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.			Adult males.	Adult females.	Children. Males.	Children. Females.	
1912	212	210	125	122	669	22	2	5	4	1	11
1913	192	201	111	120	624	24	25	12	6	6	50
1914	180	193	107	106	586	14	10	6	3	3	22
1915	180	174	97	113	544	26	2	2	4	1	9

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association have brought them in close contact with each other and their cultures are in certain fields inter-related, the two communities retain their own socio-religious identities. The Muslims are in a minority in the population of the village; but they are a close-knit group in socio-religious matters. All Muslims belong to the Sunni division. Among them there are no great inequalities of wealth and possession, and consequently there is, within the Muslim community, no evidence of class distinction. In matters affecting their socio-religious life they act as a separate and self-sufficient group, rarely seeking the help, assistance or advice of their Hindu neighbours. One of the remarkable characteristics of the predominantly Hindu rural society of India is that non-Hindu communities have also been influenced by the caste-hierarchy of Hinduism. Even the non-Hindu groups have had to fit somehow into the rigid framework of the caste-dominated social system; and while they have always remained outside it, never having been regarded as Hindus, they have nevertheless acquired a quasi-caste status in accordance with their general social, economic and political position. As Hyderabad was formerly ruled by a Muslim, his co-religionists had a privileged position in the affairs of the State. Their social status in the rural areas has always been more or less equal to that of the agricultural castes; although from the point of view of religion the Hindus have always regarded them as inferior. Nevertheless, a clean-caste Hindu can sit down with a Muslim, and the less orthodox can even touch them without having to take a subsequent purificatory bath.

The Hindu social system, founded on the division of society into 'castes', presents a social framework of great complexity. The traditional *varna* system, modified in the course of the evolution of Indian social polity, divides Hindu society into five major groups. The first three of these, viz. Brahmins (priests and men of learning), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors) and Vaishyas (traders) are regarded as *dvija* or 'twice born'. According to Hindu ritual only they are allowed to undergo the *upanayana* ceremony which symbolizes their spiritual re-birth and entitles them to wear the sacred thread. The fourth group is composed of numerous occupational castes who are relatively clean and are not classed as untouchables. Finally, in the fifth major group we can place all the untouchable castes. This classification is accepted by the Hindus all over India. The relative positions of the different groups,

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bad way, the elders of the allied families are expected to intervene. Scandals or dishonourable behaviour in one unit are likely to spoil the name of all the allied families, and as such tradition enjoins elders to advise, warn and even admonish the erring members. A young man given to excessive drinking, gambling or any similar vice would often be admonished by the elders of this extended family. If he cannot keep his wife under control, or if the quarrels of the two become very frequent and too public, the neighbours would convey the information to the elders of the extended family and expect them to use their initiative in putting things right. In all such cases they will be within their customary rights if they intervene. They can demand that their advice is heard and followed.

Within the family unit the eldest male is generally regarded as the head. His wife or the next senior male is given the second place. A respectful son very often describes his old widowed mother as the 'head' of the family. However, in many cases the *de facto* head of the family may be a son under whose guidance and supervision the land is cultivated or the craft or profession of the family is practised. Parents dominate the scene in their youth and early middle age. With approaching old age they gradually recede to the background. Nominally they remain the heads of the family, but their sons are left more or less free to conduct the management of the family property and profession as they like. As long as the father remains the real head of the family, the internal management of the family remains the charge of the mother. Sons are expected to obey her and the daughters-in-law are expected to carry out her instructions. Any failure or reluctance on the part of a daughter-in-law to carry out the wishes of her mother-in-law leads to constant quarrels and complications, and in many cases to ultimate separation. Between sons and daughters, as a rule, preference is shown to the former, but if the sisters have considerable seniority in age, their younger brothers are expected to respect and obey them.

In the village community of Shamirpet, which has considerable variations of caste and class, and significant differences in education and urban contacts, it is only natural to expect great variations in the family ideals and ethics of the different groups. In the themes of their idealizations, the different sections of the population show striking similarities; but in their attitudes and reactions

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to specific social situations the different levels present remarkable contrasts.

For the purposes of such comparison, the population of the village may be broadly classified into three levels:

(1) *Upper Level*: comprising the 'twice born' castes of Brahmins and Komtis; rich Reddis and Muslims; and others who have had urban contacts or education in the city.

(2) *Intermediate Level*: all ordinary agriculturists; clean occupational castes and Muslim tradesmen constitute this group, which is by far the largest in the village.

(3) *Lower Level*: all the poorer sections of the population, such as the untouchable Malas and Madigas, and semi-tribal Vaddars and Erkalas, as well as poor Muslims, can be placed in this category.

With their urban contacts and education, as well as considerations of 'respectability' befitting their class, the people on the upper level set sufficiently high standards of behaviour. The stereotyped idealizations of the other two levels of population closely resemble the ideal-patterns of the upper level.

All three levels regard solidarity, co-operation and understanding as the essential attributes of the family that may be regarded as a model for the whole community. The ideal family should work on the principle of 'one for all, and all for one.' Different members of the family should function like an organized team, and have mutual trust and understanding. Toleration, goodwill and a sense of give-and-take among its members are necessary for the well-being and prosperity of the family. On the other hand, dissensions, conflicts and lack of understanding lead a family to its downfall.

There is unanimity in all three levels that the structure of the family is founded on its recognition of four basic principles. These are:

(1) Respect for age.
(2) Respect for position in the scale of kinship.
(3) Superiority of the male.
(4) Necessity of keeping certain family matters confined to the responsible members of the family, or at the most, within the family.

Further, in all three levels the importance of compromise as a

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tool for correct ordering of intra-family relations is emphasized. Mediation and reconciliation are regarded as the best methods of getting over family difficulties; timely partition of property and separation as the next best.

The people in the upper level not only believe in these ideals, but most of them consciously strive to achieve them in actual practice. A Brahmin will lose respect in the community if he gives up these noble ways and starts imitating the 'animal-like ways' of people on the lower levels. Prosperity of the Komti traders and money-lenders can be built up only when the whole family makes a concerted effort for it. A family of substantial agriculturists can further augment its land and improve its financial status by working hard as a team. This is equally applicable to both Hindu and Muslim agriculturists. People with urban contacts and education have also an urge to rise higher; and that necessitates solidarity, co-operation and understanding within the family. Great emphasis is laid here on correct behaviour towards different members of the family according to their age and kinship status. Disagreements must be expressed through permitted ways. Abuse and foul language should not be employed in referring to or addressing the elders. Any form of physical violence against them would be unthinkable and would cause great resentment in the other members of the family. Women on this level are generally kept confined to the home. Among the Muslims they observe strict *purdah*; among the Hindus for considerations of respectability it would be improper for them to go out to work. Thus they are largely confined to their houses. They have some ornamental value; nevertheless, in the entire social setting the comparative superiority of the male is latent. Family secrets on this level are always discussed in hushed tones, and all possible efforts are made to prevent them from leaking out. When husband and wife quarrel, the angry outburst must not be heard outside the home. If the husband beats the wife, her crying should not be loud enough to attract curious sympathizers into the house. The amours and intrigues of a member of the family, if they cannot be stopped, should at least be kept secret, and efforts should be made to prevent them from developing into open scandals. Mediation or arbitration by family elders is often effective for settling disputes within these families. If the misunderstandings and consequent difficulties seem to be beyond repair, property is gracefully

829 partitioned, and separation granted to the members who want to
565 secede from the family. This is sought to be done in an orderly
593 way, and every possible effort is made to ensure that the differences within the family do not become the subject of local gossip.

When we consider the actual behaviour of the people on the intermediate level, we find that many of these ideals are very considerably diluted. The value of solidarity is understood, but the willingness to make concessions and personal sacrifices for the sake of the family is not sufficiently strong to make it really effective. Age is generally respected, but in angry outbursts abuse
[201] may be showered on parents and uncles. Unable to control his temper one may even spit at them, or throw dust at them (symbolizing their burial, and thus indirectly wishing their death), or strike them. It would probably be necessary to express some sort of an apology for this unbecoming behaviour later, but the unrepentant individual can repeat it when he is provoked again. This type of behaviour is confined to a few individuals, and is socially criticized but none the less tolerated. Here too the superiority of the male is insisted upon, but the woman also works and is not tied down to many of the shackles of respectability. She does not lose face if she is beaten by her husband semi-publicly; occasionally she hits him back. She expresses her anger or suffering by running back to her parental home. In many cases some effort is made to conceal family secrets, but when passions rise, a father and son, or two brothers, but more often a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, will openly quarrel in the courtyard or the village lanes, and in the course of the hearty exchange of abuse these secrets may be broadcast by them at the top of their voices. Family differences are discussed privately and occasionally in public as well, but even when property is divided and separation is completed, mutual bickerings and exchange of harsh words continue for several months in most cases.

829 On the lower level the 'ideals' get diluted so much that it is
593 difficult to find any traces of them in actual practice. Division of
562 property and separation at this level are so frequent as to reduce
829 the conception of family solidarity to practically a meaningless ideal. On ritual occasions, respect is shown to people on account of their age or kinship status, but in everyday life one can ignore these considerations with impunity. Although theoretically the woman is inferior, at this level she enjoys much more freedom. She

can work for wages and has considerable freedom of movement. Sexual lapses on her part are more liberally viewed. If the husband beats her, she too can beat him. If the abuses of her husband are loud, hers can be louder still. She can leave her husband and take another with comparative ease, and without any social stigma. This would permanently lower the status of persons on the upper level, and would be commented upon very adversely in the intermediate class. The family secrets are announced to the outside world by the members of the family itself in their open-air quarrels. Compromises are often made through mediation and arbitration, but may be disregarded with comparative ease after a few days.

It is probably needless to say that the above three levels are not fixed, nor are they exclusive. Modern education and other modern means of communication—especially the cinema—often infuse a spirit of romantic individualism into the youth of the upper level, who, rather than working for family solidarity, often disintegrate it. Education, urban contacts, 'disgust with rustic ways', and desire for greater respectability according to accepted social standards in some cases set in motion efforts at vertical movement in families on the lower levels.

2. INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY

HUSBAND AND WIFE

According to the traditional norms of the society a husband is expected to be an authoritarian figure whose will should always dominate the domestic scene. As the head of the household he should demand respect and obedience from his wife and children. The wife should regard him as her 'master' and should 'serve him faithfully'. It is the husband's responsibility to provide adequately for the support and maintenance of 'his dependants' and the wife's duty is to 'run the household frugally and efficiently'. In an ideal home 'all major decisions are taken by the husband in consultation with his wife and grown-up children', but the final say in all matters connected with the family is always with the husband. The husband should 'watch the activities and ways of his wife' as well as 'take care of the proper upbringing of his children'. The wife should 'serve her husband with loyalty and devotion'. The husband is 'superior'; the wife is his 'subordinate'. As a mark of the recognition of his superiority, the wife shows respect to her

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of running away to her parental home. She often expresses her anger and discontent by neglecting the children and other household activities. If things still do not improve to her satisfaction, she begins to protest loudly, which often ends in open quarrels and altercations. On the other hand, among the men the stereotype that by nature woman is faithless is widely believed, and while they admit that there are some notable exceptions, they nevertheless emphasize the necessity of vigilance on the part of the husband and other responsible members of the family. The suspicion regarding a woman is directed particularly against two things: namely, possibility of a sexual liaison with a 'lover', and that of her stealthily giving money and grain to her relatives on the paternal side. If he suspects his wife, the husband makes suggestive hints and veiled threats. When subsequent events confirm his suspicion, he voices his protests loudly. Now he administers threats of dire consequences, and as a foretaste of what would come if she does not change her ways, he may even beat his wife. If things do not change for the better even with this, the subsequent developments may indeed be very complicated. However, much depends on the personality and disposition of the husband. Rather than allowing the affair to develop into an open scandal, some husbands overlook occasional lapses of their wives; others are so jealous that they cannot forget an incident of this type even when the wives mend their ways and keep on taunting them.

In a joint family, the daughter-in-law does not have any independence unless she becomes the mother of two or three children. Until then she should not be found even speaking to her husband. Efforts at endearment, smiling or even exchanging fond glances would be enough to cause comment and would earn for the couple a reputation for being 'shameless'. The husband in such families often hears the complaints from both his mother and his wife, and leaves them to adjust their relations among themselves.

In the preceding section I have discussed the ethics and ideals of family organization on the three levels of village population. The authoritarian husband and the docile wife is the ideal of people on all three levels, but it is only on the upper level that we find them holding to the ideal in actual practice. Even there, the desire to maintain 'family prestige' and 'good name' forces the husband to overlook some of the faults and failings of the wife and

593 565 837 [586] to maintain silence about them. But if affairs cross the limits of decency, or the constant misbehaviour of the wife threatens to become the subject of public gossip, the wife receives very harsh treatment and may even be driven out of the house. If she once leaves the house, readmittance for her would be practically impossible among the people of the upper level. On the other two levels, while tempers are roused very quickly and are even expressed publicly in a violent way, the reconciliation is not difficult. Faults of the wife are often openly discussed among them, and she is ridiculed in the presence of others; but she is quite readily forgiven also, and if she does not go astray again, she soon regains her former position in the household.

593 The stereotyped attitudes of wives for husbands and of husbands for wives are common for the community—as a whole. 'A woman should not be trusted. You can never tell when and how she would slip out', say the men in a knowing manner. Others add, 'Much depends on the husband. He must control his wife properly. Once he relaxes his control, then she is practically gone for all times.' The women, on the other hand, regard all men as heartless. 'It is impossible to please a husband; to-day he likes a thing very much; to-morrow he will lose his temper over it.' 'The lot of a woman is difficult. Unlucky ones receive beatings every day; the lucky ones get them only periodically. But is there a woman whose husband never beats her?' In a philosophical vein they add, 'And why not? The man works and earns. If we do not please him he beats us. Of what use are our protests? If a bullock runs away from one owner, will not its second master yoke it to a plough and mercilessly goad it to move faster? If we leave one man and go to another, what guarantee is there that he will not treat us in the same way?'

The wife does not dominate the domestic scene, but if she is tactful she can manipulate things in such a way that her husband will rarely go against her wishes. Gradually she comes to occupy a key position within the household.

581 Finally two significant questions may be raised: what type of wives do most men want? and what type of husbands do most women want? While the ideals and likes and dislikes of individuals are bound to differ greatly on the basis of their personal equations, certain attributes are considered desirable by people from nearly all the different levels of the community. A wife should be, above

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565 Considerations of general social status also determine the natur of work to be done by an individual. For example, a man of recognized social status will not draw water from a public well, where he could be seen doing so by others. Womenfolk from such households will not be seen collecting cow-dung from the streets, nor will they do any work in the fields.

With these preliminary observations we can proceed to describe at greater length the actual division of labour in the community.

462 The following table will illustrate the traditional division of work between men and women:

Activity	*Man's work*	*Woman's work*
(1) Domestic work (daily routine and maintenance of the house)	Occasional repairs to the house	Sweeping the house every day, and keeping its surroundings clean. Throwing away the rubbish. Sprinkling water in the courtyard and in front of the main entrance. Assisting husband in repairs to the house
	Cooking during the illness or menstrual impurity of the wife (when no other woman is available). Scrubbing the utensils during wife's serious illness	Fetching water from the well. Cooking. Serving food to menfolk and children. Scrubbing the utensils. Husking paddy. Grinding grains
	Occasionally washing his own clothes	Washing her own, as well as children's and husband's clothes
	Occasionally making beds	Making beds
	May look after children	Looking after children
	Chopping firewood and bringing it home	Collecting fuel in the nearby jungle
	Killing and cutting up goats and sheep	Preparation and storage of pickles, preserves and dried vegetables
	Marketing	Marketing, especially purchase of provisions
	Climbing trees for fruit	Collecting vegetables, picking gourds and okras from the backyard garden
	Erecting and repairing the cattle-shed	Feeding the cattle. Keeping the shed clean

LEVELS OF LIVING

883 [585] themselves to work. The major responsibility rests on the adults and the middle-aged people, and here the social status of the persons concerned will determine the type of work to be done by them.

461 566 This brings us to social status as a determinant in the division of work in the community. The rich and influential people will not do anything which is regarded as humble or is otherwise classed as menial work. The men on this level generally 'plan and supervise', but the hard manual labour is done by hired labourers. They go to their fields, but only stand in a corner and instruct the servants. They will never be seen taking their plough and the bullocks to the field, or even participating in ploughing or sowing. The popular conception regarding women at this level is 'they sit in their homes loaded with gold and silver, whiling away their time chewing betel leaves and areca nuts.' However, even in these homes, women are never idle, for they have to do the cooking and look after the children. But considerations of respectability prevent them from doing several things which their counterparts in the lower strata of society regard as their normal day-to-day work. They can never be seen going to their fields, carrying headloads, drawing water from public wells, or washing clothes in public places. In fact they do not have to do any work outside their homes and are not expected to earn for the upkeep of the [562] family. The rich Muslim women observe *purdah*, i.e. they never go out of their house without a veil, and considerations of respectability demand that their sphere of activity should strictly be confined to their houses. The situation is materially different in the case of the 'well-to-do' families, but no generalizations can be made regarding this level as a unit, as the social ideals and standards of different castes differ very widely. In general, however, it may be said that the Brahmin and the Komti, being higher castes and respected people in the village, more or less follow the ideals of the rich and refrain from doing heavy manual labour as well as from all other work traditionally regarded as inferior. This is true also of the Muslims on this level who, because of their urban conceptions of middle-class respectability, think it below their dignity to do any inferior work publicly. The women from the above three groups seek to emulate the examples of the women in rich families. But in the other well-to-do families belonging to the agricultural and occupational castes notions of respectability

1 [WORKING, --ANALYST]

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Muslims

relating to work are different. Among them also, labourers are hired for heavy manual labour, such as carrying loads; but menfolk do not object to ploughing their own fields, nor avoid out-of-door work. Of course, the women mainly look after the management of their household affairs and are never expected to earn for the family's support.

The conditions on the two lower levels are more or less similar to one another. Unlike the two upper levels, the menfolk from these groups can be compelled to do government work on a nominal payment. They do most of their work with the assistance provided by the members of the family itself. Even when labourers are engaged by the 'average' people, members of the family continue to work side by side with hired men and women. On both these levels women have comparatively greater freedom. They work out of doors, assist the menfolk in their agricultural activities and crafts, and go out for marketing. Women from 'average' families work mostly in their own homes and in family fields, but during the busy agricultural season they can work for wages as well. This is not regarded as derogatory in any sense. In the poor families, on the other hand, women have to work very hard for, besides doing their quota of work in the running of the home and assisting the husband in agriculture and caste occupation, they have to accept occasional work for wages. Among some of the lower castes, women are expected to work and earn for the upkeep of the family.

4. DIET

The standard of living of a family is judged very often from the quality and quantity of its food. In describing the status and standard of a family, people generally say 'they eat well', 'they live somehow, eating the little that they can grow' or 'they live like animals, eating even wild leaves, flowers and roots'. However, the basic diet of the people consists of rice, millets, lentils, meat and fish. The difference in standards of living is judged by the quantity and kind of rice eaten, the frequency of meat intake in the diet and by the use of spices, fats and oils, jaggery and sugar in the food. Green and powdered red chillies are used by all classes of people in considerable quantities. Vegetables are grown in the backyards during the rainy season, and eaten when ready. When

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THE SETTING

361 Three miles to the north on the Hyderabad–Karimnagar road
312 there is another village, about as large as Shamirpet. It is called
578 Aliyabad. It has some rich and influential Muslim and Hindu agriculturists among its residents who share with those of Shamirpet the waters of the Shamirpet tank for irrigation purposes. This system is not very satisfactory and the two villages have numerous complaints against each other. There is a keen rivalry between the two, and every two or three years the tension and passions of the people rise to such an extent that there is danger of a breach of peace and of rioting. The residents of Shamirpet do not think much of the people of Aliyabad, and the latter heartily reciprocate their dislike.

671 People living in different villages have very few occasions on which to meet each other as a whole. There are no common ceremonies and functions in which several villages participate. To a certain extent caste ceremonies provide opportunities for inter-village meetings; but the most common meeting-places for people belonging to the nearby villages of the same area are the markets and fairs.

564 communities. Persons belonging to several different castes are [621] united by some common values and obligations in this unit. But caste as a unit of social organization cuts across the narrow boundaries of the village and extends to a fairly wide geographical region. The *varna* system or the fivefold division of Hindu society is an all-India phenomenon, but in the different geographical and linguistic regions these *varnas* are divided into numerous castes (*jati*) which are practically distinct from and independent of comparable castes in other areas. Thus in South India, in the Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu-speaking regions respectively, there are separate groups of Brahmins who constitute independent castes. There are numerous restrictions on inter-dining, and intermarriage between them is not permitted. All these groups will be designated by the generic term Brahmin; but in actual practice they are each a separate caste characterized by endogamy and [101] distinctive local traditions. It has been pointed out earlier that culturally Shamirpet lies in the area of Telangana, which is a 582 part of the larger culture-area of Andhra-desa. Most of the castes in the village confine their social intercourse to Telangana itself, a 564 few extending it to other parts of Andhra-desa. The Muslims, being 621 converts to an alien religion, are not obliged to observe this rule and can freely inter-marry with Muslim immigrants from other parts; but among them also marriage between people already having some blood ties is preferred. For Hindu castes it may be said that in actual practice a number of neighbouring villages constitute for them a quasi-independent local group within the wider regional community. In analysing one hundred and twenty family case-histories, it was found that out of three hundred and eighty marriages over 68% were confined to a group of villages (and the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad) within a radius of approximately thirty-five miles from Shamirpet; 30% to other villages within sixty miles of the village; and only 2% in still more distant villages or towns. In no case was a marital union entered into with a non-Telugu caste, even with a similar caste name and social status in another linguistic or geographical [571] area. Thus the horizontal ties of caste extend to the whole culture area, but active social relationships are generally confined to a cluster of neighbouring villages.

623 Two types of inter-village organizations deserve to be noted. They are councils of the different castes and inter-village councils.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Living Together

1. INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS

The people of Shamirpet, like the other peasants of Andhra, exercise considerable reserve in their initial dealings with outsiders. The first impression that one gets regarding their attitude is one of extreme constriction, suspiciousness and guarded behaviour. When this initial reserve is broken down, they reveal themselves in a totally different light—as emotional, communicative, and at times even boisterous. Nearly all of them have great curiosity, and are easily attracted by anything that is even slightly uncommon or unusual. Opinions are freely expressed, and all public gatherings—big or small—are rather noisy. Middle-aged and elderly people generally have a grim expression, and it is considered a mark of respectability in women if they walk with their eyes downcast. But unobtrusiveness is not regarded as a virtue, and the people freely make comments and counter-comments on all subjects with which they may or may not have any concern. There is a great tradition for argument, which can easily drift into becoming a noisy quarrel or altercation. Tempers rise easily, and abuse may be showered volubly by both sides; but differences are patched up as easily, and it is not uncommon to see two people walking together as great friends although on the previous day they may have quarrelled bitterly on some trifling issue. In their inter-personal relations the people are hypercritical and very sensitive. This leads to a perpetual attitude of fault finding. As the people do not easily let go an opportunity of commenting on and criticizing their neighbours, their relations are never very smooth and certain. However, on occasions which demand a display of good-neighbourliness and generosity people

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571 come forward very readily to help those who need it. It is common
157 to suspect others' motives; and not unusual to be always on the alert to read hidden meanings into the seemingly innocent utterances of others. Analysis of their life-histories shows that the people are not given to introspection. They are always on the defensive; but their inter-personal relations are not characterized by detachment. In their thoughts, likes and dislikes they are quite open, and all persons having even casual contacts have a fair acquaintance with one anothers' ideas and attitudes

827 It is not uncommon for people to analyse and describe the
[186] personality-traits of other inhabitants of the village as well as of
577 outsiders coming into the settlement. Positive qualities, having obvious approval, find expression in such epithets as: 'good person', 'hard-working', 'honest', 'respectable', 'well-behaved', 'intelligent', 'generous' or 'large-hearted' and 'faithful'. Epithets describing negative traits which do not meet with social approval are many and varied, and among others include: 'bad person', 'lazy', 'dishonest', 'shameless', 'mannerless', 'foolish', 'miserly', 'small-hearted', 'unfaithful', 'good-for-nothing', 'liar', 'all talk but
[521] no deeds', 'ill-tempered', etc. Analysis of such traits is firmly established in the culture-pattern, and occupies an important place in the conversation of the people when they meet in small groups.
[183] Although conformity to social norms is idealized and emphasized, when there is a breach of traditional ways the person responsible likes to confess it in confidence to someone else. Long conversations and the mutual sharing of secrets are quite frequent. However, when friendships break up the sanctity of earlier secrets is not protected by any code of honour. Within limits originality and innovation are admired; but excess and ostentation soon lead to social censure and ridicule.

827 Subjects coming under the critical eye of society are: (i)
626 breaches of traditional norms, (ii) display and exhibitionism, (iii)
577 sexuality, (iv) efforts to rise in the power hierarchy, (v) conspicuous success, and (vi) originality and 'too many new ideas'. Carrying tales and 'whispering about the doings in others' houses' go on in the community on a wide scale. It is criticized by the aggrieved persons and their sympathizers, but no one regards it as inherently bad. 'Incidents' or breaches of established norms are discussed in small conversational groups at first, and the more important ones among them gradually filter through and reach the respon-

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unmistakable appreciation. Cowardice and treachery are condemned, but people still indulge in malicious gossip and back-biting. Mutual suspicion characterizes the general nature of inter-personal relations. Two families on the road to prosperity are likely to be jealous of each other; but adversity almost never fails to bring them nearer and closer. Exercising little control over their emotions, people get excited very quickly; anger and friendship are both aroused in them with equal ease.

A study of inter-group relations will give us a better idea of the nature and quality of the attitudes that largely govern inter-personal relations in the community. For this we shall first examine the inter-caste attitudes embodied in stereotypes, and later analyse similar attitudes and opinions covering two sets of rival groups—educated and uneducated, and those with urban contacts and those without them.

INTER-CASTE ATTITUDES: SOME STEREOTYPES

Inter-caste attitudes find expression in several stereotypes which are a part of the thought patterns of the people, and find expression both in jest and banter as well as in quarrels and outbursts of anger. Among others, the following stereotypes and related anecdotes were noted in Shamirpet.

The Brahmin is 'pious from outside, but not so at heart'. He is 'tricky and calculating'. 'He instigates people, but always keeps himself in the background.'

The Komti is 'a born coward, but a shrewd business man'. 'When he says anything on oath, take it that he is telling a deliberate falsehood.' 'He spares no ingenuity to save even a counterfeit coin.' 'Gods do not penalize a Komti for telling lies, he is born to do that.' The anecdotes concerning the miserliness of the Komtis are indeed many and varied. 'If a fly falls in butter-milk, rich people will throw the butter-milk away, the poor will throw away the fly and drink the butter-milk. But the Komti squeezes out the butter-milk before throwing the fly away.' 'If a relation comes to the house of a Komti and the time of the evening meal approaches, he will think, "If this guest goes home, I shall be able to save one meal." The guest on the other hand thinks, "If I stay here a little while more, one meal will be saved at home." And a battle of wits goes on to save just one meal.' The stories of their

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truth and untruth. He is sweet when he wants us to do something for him; and coarse when the work is over.' 'The ways of city people are strange. They will go to bed even with their cousins and aunts.' 'The villager who has lived in the city for some years learns all the ways of the townspeople. He may be an insignificant menial in the city, but when he returns to the village he behaves like a big lord.'

The people with urban contacts, on the other hand, regard the village-folk as rustic and crude; and consider themselves more forward and civilized. They have an unmistakable tendency to look down upon 'these simple and uncomprehending people', make fun of their ways and occasionally exploit them by exerting undue pressure. 'These people are timid and foolish. They are afraid of anyone who can make some show of authority, and yield very easily to the pressure of officials', said a village youth when he was asked to give his opinion about his fellow villagers, who had not had the benefit of contacts with city ways.

Those who have some urban contacts are gradually coming to the fore in village leadership. They are often criticized and commented upon, but nevertheless their opinions are valued and in general the community looks to them for guidance in all situations 'where it has to face the outside world'.

2. CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND OLD AGE

This section is devoted to a brief study of the three most significant stages of life—childhood, youth and old age. While family, kin-group and caste are important units of social structure which influence the course of an individual's life-cycle, from the point of view of socialization and social control the significance of the village as a unit cannot be minimized. Apart from the family and the caste, people spend most of their time in their respective age-groups, and through this process of growing-up together, common play and participation in youth activity the people tend to have a common value—orientation and certain common basic attitudes towards life.

For the first two or three months of a child's life the mother remains almost in sole charge of it. A young mother is invariably instructed in the technique of mothercraft by an elderly female relative, but at this stage it is her responsibility to look after the

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stay at home. The middle-aged people have in effect the controlling hand in village affairs; the truly aged retire into insignificance and fade away. Some people cannot become reconciled to such retirement, having enjoyed authority and influence during their active days. They find adjustment difficult, and a life of dependence rather trying. But most people accept their position with good grace, leave active management of the home and family occupations to their sons and consequently find that their adjustment is much less difficult and inconvenient.

3. CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT

Within the village community there is an appreciable degree of inter-caste and inter-family co-operation. Earlier it has been pointed out that the social system enjoins co-operation between a number of castes in the fields of economics and ritual. Several aspects of community life depend for their smooth running on this traditional system of mutual give and take. Apart from these conventional ties which are a constituent part of the social structure, several relationships involving voluntary co-operation can be observed. The simplest type of such voluntary co-operation found between neighbours or between friendly families is the system of 'accommodating' each other in time of need. Borrowing little sums of money or small quantities of grain, cooking for a friend during her menstrual impurity or confinement, and looking after children during the short absence of the mother may be cited as examples of this type of co-operation. House building and annual roof repairs also call for the help of friendly neighbours among the peasants of average and poor economic status. Careful mental note is made of all such favours received, so that they may be returned at the appropriate time. Refusing help and returning favours inadequately are looked upon as gestures of unfriendliness or as marks of 'a small heart'. Emergency aid is rushed to friend and foe alike. In cases of serious illness, fire or other accidents it is necessary to help a fellow villager; and in all such cases aid is rarely refused. Socio-religious ceremonies, particularly marriage, and those connected with death, are also important occasions that demand co-operation and help from neighbours and fellow villagers. The burden of the household in which the ceremony is to be performed is considerably lightened because of the help

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476 given by friends and neighbours. The average and poor peasants
571 extend this co-operation to the sphere of economic activities also, particularly during weeding and harvesting their families help each other in the speedy completion of the work. Among the occupational castes, families of a specific caste-group are expected to accommodate each other during time of illness, difficulty or temporary incapacity, by lending manual or monetary assistance to them for continuing their vocational craft. Fairs and ceremonies organized by the village reveal the co-operative spirit in the community. On some such occasions, one faction or other may refuse co-operation—sometimes it may even cause obstructions and create difficulties, but on the whole it can be said that organizers have the enthusiastic support of the bulk of the community and dissidents tend to lose the sympathy of wavering camp followers. In inter-village quarrels as well as on all such occasions that demand vindicating the honour of the village, the residents of the settlement often act with spirited unison. Behind most forms of voluntary co-operation there are no social sanctions; but the general attitude of society regards them as desirable and necessary. In the words of an informant, 'Who can say that he will not require help from anyone at any time? Money can buy many things. Power too can get many things done. But there are several situations in which neither money nor power helps. When you require sympathy and help your neighbours come forward.' To quote another informant, 'To-day you are well; to-morrow you may be very seriously ill and it may not be possible for you to get a doctor. What saves your life? A cheap herbal concoction suggested by your neighbour! One can never know how and when one is going to need the help of another.' Finally to quote a third informant, 'To-day I need your help; to-morrow you may want it from me. Why do we live in a village? Why do we not live in the wilderness? Only because we cannot do without human sympathy and occasional help.' Rendering help at the time of need is of value in itself. It partially relieves the distress of the person receiving help; and gives a psychological satisfaction to the person giving it, who incidentally also gains some social prestige through it.

578 But I do not want this picture of co-operation to be too idyllic, for conflicts and tensions in the community are also numerous. The analysis of the quality of inter-personal relations in the community,

sible village elders. Few such breaches escape the attention of society, although in many of them no action may be called for by the caste or village elders. Display and ostentation are severely criticized in the community. Individuals inviting social censure for this fault are frequently nicknamed and mimicked. The behaviour of persons who have just come into wealth or a position of authority is subjected to a particularly critical scrutiny. Sexuality, in all its different aspects, provides another popular theme for gossip. Although bragging about unusual potency and sexual adventures is very common, in general the community watches and comments upon all abnormalities, particularly excessive indulgence and lack of adequate sex vigour. The comments of the group in this sphere too are merciless. Those who are on the higher rungs of the ladder of power hierarchy jealously watch their own position, and anyone casting a covetous eye on a position of influence at once becomes the target of the criticism of several pressure groups in the community. People attaining conspicuous success are invariably the subject of malicious criticism. Their actions and speech are closely watched, and later commented upon. Opportunities for taunting them are eagerly sought, and indirect references to their humble origin are frequently made. Finally, persons having too many novel and original ideas also invite the criticism of society. While people are unsparing in their comments, they are very much reserved in their praise.

Anger is freely expressed. Loud shouting, use of foul language, and occasional physical violence are the principal channels for the expression of aggressiveness. Sentiments of love and friendship too are publicly expressed; the only exception in this case being the suppression of all sentiments suggesting sexual intimacy.

Concepts of 'manliness' and 'defending the honour' play a significant part in governing inter-personal relations within the community. It is not manly to beat anyone who is too young, too aged, weak or infirm. On the contrary, a fight between equals is always considered fair; although it may necessitate action on the part of village elders. Notions of personal and family prestige differ in different castes, as well as at different income levels. Any challenge to personal prestige or family honour is bound to arouse a violent reaction.

Truth and straightforwardness are acclaimed as social ideals; but intelligent and ingenious ways of deception too receive

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admiration of their age-group. For the girls it is a rather difficult period, as they have to find a middle way between the dictates of their romantic impulses and the fear of the social censure that comes to all wayward girls. Adolescent boys divide their time more or less equally between 'learning to do things' with their parents and being with their playmates. Childish games in the dust are now replaced by more vigorous country sport. Within the age-group itself thoughts and efforts in the domain of sex come to occupy a very important place. Masturbation is now regarded as 'unmanly' and gradually given up. Lying with other boys is also looked down upon. Efforts are made to attract younger girls for first experimentation in heterosexual love. Far more than these actual experiments, fantasies occupy an important place in their thoughts and conversation. Imaginary affairs with a woman believed to be of easy virtue—or with a completely fictitious character from a distant village—are vividly and elaborately described. Growth of the pubic hair and genital organs is closely watched and compared. In this way they slowly reach their youth when talks for their marriage are opened. On marriage they acquire a new social status.

After marriage the young men and women have to give considerable attention to their economic pursuits and crafts, and as such they have relatively little time left for group activity. Yet, their leisure and time are generally spent in the company of persons belonging more or less to the same age-group, who constitute 'a set of friends'. Important activities of these groups include loafing, playing card games, gossip and conversation. They may even go to the city together; and always act in unison when planning mischief. Confidences are exchanged within these groups; and people often narrate to each other their recent exploits. One of the favourite themes is boasting regarding success in sexual adventures. Success—real or imaginary—with an adolescent girl is vividly described within this narrow circle. Graphic and vivid details are always added to make the account more colourful. 'It was her very first experience. Oh, there was so much blood. I did not know whether to pacify her or to concentrate on the act', one would say. This would start a chain in which all others would narrate their parallel experiences—many of which would be slightly modified editions of often-told tales. The *motif* of a girl being frightened by the largeness of a man's organ also

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572 keeps on repeating itself. Some young men introduce a note of
831 slight sadism when they talk of their 'forcing-in' acts against
521 unwilling partners. General comments about the goings on in the village are an important item in the activities of these groups. The latest scandals are discussed and spread to the rest of the community in one or other of these groups. Women are classified into sexual categories, such as 'the easy' type, 'invite you and later say "no"' type, 'the wrestler' type and 'the hollow'. Code words are employed to describe different persons. Peculiarities and weaknesses of men are also noted and commented upon. Domestic duties do not leave much leisure to young married women. Consequently they cannot plan any group activity. But they too can exchange views, and discuss the latest affairs and developments while they wait near the well for their turn to draw water or when they go out for washing the clothes and bathing.

575 Middle-aged people have their own groups. These are informal
521 conversational gatherings; but their membership and attendance is nearly fixed. Groups of men and women meet separately; although two or three women in the village are privileged and have access to some of the men's groups. The village has twelve to fourteen men's groups, out of which three are politically and socially influential and important. In practically each quarter of the village there are one or two groups of elderly women. While the membership of the men's groups remains fairly stationary, that of the women's groups changes very often, varying according to recent quarrels or patching up of past differences. Most of the men's groups are formed round some central, politically influential figure. Gossip and politics appear to be their most important functions. Day to day developments in the village are discussed, and often the line to be taken in the central village council is worked out here long before the council's session. All these groups consist of two kinds of members—'regulars', whose loyalty and affiliation are not in doubt; and 'occasionals', whose affiliations are shaky, but who turn up periodically out of curiosity or with a definite
[626] purpose. These groups play a significant part in managing the affairs of the village, for their comments circulating in the village by word of mouth set the pace and direction for further action by
575 the community in most matters. It should be added here that these groups comprise mostly the middle-aged people. While some ambitious young men seek to attend them, the aged generally

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to be organized by the village community as a whole. If smallpox, cholera or plague is reported in any nearby village or from Shamirpet itself, it has to fix the day on which the whole village shall perform religious worship in order to ward off the epidemic. It fixes the contribution which should be made by the different families to any communal undertaking. In any undertaking concerning the village as a whole the initiative often comes from the *panchayat*. For example, if a temple or shrine has to be constructed or a tank or well has to be repaired, the matter would be placed before the *panchayat*. This body would plan the measure and then proceed to fix all the details. It will determine the amount of the contributions to be raised, and collect it from each family. If it is necessary to approach the government for financial help in the matter, the *panchayat* would first thoroughly analyse the subject and examine all the possibilities. Only after such a discussion would it determine the precise steps to be taken. Similarly, if a complaint has to be made against any government official, the matter is first discussed by the *panchayat*.

In the village community there are several groups and factions; the various cliques often hold divergent views. However, at the meetings of the *panchayat* the minority almost always yields to the majority—mostly without any grumbling. But once the *panchayat* has risen a protégé of the dissenting clique may be instigated to defy the decisions of the council. With the emergence of several factions within the community, and the tacit encouragement given by some of the minority groups to certain offenders to ignore its decisions, the authority of the *panchayat* has been slightly weakened. In consequence, even when the *panchayat* has heard them and given its verdict, some cases drag on in a state of indecision. From time to time they come up for reconsideration, but two or three years often elapse before a final decision is made. Some long-drawn-out cases are decided by the active intervention of the Revenue or Police officials. But such cases are few. Only a comparatively rich person can defy the *panchayat*, for unless he is able to bribe one of the minority cliques, he cannot enlist their sympathy and support in the lengthy proceedings. In most of the ordinary cases the decision of the *panchayat* is binding and final.

It has been pointed out that the *panchayat* includes all the headmen of the different caste-groups as well as of the Muslim community. These headmen do not merely represent their respective

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it is used for the growing of vegetables, specially fruit-bearing creepers, and throughout the year it is used by the household fowls. Similarly, in most of these houses the cattle-shed is very close to the main living-room. Hardly half a dozen houses in the village have latrines; the majority of the people go out into the fields or behind the rocks for answering the call of nature. Notwithstanding some variety, the decorative designs found on all the houses follow a generally established pattern. The floors are swept twice every day in almost all the houses. The mud floor is periodically smeared with cow-dung mixed with water and the walls are washed annually with lime or coloured earth. Grain and provisions are stored in large receptacles made either by the potter and well burnt to a vermilion red or by the Erkala in their traditional styles of basket-work.

All the houses in Shamirpet can be classed into one of these three types. The Gudse-type huts of the Erkalas are, however, a class by themselves. These small, circular huts, made from sheets of weed-matting, are about twenty feet in diameter and are often only six feet high. The interior is unpartitioned and serves as bedroom, dining-room, living-room and kitchen. Pigs and poultry are housed in similar but smaller round huts built in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling-hut.

From time to time groups of families belonging to the nomadic castes come to the village. These have their low, portable huts, which are mostly made of folding bamboo screens. Almost every month some group belonging to this category makes its appearance in Shamirpet and after a stay of a week or so moves off with its huts, dogs and pigs.

5. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHAMIRPET

The nearness of Shamirpet to the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad has been mentioned. People holding small government posts or having urban relations make periodic visits to the city. Others, especially young men, cycle down to Secundrabad or Hyderabad to visit the cinema or to look at the shops.

In the broad social sense, however, Shamirpet's more intimate ties are with the villages in the neighbourhood. In the events and developments of these villages the people of Shamirpet are very keenly interested. The hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli are

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621 in fact entered as parts of the village of Shamirpet in government records, and in a sense they are; nevertheless, on a restricted scale 623 they enjoy considerable autonomy. The elders of the hamlets try, as far as possible, to decide the hamlet's minor disputes without referring them either to the headman or to the village council of Shamirpet. They say, 'We are poor inhabitants of a small hamlet. Our resources are limited. The people of Shamirpet are prosperous; they have adopted the ways of the city. If we refer our cases to them, they will impose such fines that our necks will break.' Yet there are many cases in which one of the disputing parties, dissatisfied with the judgement of the elders and possessing the necessary financial resources or influential support, will refer the case to the Shamirpet village council. In all such cases one or two elders and influential people from the hamlet in question are summoned to attend the proceedings of the village council at Shamirpet. Similarly, for all the ceremonies organized jointly by the people of Shamirpet as a whole it is customary to send invitations to Babugura and Upparpalli and it is expected that they will be represented by at least some of the village elders. [631] When the people of the village as a whole are summoned on government business to the district or subdivisional headquarters, the residents of the two hamlets have also to accompany the people of Shamirpet, for all the three settlements are, according to government records, 621 component units of one village. However, the distance between Shamirpet and the two hamlets is an effective barrier to the pursuance of a common social life. And from this point of view the two hamlets are as independent as two self-contained small villages.

361 The area surrounding Shamirpet is quite densely populated. It ●574 is not unusual to find a village or a small hamlet every three to six [illegible] and Shamirpet is surrounded by a number of villages, some large and others small. With most of these, Shamirpet, as a village, has very little to do. However, individual residents remain in constant touch with friends and relations in the surrounding villages. Ceremonies connected with the major crises of life, i.e. birth, marriage and death, often take people out of Shamirpet to the neighbouring villages, or bring people from there 564 into Shamirpet. For a more or less well-defined block of villages the different castes have their respective caste councils, to which matters concerning the caste only are taken.

572 keeps on repeating itself. Some young men introduce a note of
831 slight sadism when they talk of their 'forcing-in' acts against
521 unwilling partners. General comments about the goings on in the village are an important item in the activities of these groups. The latest scandals are discussed and spread to the rest of the community in one or other of these groups. Women are classified into sexual categories, such as 'the easy' type, 'invite you and later say "no"' type, 'the wrestler' type and 'the hollow'. Code words are employed to describe different persons. Peculiarities and weaknesses of men are also noted and commented upon. Domestic duties do not leave much leisure to young married women. Consequently they cannot plan any group activity. But they too can exchange views, and discuss the latest affairs and developments while they wait near the well for their turn to draw water or when they go out for washing the clothes and bathing.

575 Middle-aged people have their own groups. These are informal
521 conversational gatherings; but their membership and attendance is nearly fixed. Groups of men and women meet separately; although two or three women in the village are privileged and have access to some of the men's groups. The village has twelve to fourteen men's groups, out of which three are politically and socially influential and important. In practically each quarter of the village there are one or two groups of elderly women. While the membership of the men's groups remains fairly stationary, that of the women's groups changes very often, varying according to recent quarrels or patching up of past differences. Most of the men's groups are formed round some central, politically influential figure. Gossip and politics appear to be their most important functions. Day to day developments in the village are discussed, and often the line to be taken in the central village council is worked out here long before the council's session. All these groups consist of two kinds of members—'regulars', whose loyalty and affiliation are not in doubt; and 'occasionals', whose affiliations are shaky, but who turn up periodically out of curiosity or with a definite
[626] purpose. These groups play a significant part in managing the affairs of the village, for their comments circulating in the village by word of mouth set the pace and direction for further action by
575 the community in most matters. It should be added here that these groups comprise mostly the middle-aged people. While some ambitious young men seek to attend them, the aged generally

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stay at home. The middle-aged people have in effect the controlling hand in village affairs; the truly aged retire into insignificance and fade away. Some people cannot become reconciled to such retirement, having enjoyed authority and influence during their active days. They find adjustment difficult, and a life of dependence rather trying. But most people accept their position with good grace, leave active management of the home and family occupations to their sons and consequently find that their adjustment is much less difficult and inconvenient.

3. CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT

Within the village community there is an appreciable degree of inter-caste and inter-family co-operation. Earlier it has been pointed out that the social system enjoins co-operation between a number of castes in the fields of economics and ritual. Several aspects of community life depend for their smooth running on this traditional system of mutual give and take. Apart from these conventional ties which are a constituent part of the social structure, several relationships involving voluntary co-operation can be observed. The simplest type of such voluntary co-operation found between neighbours or between friendly families is the system of 'accommodating' each other in time of need. Borrowing little sums of money or small quantities of grain, cooking for a friend during her menstrual impurity or confinement, and looking after children during the short absence of the mother may be cited as examples of this type of co-operation. House building and annual roof repairs also call for the help of friendly neighbours among the peasants of average and poor economic status. Careful mental note is made of all such favours received, so that they may be returned at the appropriate time. Refusing help and returning favours inadequately are looked upon as gestures of unfriendliness or as marks of 'a small heart'. Emergency aid is rushed to friend and foe alike. In cases of serious illness, fire or other accidents it is necessary to help a fellow villager; and in all such cases aid is rarely refused. Socio-religious ceremonies, particularly marriage, and those connected with death, are also important occasions that demand co-operation and help from neighbours and fellow villagers. The burden of the household in which the ceremony is to be performed is considerably lightened because of the help

come forward very readily to help those who need it. It is common to suspect others' motives; and not unusual to be always on the alert to read hidden meanings into the seemingly innocent utterances of others. Analysis of their life-histories shows that the people are not given to introspection. They are always on the defensive; but their inter-personal relations are not characterized by detachment. In their thoughts, likes and dislikes they are quite open, and all persons having even casual contacts have a fair acquaintance with one anothers' ideas and attitudes

It is not uncommon for people to analyse and describe the personality-traits of other inhabitants of the village as well as of outsiders coming into the settlement. Positive qualities, having obvious approval, find expression in such epithets as: 'good person', 'hard-working', 'honest', 'respectable', 'well-behaved', 'intelligent', 'generous' or 'large-hearted' and 'faithful'. Epithets describing negative traits which do not meet with social approval are many and varied, and among others include: 'bad person', 'lazy', 'dishonest', 'shameless', 'mannerless', 'foolish', 'miserly', 'small-hearted', 'unfaithful', 'good-for-nothing', 'liar', 'all talk but no deeds', 'ill-tempered', etc. Analysis of such traits is firmly established in the culture-pattern, and occupies an important place in the conversation of the people when they meet in small groups. Although conformity to social norms is idealized and emphasized, when there is a breach of traditional ways the person responsible likes to confess it in confidence to someone else. Long conversations and the mutual sharing of secrets are quite frequent. However, when friendships break up the sanctity of earlier secrets is not protected by any code of honour. Within limits originality and innovation are admired; but excess and ostentation soon lead to social censure and ridicule.

Subjects coming under the critical eye of society are: (i) breaches of traditional norms, (ii) display and exhibitionism, (iii) sexuality, (iv) efforts to rise in the power hierarchy, (v) conspicuous success, and (vi) originality and 'too many new ideas'. Carrying tales and 'whispering about the doings in others' houses' go on in the community on a wide scale. It is criticized by the aggrieved persons and their sympathizers, but no one regards it as inherently bad. 'Incidents' or breaches of established norms are discussed in small conversational groups at first, and the more important ones among them gradually filter through and reach the respon-

sible village elders. Few such breaches escape the attention of society, although in many of them no action may be called for by the caste or village elders. Display and ostentation are severely criticized in the community. Individuals inviting social censure for this fault are frequently nicknamed and mimicked. The behaviour of persons who have just come into wealth or a position of authority is subjected to a particularly critical scrutiny. Sexuality, in all its different aspects, provides another popular theme for gossip. Although bragging about unusual potency and sexual adventures is very common, in general the community watches and comments upon all abnormalities, particularly excessive indulgence and lack of adequate sex vigour. The comments of the group in this sphere too are merciless. Those who are on the higher rungs of the ladder of power hierarchy jealously watch their own position, and anyone casting a covetous eye on a position of influence at once becomes the target of the criticism of several pressure groups in the community. People attaining conspicuous success are invariably the subject of malicious criticism. Their actions and speech are closely watched and later commented upon. Opportunities for taunting them are eagerly sought, and indirect references to their humble origin are frequently made. Finally, persons having too many novel and original ideas also invite the criticism of society. While people are unsparing in their comments, they are very much reserved in their praise.

Anger is freely expressed. Loud shouting, use of foul language, and occasional physical violence are the principal channels for the expression of aggressiveness. Sentiments of love and friendship too are publicly expressed; the only exception in this case being the suppression of all sentiments suggesting sexual intimacy.

Concepts of 'manliness' and 'defending the honour' play a significant part in governing inter-personal relations within the community. It is not manly to beat anyone who is too young, too aged, weak or infirm. On the contrary, a fight between equals is always considered fair; although it may necessitate action on the part of village elders. Notions of personal and family prestige differ in different castes, as well as at different income levels. Any challenge to personal prestige or family honour is bound to arouse a violent reaction.

Truth and straightforwardness are acclaimed as social ideals; but intelligent and ingenious ways of deception too receive

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577 unmistakable appreciation. Cowardice and treachery are condemned, but people still indulge in malicious gossip and back-
152 biting. Mutual suspicion characterizes the general nature of inter-personal relations. Two families on the road to prosperity are likely to be jealous of each other; but adversity almost never fails to bring them nearer and closer. Exercising little control over their emotions, people get excited very quickly; anger and friendship are both aroused in them with equal ease.

571 A study of inter-group relations will give us a better idea of the nature and quality of the attitudes that largely govern inter-personal relations in the community. For this we shall first examine the inter-caste attitudes embodied in stereotypes, and later analyse similar attitudes and opinions covering two sets of rival groups—educated and uneducated, and those with urban contacts and those without them.

564 INTER-CASTE ATTITUDES: SOME STEREOTYPES

186 Inter-caste attitudes find expression in several stereotypes which [522] are a part of the thought patterns of the people, and find expression both in jest and banter as well as in quarrels and outbursts of anger. Among others, the following stereotypes and related anecdotes were noted in Shamirpet.

The Brahmin is 'pious from outside, but not so at heart'. He is 'tricky and calculating'. 'He instigates people, but always keeps himself in the background.'

The Komti is 'a born coward, but a shrewd business man'. 'When he says anything on oath, take it that he is telling a deliberate falsehood.' 'He spares no ingenuity to save even a counterfeit coin.' 'Gods do not penalize a Komti for telling lies, he is born to do that.' The anecdotes concerning the miserliness of the Komtis are indeed many and varied. 'If a fly falls in butter-milk, rich people will throw the butter-milk away, the poor will throw away the fly and drink the butter-milk. But the Komti squeezes out the butter-milk before throwing the fly away.' 'If a relation comes to the house of a Komti and the time of the evening meal approaches, he will think, "If this guest goes home, I shall be able to save one meal." The guest on the other hand thinks, "If I stay here a little while more, one meal will be saved at home." And a battle of wits goes on to save just one meal.' The stories of their

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THE SETTING

361 Three miles to the north on the Hyderabad–Karimnagar road
312 there is another village, about as large as Shamirpet. It is called
678 Aliyabad. It has some rich and influential Muslim and Hindu agriculturists among its residents who share with those of Shamirpet the waters of the Shamirpet tank for irrigation purposes. This system is not very satisfactory and the two villages have numerous complaints against each other. There is a keen rivalry between the two, and every two or three years the tension and passions of the people rise to such an extent that there is danger of a breach of peace and of rioting. The residents of Shamirpet do not think much of the people of Aliyabad, and the latter heartily reciprocate their dislike.

671 People living in different villages have very few occasions on which to meet each other as a whole. There are no common ceremonies and functions in which several villages participate. To a certain extent caste ceremonies provide opportunities for inter-village meetings; but the most common meeting-places for people belonging to the nearby villages of the same area are the markets and fairs.

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796 there the procession starts in the direction of the Hanuman shrine outside the village. The Madiga drum-beaters are at the head of the procession. At some distance from them are the Deshmukh, the Brahmin and the other elders. These are followed by the other villagers. At the shrine the Brahmin worships the *shami* leaves
796 and the goddess Durga. When the worship is over people snatch
554 the leaves. Then follows the important social act of exchange of
578 these leaves and a friendly embrace. Between castes of equal social status and between persons of equal kinship and age status within the caste itself, the exchange is on a basis of equality. For example, A will take a few leaves from B; and B will take a few from A. The two will then lock each other in an embrace for a few seconds. On the other hand, people of high caste will give some leaves to those of the low and untouchable castes; and the latter will respond by bowing down to touch the feet of the former. In the case of the untouchables this is a symbolic gesture, for they touch the earth near the feet of their superiors and not the feet. Within the caste itself the nature of this exchange is determined by the age and kinship status of the persons concerned. As a general rule elders and persons with a recognized superior status give some leaves to the juniors; and the latter, in their turn, bend down to touch the feet of their elders. On this day people are expected to forget their quarrels of the last year, and to meet each other in a spirit of friendship. In fact, many petty differences are forgotten, and several people who were hitherto not on speaking terms resume normal friendly relations again.

796 *Deepavali.* Deepavali or the 'festival of lights' is one of the most important Hindu festivals and is observed throughout Hindu India. The celebrations extend to two days—the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the dark fortnight of the month of Ashvina. On the first of these two days, known as *Narka Chaturdashi* or *Bhogi*, Hindus get up very early and have their bath. Women in the higher castes, especially among Brahmins, Komtis and Reddis, take lighted lamps on a plate and, waving them before their husbands, perform the *arati* rite otherwise reserved for gods. This has to be completed before the break of dawn. Later in the day images of gods and deities in the house are worshipped and specially cooked dishes are offered to them. In the evening a large number of little earthen lamps are lighted and arranged in front of the house; in other parts of the house, too, one or more of these lamps

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606 work, and do it to the satisfaction of the hypercritical female
607 relations. If she wants to make an impression, she must relieve the mother-in-law and other elderly and important women in the house of a part of their work by undertaking to do it herself. A mother-in-law is bound to be pleased with her if she offers to massage her feet at night. 'Good mothers' often train their daughters to take recourse to these methods for making an initial good impression on the hard-to-please mother-in-law. However, in some cases a different pattern seems to be followed. Some mothers say to their daughters, 'The more submissive you are the more your mother-in-law will make you work hard. If by mistake you do her part of the work on one day, you will find that it will become a regular part of your duty from the next day. The best way is to avoid all work which is normally to be done by someone else.' This view too is not without some truth.

606 Gradually the enthusiasm for the bride cools off as she does not
607 remain 'new' for a very long time. She is expected to pass the rest
578 of her life in this house, and as such it is necessary for her to adapt herself to its ways. Her steps are watched; her contribution to the work of the household is critically evaluated, and comments are freely made to appraise her of the views of others regarding the quality and quantity of her work. The mother-in-law and the sisters-in-law keenly observe her talk and behaviour. Does she praise her parents and their home very much? If she does, the mother-in-law or one of the sisters-in-law will unearth some scandal about them. If she praises the fields belonging to her father, or even happens to mention the good food which she ate at home, her remarks would be noticed, and in return she would be taunted, either immediately, or at a suitable occasion later. Thus if she is tactless enough to say, 'I remember the rice in our house which had such a delicate flavour', in reply she would hear something like this: 'Yes, we know. In your parental house they served you platefuls of pearls and diamonds in place of rice; in this house you get only a handful of broken rice and paddy straw.' A casual remark from the daughter-in-law about her feeling tired, may be taken to mean that she is complaining about the hard work which she is made to do. The mother-in-law would retort, 'Yes, my flower, I know you are delicate. Why? In your parents' home you had dozens of servants and you did not have to move so much as a grain of rice, and here you work from dawn to midnight. They

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ought to have married you to a prince. Why did you come to a house as poor as this?' And so it goes on. The mother-in-law and her daughters, married or unmarried, form one clique. The daughters-in-law of necessity form another, but they are divided among themselves, and have rivalry, jealousy and suspicion for one another. The pattern of inter-personal relations emerging from it is very complicated. There is always considerable back-biting and telling of tales. Alliances are formed and broken periodically. A daughter-in-law working diligently to find some favour with the mother-in-law is envied by the other daughters-in-law, who never fail to find fault with her, and always manipulate things to place the blame for anything going wrong squarely on her. In a simple and casual utterance, very often, some hidden meaning is read: on the other hand, explosive remarks are couched in simple words and very innocently made. The intrigues and jealousies among the womenfolk in a joint family are the despair of men. 'If we listen even to a fraction of the goings-on in the family, we will lose our heads', say the men. Others add philosophically, 'God has made mothers-in-law to quarrel with the wives of their sons coming to their homes. We cannot help it. Men will not remain men if they cease quarrelling; we shall all become gods!'

This is indeed a very well-established social pattern. To a mother-in-law, none of the daughters-in-law is perfect, although she may have preference for one over and above the others. From the daughters-in-law's point of view, a mother-in-law would ever remain a mother-in-law: 'Good and bad scorpions, both have the sting; the difference is that the one uses it more often than the other.'

I have already pointed out that the wives of brothers living together occasionally unite against the mother-in-law, but they too have their mutual jealousies and disputes. Husband's sisters, when they are young, are often quite friendly towards their sisters-in-law, but as they grow up they 'get wings' and start indulging in back-biting against them.

The daughter-in-law must maintain sufficient distance from her husband's father and his elder brothers. Unless it is absolutely necessary they should not speak to one another, and when it cannot be helped they must communicate in the minimum of words. Familiarity or intimate talk between them is regarded as highly improper. On the other hand, with the husband's younger

still resident in the village. Tradition emphasizes the necessity of solidarity between brothers, even if they live separately. They should stand by and support one another in the hour of need. Indeed, there are considerable misunderstandings and consequent quarrels between families, but they do co-operate and support one another when serious situations arise and call for such assistance. Those who fail to rise to the occasion and do not behave in the expected way are criticized by the community and may even be admonished publicly by the village elders. However, regarding the general tone of inter-personal relations between brothers it may be said that it is not characterized by deep sentiments and affection. Understanding is desirable, but it is believed to be rather difficult to attain. However, ties of kinship inevitably bring them close to each other on ritual occasions and in moments of distress.

OTHER RELATIVES WITHIN THE FAMILY

Brief mention may be made here of certain other categories of relatives who live together in the same house within the joint family.

Grandparents are believed to be indulgent. It is said that they 'always spoil the grandchildren'. It is remarkable that persons who have had a reputation for being very 'strict fathers' behave in an altogether different way with their grandchildren. They are lenient and friendly towards them, and indeed take a lot of interest in them. Amusing grandchildren and being in turn amused by them is one of the favourite pastimes of the grandparents. Most of the time they can be seen fondling them or carrying them about. When their parents are angry with them, young children often take shelter with their grandparents. Very few grandparents ever complain about the behaviour of the little ones, and they would rarely spank them.

An uncle must be treated like the father and an aunt like the mother. But in this relationship much depends on the age and personality of the uncle. If he is nearer in age to the children than to the father, he is regarded as a superior kind of elder brother, but if he is nearer to the father in respect of age, he is feared and respected by the children. Often the children develop their pattern of relationship with an uncle on the basis of his character and personality. 'Some uncles are friendly. They allow us considerable

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sible village elders. Few such breaches escape the attention of society, although in many of them no action may be called for by the caste or village elders. Display and ostentation are severely criticized in the community. Individuals inviting social censure for this fault are frequently nicknamed and mimicked. The behaviour of persons who have just come into wealth or a position of authority is subjected to a particularly critical scrutiny. Sexuality, in all its different aspects, provides another popular theme for gossip. Although bragging about unusual potency and sexual adventures is very common, in general the community watches and comments upon all abnormalities, particularly excessive indulgence and lack of adequate sex vigour. The comments of the group in this sphere too are merciless. Those who are on the higher rungs of the ladder of power hierarchy jealously watch their own position, and anyone casting a covetous eye on a position of influence at once becomes the target of the criticism of several pressure groups in the community. People attaining conspicuous success are invariably the subject of malicious criticism. Their actions and speech are closely watched, and later commented upon. Opportunities for taunting them are eagerly sought, and indirect references to their humble origin are frequently made. Finally, persons having too many novel and original ideas also invite the criticism of society. While people are unsparing in their comments, they are very much reserved in their praise.

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Hindus
Muslims

and then ask him to do a thing, a Madiga will never refuse. Ask him to do something in soft words and he will have a thousand excuses ready.'

Although Shamirpet has maintained, even in the worst years of communal tension, a fairly honourable record of communal harmony and the relations between the Hindu and the Muslim sections of the village population have been cordial in every sense, the two communities have some generalized notions about the inherent qualities and attributes of each other. The Hindus will say, 'The untouchables are impure, but Muslims are poisonous. If you touch a Madiga you may have to sever only the finger with which you touched him, but if you touch a Muslim you will have to cut off the arm itself.' 'The Muslims are good only in two things —they eat and copulate like beasts. Who else except a Muslim would ever think of going to bed with his uncle's daughter, who is next only to his real sister.' The Muslims are regarded as showy and ostentatious. 'A Muslim will eat stale rice inside his house, but when coming out he will apply some clarified butter to his lips. Then he will belch loudly and say, "How much fried rice and meat have I eaten to-day".' With regard to conversion to Islam the Hindus often say, 'A Hindu untouchable of yesterday becomes a Muslim to-day; and to-morrow he will start proclaiming that his forefathers lived in Arabia!' The Muslims, having for generations prided themselves as the ruling race of Hyderabad, tend to look down upon the Hindus, and make fun of their numerous gods and superstitious beliefs. On the whole the Muslims regard the other community as 'cowardly and mean'. But the recent changes in the political fortunes of the State, resulting in the end of Muslim rule, have had a sobering effect on the Muslims, and now they do not take the offensive against their Hindu neighbours, as some of them very commonly did in the period preceding the Police Action of 1948.

I have pointed out earlier that most of these stereotypes find expression in jest and banter, and occasionally in outbursts of anger. While each caste seeks to proclaim and prove its own superiority in some respect it invariably holds some generalized notions, such as those described above, about the inherent qualities of the other castes. It is believed that there can be individual exceptions to the rule, but regarding the castes themselves these stereotypes are valid. However, very few of these notions influence

578 the general tone of life in the community. Inter-group tension between Hindus and Muslims, engendered partly by political controversies in the Hyderabad State, threatened disharmony and possible breach of peace in the village in the period preceding and following the intervention of the Government of India. The recognition of the *fait accompli* in the State by the Muslims and the change in their approach and attitude towards the Hindus soon 666 established cordial relations between the two communities. At 578 the time of our investigations the Brahmin/non-Brahmin controversy, which was governing the political alignments of people within the State to a considerable extent, had its echoes in Shamirpet also. In the Telangana area, in general, it was taking the shape of an open conflict of interest between Brahmins and Reddis. In Shamirpet the individual relations between the Brahmin household and the Reddi residents of the community were very cordial; but in the discussion of general political and social questions there was a persistent anti-Brahmin feeling. Casteism was a force of no mean significance in the first general elections under the Republican Constitution, and manifested itself in such slogans as 'Reddis must solidly stand together', 'Irrespective of party considerations Reddis must vote for a Reddi candidate', or 'Non-Brahmins must unite to strike a blow to Brahmin domination'. As the interaction between the different castes in the wider political field is still in its initial stages, the pattern of group alignments has not emerged 578 very clearly. A third factor may also be mentioned here. Under 564 the influence of the social and political propaganda of the Sched- 185 uled Caste Federation, the untouchable castes have started voicing their grievances and protests against their position in the caste hierarchy. So far these protests have been mild and verbal only. Perceiving the economic advantages of the traditional system, the untouchables have not yet seriously challenged the assumptions that underlie the structure of the community. However, the abolition of untouchability by law, the granting of equal shares to them in all public utility services, and protests against the traditional system by the more vocal and assertive untouchables have aroused some tension with regard to them in the higher castes. 'Times are changing. The untouchables were admitted to schools first, then they started travelling with us in the same railway trains and buses; and now they want to draw water from our wells and eat with us in public eating-houses. The

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government is indulging them; and for vote-getting the political parties are spoiling them. If things go on like this, in the future these low castes will want to marry our daughters and sisters,' remarked a Reddi agriculturist. Those standing nearby nodded their assent. The above remark is illustrative of the general attitude of 'responsible' persons in the higher castes.

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EDUCATED VERSUS UNEDUCATED

Adverse comments are frequently heard from the educated and uneducated people against each other. The uneducated especially have some stereotypes regarding the educated; and the latter often express derogatory opinions about the illiterate members of the community.

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Remarks echoing the following opinions and sentiments are commonly heard from the uneducated people: 'What use is education to us? After four years at the school all that our children learn is to hold a pen in their hands. What we really want them to learn is the holding of the plough firmly.' 'By learning to read a couple of books at the school the youngsters begin to think that they have in their skulls all the knowledge and learning in the world. They scoff at their parents, belittle the experience of the elders, and seem to think no end of themselves. Realities of life soon teach them a lesson. Sooner or later they repent and fall at the feet of the elders.' 'Everyone says, "Send your children to school; uneducated people are like animals; education makes them human beings." But what do we get out of education? Boys learn to read and write, but they forget the traditional ways. They do not want to cultivate the family land, and are ashamed of their traditional profession. They all want jobs in the city. If things go on like this what will be the future of the community?' 'The educated people excel each other in tall talk and boasting. They will drink, gamble and intrigue. There is nothing else that they can do.' 'What service do the educated people render to the community? They instigate simple illiterate people to quarrel, and later exploit the situation to their own advantage.' 'We village people are simple. Education makes us crooked.' In substance the average attitude boils down to this: education shakes a person's belief in the traditional ways and creates in turn new desires and ambitions; these factors operating simultaneously make the educated persons misfits in the community.

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On the other hand, the educated people think: 'The illiterate

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871 578 villagers are simple, superstitious and stupid. They believe anyone. Conditions in the village will never improve so long as they dominate the scene.' 'Without education a man is like a beast.' 'As you goad a bullock, you can goad an uneducated villager.' 'Why do petty government officers harass us so much? Only because we are illiterate.'

It may be pointed out here that so far the educated section consists only of people who have attended primary or secondary village schools for four to six years. The number of these people does not exceed eighty, and from among them also many have virtually relapsed into illiteracy. With the exception of some government officials who are not a permanent part of the village population, none has so far had the advantage of modern scientific education in one of the better schools of the city, although at the time of our investigations some half a dozen boys from the village were attending higher schools. It is interesting to note that persons having education in rural vernacular schools have the same fear, suspicion and general sentiments regarding those who have modern or 'English education', as the illiterate section of the population has about those who have a background of village [555] education. Notwithstanding the popular prejudice against education of both types, its economic advantages as well as prestige value are now generally recognized. With the gradual improvement in the standards and practices of the schools more parents are now anxious to enrol their children there. Fears still persist, however, and people urge that, besides imparting literacy, the school should also equip them better for earning their livelihood.

URBAN VERSUS RURAL

369 578 The general pattern of comment regarding urban and urbanized people is the same as that of the comment of the uneducated about the educated. In the context of urbanization, or even in that of the adoption of some urban traits, supplementary opinions are often added. 'We villagers are simple-hearted; but the town people are crafty, calculating and self-centred.' 'When the relations from the city come to stay with us we receive them well, and give them the choicest share in everything. But when we happen to go to them they have difficulty even in recognizing us. And they treat us as if we were an unwelcome burden on them.' 'Never trust a town-dweller, for he never distinguishes between

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truth and untruth. He is sweet when he wants us to do something for him; and coarse when the work is over.' 'The ways of city people are strange. They will go to bed even with their cousins and aunts.' 'The villager who has lived in the city for some years learns all the ways of the townspeople. He may be an insignificant menial in the city, but when he returns to the village he behaves like a big lord.'

The people with urban contacts, on the other hand, regard the village-folk as rustic and crude; and consider themselves more forward and civilized. They have an unmistakable tendency to look down upon 'these simple and uncomprehending people', make fun of their ways and occasionally exploit them by exerting undue pressure. 'These people are timid and foolish. They are afraid of anyone who can make some show of authority, and yield very easily to the pressure of officials', said a village youth when he was asked to give his opinion about his fellow villagers, who had not had the benefit of contacts with city ways.

Those who have some urban contacts are gradually coming to the fore in village leadership. They are often criticized and commented upon, but nevertheless their opinions are valued and in general the community looks to them for guidance in all situations 'where it has to face the outside world'.

2. CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND OLD AGE

This section is devoted to a brief study of the three most significant stages of life—childhood, youth and old age. While family, kin-group and caste are important units of social structure which influence the course of an individual's life-cycle, from the point of view of socialization and social control the significance of the village as a unit cannot be minimized. Apart from the family and the caste, people spend most of their time in their respective age-groups, and through this process of growing-up together, common play and participation in youth activity the people tend to have a common value—orientation and certain common basic attitudes towards life.

For the first two or three months of a child's life the mother remains almost in sole charge of it. A young mother is invariably instructed in the technique of mothercraft by an elderly female relative, but at this stage it is her responsibility to look after the

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476 571 given by friends and neighbours. The average and poor peasants extend this co-operation to the sphere of economic activities also, particularly during weeding and harvesting their families help each other in the speedy completion of the work. Among the occupational castes, families of a specific caste-group are expected to accommodate each other during time of illness, difficulty or temporary incapacity, by lending manual or monetary assistance to them for continuing their vocational craft. Fairs and ceremonies organized by the village reveal the co-operative spirit in the community. On some such occasions, one faction or other may refuse co-operation—sometimes it may even cause obstructions and create difficulties, but on the whole it can be said that organizers have the enthusiastic support of the bulk of the community and dissidents tend to lose the sympathy of wavering camp followers. In inter-village quarrels as well as on all such occasions that demand vindicating the honour of the village, the residents of the settlement often act with spirited unison. Behind most forms of voluntary co-operation there are no social sanctions; but the general attitude of society regards them as desirable and necessary. In the words of an informant, 'Who can say that he will not require help from anyone at any time? Money can buy many things. Power too can get many things done. But there are several situations in which neither money nor power helps. When you require sympathy and help your neighbours come forward.' To quote another informant, 'To-day you are well; to-morrow you may be very seriously ill and it may not be possible for you to get a doctor. What saves your life? A cheap herbal concoction suggested by your neighbour! One can never know how and when one is going to need the help of another.' Finally to quote a third informant, 'To-day I need your help; to-morrow you may want it from me. Why do we live in a village? Why do we not live in the wilderness? Only because we cannot do without human sympathy and occasional help.' Rendering help at the time of need is of value in itself. It partially relieves the distress of the person receiving help; and gives a psychological satisfaction to the person giving it, who incidentally also gains some social prestige through it.

578 But I do not want this picture of co-operation to be too idyllic, for conflicts and tensions in the community are also numerous. The analysis of the quality of inter-personal relations in the community,

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earlier in this chapter, suggests that an extrovert and sensitive people who cannot conceal their approval or disapproval and who do not suppress their immediate reactions cannot have a very peaceful and quiet life. Indeed most of the tensions are short-lived, but quarrels and conflicts are numerous and frequent. As the community is partially autonomous in several spheres of life, it is necessary for it to have an effective mechanism for the control of these conflicts.

Shamirpet, however, is only partially autonomous, for it is a part of a wider social system. The extent of caste organization is regional, and covers a very large number of villages. In several spheres of life it is the caste rather than the village that has the upper hand in controlling the behaviour of its constituents. Details of ritual connected with the life-cycle, and observance of the *mores* and norms of the caste fall in this category. Further the village is but a small unit in the national political structure of a sub-continent. Its laws are made by the State Legislature and the Union Parliament; and the law-enforcing arm of the State extends to it as effectively as it does to the rest of the country. This brings the State police and magistracy on the scene. All important breaches of law go to the civil and criminal courts. What remains of the autonomy of the village appears quite insignificant, but in actual practice relatively few cases go to caste councils, fewer to courts of law, and left to itself to control the inter-group and inter-personal relations of its members the machinery responsible for social control and justice within the village finds itself burdened with considerable work.

How is this mechanism set in motion? How does it work? Presently I shall give a few illustrative cases which will reveal the process in certain typical situations. At this stage it is necessary to point out that all cases of conflict do not go to the village council. In many cases the parties to the dispute boisterously quarrel over the issue and there the matter ends. For a few days they probably will not be on speaking terms, leave each other out of social functions and ceremonies, and continue to indulge in mutual recriminations and behind-the-back slander; but in course of time normal relations will be resumed. In other cases mediation or arbitration of the elders may be sought or may be volunteered by the elders themselves. When influential village elders notice disorderly or unbecoming behaviour on the part of someone

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578 repeatedly they intervene, and seek to set things right by the
627 pressure of their personality. They ridicule, admonish and threaten the wrongdoer, and leave it at that. This intervention is often effective and succeeds in achieving the desired result. Disputes may be specially referred to influential and impartial elders, and thus a settlement is sought without the necessity of having to appear
692 before the village council. When these efforts fail, or when the
674 seriousness of the offence or dispute warrants it, it is taken to the headman or to one of the elders with a specific request that it be decided by the village council. On the other hand, elders may take cognizance of a serious matter and may themselves bring it to the notice of the village council. Of course all cases of murder, serious theft, and grievous bodily injury, as well as of default in payment of substantial loans are taken to the criminal and civil courts. Abduction and adultery can be referred to law courts; but generally they are taken either to the village council or to the caste council. Misconduct with a married or unmarried woman, running away with a married woman, default in fulfilling the terms and conditions of a marriage contract may similarly be referred to either or both the caste council and the village council. Of the two, whichever happens to be more powerful and effective attracts most of these marginal cases to itself. Personal disputes, minor property and land disputes, sex offences and conflicts arising out of breach of contract generally come up for hearing and decision before the village council.

695 The composition of the village council has been described earlier.[1] When cases come up for hearing before it, the proceedings are carried on with considerable dignity. Available evidence and eye-witnesses are examined. The motive for the offence, and the situation in which it was committed—particularly its immediate cause, as well as presence or absence of provocation—are also taken into account. Outwardly an attitude of objectivity and impartiality is maintained by everyone; although in reality the rival factions within the council try to tip the scale their own way so that the evidence may later be construed in such a way that it may prove advantageous to the client to whom they have already promised their support. At the time of actual decision the parties to the dispute have to withdraw, allowing the council freedom to discuss and analyse the issues involved. Divergent and often contrary opinions may be expressed by the rival factions at this stage.

1 [cf. at 116, pp. 45-6, --ANALYST]

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But when the decision is announced, it is done so in a manner that indicates unanimity among the members. Besides attempting arbitration and mediation, the village council also administers punishment when a person's guilt is proved. The nature of punishment itself differs in different categories of cases, also on the basis of persons involved in the dispute. It ranges from a simple warning to a complete social boycott; the intermediate stages being stern admonition, firm demand for apology, compensation to the aggrieved, and fining.

Absence of internal unity within the council has undermined its authority considerably. The fact that some of its members allow and encourage their protégés to defy—fully or partially—its decisions, contributes further to its growing weakness. Dissatisfied with its judgement one can always take the case to a regular court of law where the decision of the council may be reversed.

With these preliminary observations we can now proceed to examine a few illustrative cases which represent typical situations met with in the life of the community:

(1) V. R. R. and his brother B. live together. Their parents are dead, and being minor B. lives with his elder brother. V. R. R. has had elementary education. Being married into a respectable lower middle-class family in the city, and himself with some experience of urban life, V. R. R. regards himself as the leader of a band of city-influenced youth. As most of his time is spent in loafing, planning mischief, gambling, drinking and instigating people to quarrel, he cannot devote much time to the land, and consequently the financial position of the family is not satisfactory. V. R. R. adds to his income by extorting money from the villagers by offering his advice, help and support— often for unjust causes— but this money is spent almost wholly on himself. B. is now an adolescent, and is fast approaching a marriageable age. Noticing his elder brother's indifference towards him, B. approached some of the elders of his caste. His main complaints were: (*a*) V. R. R. does not spend his (B.'s) share of the land and its produce on him. (*b*) Nothing is being saved for his marriage. One day V. R. R. lost his temper over some trifling issue and scolded his younger brother. B. ran to E. D. R.—an influential man in the village, and the hereditary leader of his caste. Fearing that B. might be beaten by his elder brother, E. D. R. accompanied him to his house and asked V. R. R. to come out of the house and listen to

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him. Partly because of anger, and partly under the intoxication of his power and influence as the leader of a youth gang, he curtly remarked to E. D. R., 'Have you nothing else to do? What brings you here? Is it because of jealousy that you cannot see our welfare and prosperity and you are instigating my brother to separate from me?' This was too much even for the sedate, cool and level-headed E. D. R., who enjoys great reputation in the village for his sobriety. He lost his temper and said, 'You bastard, you seem to have developed great notions about yourself. After spending a few months in the city—and with the support of that band of rascals—you think that you can defy the authority of village elders. I shall show you what it means to be impertinent to me.' V. R. R. was still defiant, but less impolite. E. D. R. said, 'If you have the cheek to answer me back I shall make life impossible for you in the village. You have a long tongue, but if you wag it against us we shall pull it.' At this stage V. P. R.—a rival of E. D. R., who had also been approached by B. on an earlier occasion—entered the scene. But now he was on the side of E. D. R. and joined him in scolding the unrepentant V. R. R. Within a short time a small crowd gathered at the spot. Some other elders persuaded V. R. R. to apologize to the elders whom he had offended. This he did rather reluctantly. E. D. R., V. P. R. and the other elders assembled there decided that V. R. R. should give more attention to his agriculture, save at least two hundred rupees every year for the expenses of his younger brother's wedding; and after his marriage at the end of three years give him his share of land and cattle. V. R. R. agreed to do this and the crowd dispersed.

(2) E. R. is a middle-aged woman, and is counted among the colourful personalities of the village. In her day she was regarded as a local beauty and was known for a degree of laxity in morals. Now she has a sort of romantic attachment with C. M.—a local Muslim small-trader. Her husband is meek and docile; and her children ignore this affair. This particular case refers to her quarrel with her son Y., who not only abused her but added to the gravity of the offence by striking her in public. Outwardly the quarrel appeared to be an ordinary, everyday affair; but careful investigation revealed to us that the roots of the trouble lay somewhere else. The fact of the matter was that E. R. had got her son Y. married to a rather young and immature girl who happened to be her friend's daughter. Y. at this time was a grown-

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up man; but his child bride was unable to take her place as his wife for some three years more. To keep her son away from eloping with a young woman, E. R. not only tolerated but encouraged—some people say she actually brought it about—Y.'s liaison with a woman of the same caste living in the neighbourhood. For three or four years everything went on well and the relations between the mother and child were most cordial. Trouble started when Y.'s wife came to live with them. E. R. had expected that her son's amours with the other woman would end shortly. In this she was wrong. The young wife failed to win the affection of her husband, who remained deeply attached to his former mistress. E. R. could not tolerate this. She tried different methods to dissuade her son, and with every failure her relations with him were more embittered. Quarrels between them became frequent. Tired of the incessant flow of criticism and bitter remarks from her, one day Y. struck her—with fists first and later with a stick. He also perhaps pulled her hair. All this happened so suddenly, and E. R.'s husband was at the time so overcome that he found himself helpless and could not intervene in the matter. Infuriated by this E. R. ran into the street and started wailing and cursing loudly. Very soon this attracted a large crowd. Her husband tried to pacify her, but E. R. would not let him come near her. She said to him, 'You claim to be a man! Do you? You could see your son beating me in your very presence and did not lift even your little finger. For me you are dead. Go, go away—for me you are dead. Did you hear that?' Saying this she started breaking her glass bangles. This was quite serious for a Hindu woman breaks her bangles only when she is widowed. The crowd tried to pacify her. Sympathizers made efforts to find out what the matter was. For over an hour E. R. continued cursing her son and husband, spitting 'at their name' and throwing dust, signifying their burial. Then she gave a detailed and rather exaggerated account of the happenings of that evening. Three elders who were present at the spot immediately summoned the son and asked him to touch the feet of his mother and apologize to her. This he did readily, although with a sullen face. But E. R. reacted with another spurt of abuse and foul language. After a while people took them home. The gravity of the matter demanded its consideration by the full village council. Once again the son had to apologize to the mother, and in addition had to pay a small fine for his unbecoming behaviour.

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578 627 (3) This case is illustrative of some of the internal goings on in the village, and of some of the typical reactions manifested by the people.

K. was an average peasant. He had a son who lived separately in the village on account of his bad relations with his father. K.'s landholdings were modest in size, but some of his fields were quite first class. He was getting old and could not cultivate all the land by himself. Some of his relations came forward to help him, but he rejected their help. At this stage B. N.—an untouchable but influential cultivator—was ingratiating himself with K., and claimed to be his friend and well-wisher. It is said that B. N. persuaded a very influential figure in the village to lend him his helping hand in the pursuit of something which he had in mind. (It is rumoured that the influential figure agreed to lend his support in consideration of a substantial monetary gift.) After a few days it was known that K. had sold his best fields to B. N. Although the documents showed that B. N. had paid a reasonable price, it was generally believed that the amount which had actually changed hands was very small. K. had not consulted any of his relations about this deal. As if to add insult to injury, the old man had chosen an untouchable for this favour in utter disregard to the claims of his kinsfolk, and after the deal K.'s relations with them broke down completely. He went out to another village to visit some other relations, fell seriously ill and returned to Shamirpet in a very precarious condition. Everyone realized that it was his end, but his relations did not do anything for him. B. N. arranged for him to stay in a room of the village rest-house, and arranged with a shopkeeper and a young man of clean caste for the supply of rations and for the cooking of his meals. In a few days K. died.

His relations did not show any inclination to touch his corpse. When the headman sent word to them, they said 'We are not his relations. Did he ever remember us during his lifetime so that we may remember him now? He has his untouchable son who will inherit his property. Let him perform the last rites for him.' Hearing this, B. N. said, 'I am an untouchable. I cannot perform the rites. But I shall pay for them, and see that they are done in some style.' He sent for a band from the city, advanced money for necessary preparations, and with the support of the headman secured the co-operation of four clean caste unmarried youths to carry the bier. The relations took it as a challenge. They

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changed their attitude. One of their spokesmen said, 'The deceased was our seed; and not an untouchable. We may not have riches, but we shall perform his last rites.' They sent for another band, and the last rites were performed in a memorable style. K.'s son felt offended and kept himself away from the ceremonies.

(4) Robust and sturdy C. R. has several remarkable traits. Because of his personality and a rather impressive way of speaking he has considerable influence over his community and is looked upon as its leader. He is an untouchable. Some of his acts now and then disgrace his family, and bring about a temporary eclipse of his reputation. Several times he was accused of petty thefts, and once or twice fined by the village council. But when he stole a blanket and some brassware from his employer, and ran away with the wife of a neighbour, the matter was viewed very seriously. People from the village had seen him at a nearby railway station with all the three stolen things—blanket, brassware and the neighbour's wife. The theft was reported to the village council; and after some preliminary consideration the local caste group referred the elopement also to it. In the meantime news was received that C. R. was working in a sugar factory, but was anxious to return to the village. The village council came to the decision that C. R. should compensate his employer to the full value of the articles stolen, return the woman to her husband with a certain sum of money by way of compensation, and pay a fine to the council for the two offences. C. R. returned to the village, accepted the verdict of the council, but asked for a reduction in the amount of the fine. This request was granted.

(5) R. was a widow, and after the death of her husband had returned to Shamirpet to live with her mother. She was still young. In a few days she became the mistress of M. who belonged to her caste. They never lived openly as man and wife, but their relationship was well known. M. bought several expensive presents for her, and these included a silver necklace and bracelets. After about three years R. fell in love with an outsider who agreed to take her as his wife. M. did not object to this arrangement, but he insisted on having his presents back. R. was not prepared to part with them. One day when she was passing along the street in front of M.'s house, he ran towards her and started snatching the ornaments by force. R. shouted for help and people rushing to the spot separated them. The matter was reported to the headman,

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691 who convened the full council. Opinion in this case was divided, but the final verdict was that since M. had enjoyed sexual favour from the woman for three years he had no right to demand the return of the ornaments. R. married her new lover and went away to live in his village. M. was greatly dissatisfied with the decision, but there was nothing that he could do about it.

(6) D. worked in Bombay and when he returned to the village brought back with him his savings—estimated at four hundred rupees or so. He spent the money lavishly on drink and gambling. In less than a year he had squandered all his savings. Now he started ill-treating his wife. One day when the wife's father had come to take her home for a short stay, he asked her for eight annas to buy some drinks. She said that she had no money, and he beat her mercilessly. The noise attracted people to their house, and the woman's father reported the matter to the headman. The headman called some other members of the village council, and then summoned the husband and wife. He asked the wife, 'Why did you not give him the money?' The wife said, 'I did not have any with me.' She repeatedly asserted that she had no money. Thereupon her belongings were searched. This revealed that she had seven rupees. She tried to convince the council that this was her personal savings from her own earnings from the making of country cigarettes. But the Deshmukh said, 'Why did you lie before the *panchayat*? Why did you say that you had no money?' Encouraged by this turn of events in his favour the husband accused her of stealing three hundred rupees and asked her to leave him. She went away with her father to his village.

691 578 (7) L. and P. both belong to the caste of potters. Their houses stand facing each other. A tamarind tree standing midway between the two houses is a bone of contention, and over this tree there were several pitched quarrels between their families. Who has the right to its fruit? Who should sweep up the dried leaves when they fall? Who should enclose the tree within his own enclosure? Mediation of elders did not succeed in finding a satisfactory solution to the problem. The matter was reported to the village council; but there too no decision could be reached as both sides had their own supporters in nearly equal strength. Efforts at bringing about a compromise were mostly fruitless, or else agreements between the rivals were short-lived. The village council considered it time and again, but in the meantime the matter was

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reported to a government officer. For four years the matter lingered on, and the tree continued to disturb the peace of that particular living-quarter. Ultimately, at the suggestion of the government officer, the decision was given that the tree should be cut down; its wood be sold and the proceeds distributed equally between the two parties. To effect this a time-limit of a month was prescribed, after which the council was to have the liberty to dispose of the tree and thus to deprive the disputants of the proceeds.

(8) I. and S. are brothers. After their father's death they continued to live together and cultivate their land jointly for two years. Then they had some family difficulties, and had to seek the mediation of village elders. Three influential persons acceptable to both the brothers worked out the details of partition. The family land was divided into two equal parts, but one of these parts was inferior to the other. Equal division of good and inferior land between the two would have meant fragmentation of some of the tiny fields with loss to both; and so it was decided that the one who accepted the inferior land would get all the plough cattle, and the one who got the superior land would have no share in the cattle left by the father. Both the brothers were to contribute two hundred rupees each for three years for the wedding of their sister. I. chose the superior land and S. agreed to have the inferior land with the cattle. For a time the arrangement worked well. The land was still in the name of I. in the government records, because he was the elder of the two. At the time of the partition there was a tacit understanding that they would contribute equally towards the payment of land revenue. But S. had a feeling that his share should be less on account of the fact that his land was inferior. He was instigated by some people to pursue the matter further. I. would perhaps have agreed to an amicable settlement had his brother approached him; but he was annoyed to notice that he sought outside help and unjustly maligned him. Intervention of the elders failed to bring about a compromise. The village council could not come to a decision quickly, as both brothers had powerful factions supporting them. Ultimately its verdict was against S., but his advisers suggested that rather than yield to this decision he should take the matter to a civil court. At the time of our investigations the issue was still undecided and no settlement was in sight.

These examples could easily be multiplied. Failure in implementing the terms of an agreement or contract, inability to pay

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691 off small debts, serious sexual intrigues, domestic quarrels assuming serious proportions, etc., keep on coming before the village council again and again. It is very rarely that it has to take the final step of ordering the social boycott of an individual. Caste *panchayats*, on the other hand, take recourse to this weapon very often when breaches of caste convention are brought to their 688 notice. Eating with a lower caste, sex intrigue outside the caste, failure in observing injunctions attached to the status of ritual impurity, and inability to perform any major ritual are all punished by ostracism. This involves denial of social equality to the ostracized family. No one will share food or drink with it. No member of such a family will be invited to attend a socio-religious ceremony, nor will anyone accept his invitation. Its status of social equality will be restored when it performs the necessary rituals for the expiation of its offence.

578 Our investigations did not reveal the existence of any serious inter-group tensions and conflicts in the community. Just before and after the Police Action there was some Hindu-Muslim tension: in the first phase Muslims terrorized the Hindus; in the second the Hindus looted property from one Muslim house and terrorized the other Muslims generally and their ringleaders particularly. Between different castes or living-quarters of the village, within living memory, there were only two major disputes. Their details are not remembered, but it is claimed that the tension was short-lived and cordiality was established very soon between the warring sections.

578 The corporate unity of the village finds its fullest expression 621 when the inhabitants come into conflict with outsiders. The village of Aliyabad shares with Shamirpet the water from the 609 tank for the purposes of irrigation. The ratio of water supplied to Shamirpet and Aliyabad has been fixed at 5:2. Over this there are always some difficulties. One night the floodgates were opened, and the water that should have irrigated Shamirpet fields was diverted to Aliyabad fields. Next morning an organized team from Shamirpet attacked Aliyabad. There were three different theories regarding what had happened the previous night. Aliyabad people said that the guards of the floodgates had asked them to take the water under the impression that it was their turn. The guards said that being threatened with violence they allowed the Aliyabad men to divert the water to their area.

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Perhaps the fact of the matter was that Aliyabad men had obtained the favour by bribing the guards; but their excessive greed in not allowing any water into Shamirpet fields had exposed their game. Prompt official intervention checked ugly developments; and later the issue was resolved at inter-village level. But in the dispute itself the two villages had forgotten their internal differences and dissensions and each of them had acted as one body. Another instance of such concerted action and village unity is provided by the conflict between the residents of Shamirpet and eight army men from the nearby cantonment. These eight people came to the village in two army trucks and started loading their vehicles with firewood cut and stored by a resident of the village. Obviously the army men intended to take it away without payment. The owner of the house tried to check them, and in the process he was badly beaten up. In the meantime the news had reached the other village people, who came rushing to the spot armed with sticks. They did what they thought proper at the time to avenge the honour of the village. Outnumbered by the villagers, the army men returned to their camp, threatening to bring their company to destroy the entire village. Police intervened and the trouble was not allowed to develop further.

In a society resting on rigid division of the population into castes separated by strict rules governing touching, eating and drinking, sex relations and matrimony, and social distance prescribed by tradition it is essential that people realize certain limitations and accept certain conditions. Caste consciousness develops quite early in one's life and these limitations and conditions are absorbed long before maturity by all through conversation groups, playgroups and general social experience. So far there has been no attack on the general premises on which the society rests, and therefore no serious inter-group or inter-caste conflicts have arisen. The lower castes have accepted their inferior status, and while they have made efforts to improve their lot they have not openly revolted against it. In their turn the higher castes have also shown considerable adaptability, and recognizing the general social trend they have readjusted their attitudes and curbed some of the earlier excesses and injustices. They may still object to being touched by a low caste man, but they will not protest against his wearing superior clothing befitting only the upper castes.

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well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

The Police Action undertaken by the Indian Union in 1948 changed the fortune and status of the State of Hyderabad. The most significant outcome was that political power changed hands —from an extremist communal party to the people of the State. It had a profound effect on the rural areas. However, sufficient time must elapse before we can evaluate its total influence on the life of the community. But it has set in motion certain trends which are not without interest to the student of social change in peasant communities.

The first definite change is that Muslims who occupied a privileged position during the former régime now no longer do so. On account of some of their un-neighbourly acts of terrorism during the last phase of extremist Muslim rule in the State some of them had become very unpopular. Fearing retaliation by the Hindus they ran away from the village temporarily. Now they have all returned. For some time they were jeered at and ridiculed, but at the time of our study cordiality had returned to the Hindu and Muslim sections of the population.

The second noticeable change is that under the administrative reforms initiated by the new administration forced labour and forced extraction of hospitality by government officials have been prohibited. In practice they still continue on a restricted scale. Government's decision to take determined steps against bribery and corruption has been announced; but firm action still remains to be taken in this direction.

Thirdly, the abolition of feudal estates has been a big step in the direction of land reform. With the end of the Jagirdari system Shamirpet has once again come under normal district administration. Further reforms ensuring a more equitable distribution of land, fixing a maximum limit on land holding and ending the evils of absentee landlordism are under contemplation. When these plans materialize substantial changes can be expected.

Fourthly, the government has intensified its welfare and nation-building activities. The village is to have a better school in the near future. The Public Health Department is already more active. The Agriculture and Veterinary departments are making a better planned and organized effort towards the introduction

of more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

state of weight not inferior to that of many a sovereign member of UNO. 631
But large parts of it were still under practically feudal *jagirs*, and the tension [578]
between a Muslim aristocracy and bureaucracy, and the Maratha/Telugu peasantry, was a fundamental weakness. As the only notable survivor of the Muslim Mogul succession-states, it was an Islamic cultural and political outlier fatally isolated from the Islamic bases in the NW and NE. These things were obvious to the casual traveller: as one passes from the lava mesas of Maharashtra the cultural landscape changes as much as the physical. At Gulbarga, on the lava edge, the tombs of the Muslim Bahmani Sultans dominate the gently rolling country, their domes rising like giant bubbles over the flat skyline; on the station platforms the local petty bourgeoisie and bureaucracy, gathered to meet the train and always easily recognisable, no longer wore the dhoti or completely anglicised office clothes, but were clad in the long tight-fitting Muslim *sherwani* coat. But the Muslim hold was thin, and they were a minority of 12·8%. Geographically the weakness of the state was of course its separation from the sea—doubtless not accidental on the EIC's part; hence its interest in Masulipatam on the Godavari delta, linked by rail and only 60 miles from Hyderabad territory by the easy gap where the Gondwana trough breaks the En Hills.

To-day it seems possible that all the Telugu country may be united into an Andhra state, despite the great gap in economic development, and perhaps in economic interests, between the harsh and arid plateau and the paddy-plain of the Madras littoral. It would probably be difficult enough to weld together peoples of such divergent environment; but the major objection to Andhra Desa is not so much the thing in itself as the difficulty of stopping such particularisms from spreading. The detachment of Telangana from Hyderabad leaves Marathwara to be disposed of; presumably there would be a move to attach it to a Maharashtra state. This would involve in turn the creation of Karnataka for the Kanarese, and there is an important overlapping zone between the two [29], while, as we have seen, the Bombay Karnatak has important ties with Bombay. That city itself is the [192]
natural outlet for Maharashtra and is in historically Maratha country; but commercially it is also closely allied with Gujarat, and indeed Gujarati is probably the main business language of Bombay. Clearly to such separatisms there is no end territorially; they probably raise as many problems as they solve; and from an *Indian* point of view the result of creating linguistically homogeneous states might be a grave weakening of national unity. (Cf. below, 682,692).

In any case, the development of the essentially poor land of Telangana 312
will call for great capital expenditure without, perhaps, much prospect of cash returns. The future depends largely on the progress of the great

[29] Deshpande, *op. cit.*, Fig. 20 (p. 86).

Literacy: Literacy test to the members of the Panchayats was never seriously taken by the Madras Government. Only the Vice-president and the President were found to be invariably literate except in a few instances, and even there, local importance and weight of authority served as the best springs of administrative efficiency rather than the test of literacy. 212 623

The Election of the Panchayat President: This sometimes led to village disturbances and party factions, but, the remedy did not appear to get him elected by the villagers as a whole, instead of by the Panchayat. 666 578

Village Officials: The idea of associating the village officers: the Karanams and the Munsif, as the ex-officio members of the Panchayat attracted the attention of the framers of the Madras Panchayat Bill of 1941, "in order that their experience and influence may be at the disposal of the Panchayat," but, this was strongly opposed by the reformers of the Local Self Government who felt that these village officers were no longer the natural leaders, but salaried officials of the Government and hence unfit to participate in matters of village administration entrusted to a purely honorary body. Another reason that was often adduced against them was that both of them might generally be leaders of two opposing parties and their entrance into the Panchayat would simply wreck its working. 624

Executive of the Panchayat: Under the amendment of the Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government of Madras appointed executive officers to Panchayats. The executive authority had 1. to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, 2. to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers specifically imposed or conferred on the executive authority by the Act; in fact, whenever it was expressly so provided for the sanction of the Board and subject to all other restrictions, limitations and conditions hereinafter imposed, 3. to exercise the executive power, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act and 4. to be directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the Act. (Sec. 24-B of the amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act 1943). He was to carry out all the resolutions passed by the Panchayat, but this obligation was limited to legal resolutions alone. 642 647

The executive officer was the custodian of all Government Records though the President had free access to them. All the official correspondence addressed to the District Board, or the Provincial Government had to pass through the President. While

income of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 per annum, the 2nd grade with an income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 and 3rd grade with an income of upto Rs. 10,000. Panchayats with Rs. 5,000 income were classified as minor Panchayats. The first 3 were called the major Panchayats and they had executive officer, while minor Panchayats had no executive officers. 623 662

Grades of the Executive Officers: The grade of the executive officer in the 1st grade Panchayats was from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100, of 2nd grade Panchayats from Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 and of 3rd grade Panchayats from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. They were the servants of the Provincial Government working under the Local Boards. The Panchayats could not have any control over their executives. The executive officer was the chief executive of the Panchayat. He was to guide the Board in constitutional matters, put the resolutions before it for discussion and execute them according to its decision. He attended the meetings of the Panchayat, but was not allowed to vote. He was liable for transfer to any place in the Province. This meant a great hardship as the salary paid to him was too meagre to enable him to live in far off places from his native town. His pay, travelling allowance, dearness allowance and contributions to provident fund were all met by the Panchayat and the State Government paid nothing towards his maintenance. 647 [465] 625

Executive Officer and the Staff: The executive officer had under him a number of people like the sanitary inspector, the mistries, the supervisor for public works, vaccinators, compounders, midwives, bill collectors, not to speak of the clerical staff and menial staff like the scavengers, thotties, sweepers, lighters, peons, watchmen, etc. He was the appointing authority for staff beneath the clerical grade. The posts of the sanitary inspectors and overseers were advertised by him. They were to be appointed and paid by Panchayat with the approval and sanction of the District Health Officer and the District Engineer. But administratively they were subordinate to the executive officer and had to carry out the duties allotted to them by him. The sanitary inspector would have to look to matters of village sanitation, vaccination, administration of D. N. O. Licenses slaughter houses, clearance of sewage water, cleansing of gutters, cleansing of private and public latrines, etc. Similarly the overseer had to look to the execution of the public works all subject to the general supervision of the executive officer. 624 647

Executive Officers and Panchayat Boards: As a fact, the executive officers and the Panchayat Boards had a very strange relation. The executive officers were a much hated and an unhappy lot in the 647 623 578

647 623 578 Panchayat: while the Panchayat wanted to dominate them the executive officers placed themselves too high above the Panchayat and regarded themselves sometimes as fallen angels. There were several instances, where the Boards tried to harass the executive officers and the executive officers tried in return to take vengeance on them.

623 **Obligatory and Optional Functions of the Panchayats:** The administrative functions of the Panchayats were divided into two types: obligatory and optional. The obligatory functions included: public works, maintenance and construction of culverts, bridges and roads, burning and burial grounds, provision of water supply, parks, library and newspapers, lighting, public health and conservancy, slaughter houses, managements of fairs and festivals. While the optional functions were plantation of trees, provision of radio, arrangements with regard to infectious diseases, medical relief and donation, etc. Very often the funds of the Panchayats were spent to a large extent on salaries, office contingencies, dearness allowance, and travelling allowance, with little left over for discharging duties either obligatory or optional. (vide Table No. 20)

653 **Public Works**: The arrangements made by the village Panchayats for the construction and maintenance of roads, water tanks, sluices, channels and buildings constituted some of the important items of public works. In most of the villages in South India, provision of water supply and systematic arrangements with regard to maintenance of tanks and distribution of water to fields and settling of disputes arising out of it, were considered to be the functions of the village Panchayats. This was done by the contribution of communal labour according to which every resident of the community was to contribute his share to the maintenance of local public works. Employment of compulsory forced labour for execution of public works like tanks, canals, buildings and roads was a time-honoured custom in South India which continued even today.

Construction of roads and tanks was done by the employment of paid labour alone. But the Panchayats were not at liberty to undertake any work they liked. The Panchayats were generally authorised to undertake public works upto Rs. 250 without the necessity of the sanction of the higher authorities.

Some of the major Panchayats in the Circars and Nellore District had their own overseers and staff like the mistry on their establishment, paid them from their funds and got their works exe-

623 **Meetings and Attendance:** Above table brings out the nature of Panchayat meetings and its interest in administrative work. The Panchayat meetings form an index of their importance in administrative activities. Even in major Panchayats, the civic consciousness and sense of responsibility among the Panchayat members did not appear to be quite satisfactory. The attendance in most instances was hardly more than 50 per cent and in the majority, not even that much. Very often Panchayats had to carry on their transactions with a bare quorum. Instances where attendance was more than 60 per cent were rare. This was a poor index of their sense of local responsibility. To expect them in the face of these facts to become nurseries of democratic traditions and administrative experience appeared to be a very ambitious dream.

The Panchayat members should of course be given 3 clear day's notice, but, even when they got advance intimation, they rarely attended. There were instances of Panchayats in East Godavari and Anantpur Districts where meetings were not held for months and yet neither they were superseded nor any effective action was taken against them in spite of the provision of the Madras Local Boards Act.

If that was the state of affairs in the major Panchayats, the situation in minor Panchayats could not naturally be expected to be [578] better. There were usually party factions, village politics, group pressures, communal rivalries and these rent the village unity to a hundred shreds.

623 Superseded Panchayat Boards were also examined during
687 the course of the investigation. The reasons for superseding a Panchayat might be any one of the following: village factions, party politics, abstention from meetings, opposition to taxation, nepotism in appointments, misappropriation of public funds, harassing executive officers or other public servants, committing frauds, writing off the proper dues of Panchayats, allowing unauthorised exemption of taxtion, lower assessments and discriminatory policies towards favourites, leaving the taxes in large arrears without ever bothering to collect them, and several other unhappy practices by which, the running of administration of the Panchayat by the same body appeared to be pregnant with disaster. Such a Panchayat was superseded and a special officer was appointed to look after it for a period of one year.

Neither the grade of the Panchayat nor its previous record saved it from supersession, when it reached a stage of serious deterioration.

The supersession period was normally one year and sometimes one and a half years. Many of the irregular Panchayats were superseded more than once.

A few samples taken in the survey would illustrate the circumstances under which Panchayats were usually superseded. We shall review only a few cases as Tuni in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Kantaram in Kistna, Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Gooty, Dharmavaram and Gorantala in Anantapur, as instances of superseded Boards.

Tuni Panchayat in East Godavari was once superseded for its wanton neglect of taxation and collection of arrears in 1939.

	Current Demand	Arrears
	Rs.	Rs.
License Fees	...	103—0—0
House Tax	3587—4—0	138—0—0
Profession Tax	226-14-0	75-12—0
Public Scavenging Fees	302—1-0	...
Markets	38—4-0	3944-14—3
Cart Stands	1119-10-0	2224—5—0
Slaughter House	92—0-0	247—6—8
Sale of Rubbish	...	76—0—0
Total.	5266—1-0	8809—5-11

No coercive steps were ever taken by the Panchayat to collect this money. On the other hand these dues were written off without the consent the District Board. The Panchayat had also executed works of gravelling 7 roads in undue haste. Sanitation was neglected awfully. As a result the Board was superseded.

One Panchayat in West Godavari proved to be a notorious example of village factions. When the previous President of the Panchayat died, another came in his place, but the party of the dead President began to oppose every resolution. When the new one was thrown out and a member of the opposition party was elected, they in turn repeated the same thing in vengeance, and consequently no work could be done. Roads which were said to have been executed were proved as never laid down. Some of the lands acquired in the name of the Panchayat were misappropriated. Inspite of all the instructions from the Inspector of Local Boards and the District Panchayat Officer, the Panchayat refused to carry out their orders. Influential majority of population of the village exerted much pressure to see that the

623 Panchayat would not work under any circumstances. Ultimately it
578 was superseded.
687

In Kistna District there was a parallel instance. In one Panchayat three Presidents came in power in quick succession. When the President who was in office for 4 year resigned the Vice-President became the President. But he was thrown out and another was elected and during his term of office, the Panchayat was superseded. The cause of conflict was strong party factions. The difficulty was only one party in the village was returned into power while the other parties remained outside. So the members within the Panchayat tried to wreck it and ultimately the Board was superseded.

In Vizagapatam one Panchayat met on its own accord and began to cancel a resolution which it had passed permitting taxation on sugar pans, etc. Immediately when it was detected, the Board was superseded and a special officer was appointed, under whom the financial position had considerably improved.

Anantapur District had similar instances of Panchayats which were opposed to taxation, full of party factions, negligent in work and highly litigious. In one instance, the President of the Ex-Taluk Board was a member of the Panchayat and he was in the minority party. In the contest for the Presidential election for the Panchayat, the man from the majority party became successful. As the minority party wanted to pull down the party in power, they refused to pass the administration report, turned petromax lights to kerosene oil lights in the name of the public good and opposed vehemently any taxation The machine of the water pump system was spoiled. So the Inspector of Local Boards requested the Panchayat to add a surcharge of 12% to the house tax and provide themselves with this badly needed facility for which Government and District
687 Board gave donations. Yet the Board persisted in opposing for six
661 months postponing meetings for want of quorum, when it was finally superseded. Another minor Panchayat in Anantapur was superseded because the President and members under-assessed their houses and those of their relations.

These were instances of Panchayats getting annually an income of Rs. 200,000 where the engineer drew a much higher salary than the executive officer, but technically was a sub-ordinate to him.

623 The special officer who was put in charge was expected to bring about a uniform development in the administration of the Panchayat. He had powers to enforce fresh taxation, collect arrears and execute

by the Panchayat Board. This was intended to prevent nepotism and party politics in the matter of official appointments. But this change in the method of appointment alone would not attract better staff unless the existing poor salary scales of the Panchayat staff are revised for the better. 642 647

The Panchayat staff should also not be allowed to be stationary, but with a view to gaining experience, they should be transferred at least from one Panchayat to another in the same district, while the executive officer, supervisor, sanitary inspector, mistry could be made to move throughout the division which was equivalent to ⅓th area of Province as the present scales of pay do not allow them to move with comfort to longer distances. The creation of a Local Board Civil Service and recruitment of staff through the Public Service Commission by examination may prove better than leaving the appointments to the discretion of the executive officer because even he could be accused of partiality as the village Panchayats are always full of party politics. Panchayats expect the executive officer to join one side or the other and if he does not do that, make life impossible for him. His statutary position is such that he cannot stear clear of all such obligations and still be independent. While the Panchayats want them to be at their mercy, to appoint them and to dismiss them as they like; the executive officers prefer the total absence of any Panchayat control over them. They want to remain State servants, appointed, punished and dismissed only by the State. There was overwhelming evidence to support such a claim. There were instances where the executive officers had run away when they were dastardly attacked by the Panchayat members because their vested interests were touched. Another executive officer was threatened with death by a Panchayat member who raided his house at midnight, because of the higher rates he charged to his favourite hotel keeper. The executive officer in another Panchayat had to literally run away from the Panchayat Board to the Railway Station to save his life from the dangerous fury of the Panchayat members for having converted the house tax valuation from capital to rental basis. Another Panchayat sent wires to the Inspector of Local Boards and the Local Government Minister, stating that the Executive Officer had absconded with funds and a dead-lock was created in the working of the Panchayat, when he was only in a town and went there to see the District Collector. 623 [624] 578 ● 647

None of the Panchayats either major or minor were able to undertake all the obligatory and optional functions. 623

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

together on the northern and north-east sides of the village. On the northern side, but apart from the village, crowded together in irregular muddy streets of obnoxious smell are the houses of the washermen (70 houses) and the toddy-drawing class (150 in number). All are thatched with palmyra leaves. It is difficult to go into the midst of these huts because of the bad smell.

There are 271 houses in the caste village according to official information, actually 350; 125 in the paracheri.

The village is rather crowded and there is no space for gardens. There is much demand for building sites. There are extensions on the north and south sides into the fields. Some houses contain even two or three families crowded together. From Rs. 2 to 3 per square yard is paid for house-sites. Some of the cultivated land is distant 5½ miles from the home of the cultivator. A hereditary disposition to hate changes, as well as party feelings, and suspicions of inequalities, prevent the ryots from exchanging to get their land continuous. Field huts are used, but mostly for the working seasons only, and are not permanent.

Subsidiary industries.—At the time of the 1891 census there were 69 weavers; in 1901, 17; in 1911, 12; now there are only three. Foreign yarn of 10, 20 and 40 Nos. is purchased from fairs held at Nidadavolu, four miles off. The cloth woven is a very rough sort, used by the very poor classes; 75 per cent of the people prefer and use foreign goods. The implements are of the ordinary country type and of primitive nature. There is no co-operation among the weavers. They are unable to face the mill competition. As they find little demand for their goods, they are frequently forced to go away as agricultural labourers, and practise weaving only as a hobby for leisure hours. A weaver with five sons, as a rule, sends four of them to agricultural work and only one to his own industry. Till 10 years back 95 per cent of the population used to wear the village cloth. Now 75 per cent prefer and use foreign clothing. Two weaving families recently went to Rajahmundry as factory coolies. Ten years ago, many women of low castes used to practise handspinning. A little cotton was grown in the village up to 1912, but latterly it was sold for higher prices than the spinners could pay.

Economic condition of the village—Rates of wages.—Labourers are employed for the day or for the year. In the latter case Rs. 25 per annum is paid to boys and Rs. 50 per annum to men. For daily labourers the wage is three to four annas to men; 1½ to 2 annas to women; 1 to 1¼ annas to children; this may be paid in grain or money, or half in money and half in grain. The only perquisites are at harvest time. Thus for each crop, the yearly labourer receives 8 or 12 seers; on the whole 1 bag nearly. In festivals, they are given only meals and nothing more.

Current prices—		RS.	A.	P.
Paddy per bag of 166 lb.		5	8	0
Cholam	"	9	1	6
Gingelly	"	12	8	0
Red gram	"	8	6	0
Kambu	"	9	6	0
Soap nuts	"	7	8	0
Ghee, per tin...		18	0	0

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

who will swoop down on them and do them some injury; though in other villages it is supposed that a great deal of noise and flourishing of sticks will keep the evil spirits at bay. Before this procession starts, the heads of the buffaloes are placed in front of the shrine, with the right foreleg in the mouth, the fat from the entrails smeared about half an inch thick over the whole face, and a large earthen lamp on the top of each head. The Pambalas[1] play tom-toms and chant a long story about Gangamma till daybreak. About eight a.m. they put the buffalo heads with the lighted lamps upon them into separate baskets; and these are carried in procession through the town to the sound of tom-toms. All castes follow, shouting and singing. In former times, I was told, there was a good deal of fighting and disturbance during this procession, but now the police maintain order. When the procession arrives at the municipal limits, the heads are thrown over the boundary, and left there. The people then all bathe in the canal and return home.

On the last day of the festival, which, I may remark, lasts for about three months, a small cart is made of margosa wood and a stake is fixed at each of the four corners. A pig and a fowl are tied to each stake, while a fruit, called *dubakaya*, is impaled on it instead of the animal. A yellow cloth, sprinkled with the blood of the buffaloes, is tied round the sides of the cart, and some margosa leaves are tied round the cloth. A Pambala sits on the cart, to which are fastened two large ropes, each about 200 yards long. Then men of all castes, without distinction, lay hold of the ropes and drag the cart round the town to the sound of tom-toms and music. Finally it is brought outside the municipal limits and left there, the Outcastes taking away the animals and fruits.

Sometimes, I was told, animals are sacrificed to Gangamma by the people in Ellore in the courtyards of their own houses. They then clean the wall of

See p. 58 above.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

natural and necessary. Only morons and cripples remain single. Though it is rare for people to renounce their home and property in old age, old men and women excessively attached to material goods come in for a good deal of criticism, and people often remark about them, 'Will they carry their wealth with them to the other world when they die?' It is at this time that their thoughts turn more to religion and to the destiny of their souls in the future life, and it is now that they generally undertake pilgrimages to holy places. In a sense the broad essentials of the philosophy of the *ashramas* can be said to permeate the life and thought of the Hindu villagers. The village Muslims share these social attitudes with their Hindu neighbours. With conversion to Islam they have changed their religious faith, but in the socio-cultural spheres of life they still continue to have more or less the same basic attitudes as the Hindus. In their family ethics and ideals the two groups demonstrate considerable similarity.

To the village people the necessity of both marriage and family is self-evident. It is necessary that the family line should be continued. A male heir must be left. An unmarried person past the marriage age is an object of pity. A couple without a son are unhappy. Childlessness and inability to produce a male child on the part of a woman often lead to a polygynous household. Marriage is regarded as essential among all the castes and social groups in the village. In a community of 2,494 persons, demographic survey reveals the presence of only two single persons—both women. One of these is a deaf-mute; the other has been a victim of epileptic fits from her childhood and has in addition the unenviable reputation of being a thief. For the clean-caste Hindus the continuity of the family line is necessary for a further reason. A male child must make a ceremonial offering of water to the spirits of his deceased parents and ancestors, without which their souls may not have peace. The untouchable castes as well as the semi-tribal groups also have this ritual in a modified form. The Muslims neither have this belief nor any attendant ritual, but they too share with the Hindus the sentiment against childlessness.

1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

The patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint family is the normal type of family unit met with in this part of rural India.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

593 565 837 [586] to maintain silence about them. But if affairs cross the limits of decency, or the constant misbehaviour of the wife threatens to become the subject of public gossip, the wife receives very harsh treatment and may even be driven out of the house. If she once leaves the house, readmittance for her would be practically impossible among the people of the upper level. On the other two levels, while tempers are roused very quickly and are even expressed publicly in a violent way, the reconciliation is not difficult. Faults of the wife are often openly discussed among them, and she is ridiculed in the presence of others; but she is quite readily forgiven also, and if she does not go astray again, she soon regains her former position in the household.

593 The stereotyped attitudes of wives for husbands and of husbands for wives are common for the community—as a whole. 'A woman should not be trusted. You can never tell when and how she would slip out', say the men in a knowing manner. Others add, 'Much depends on the husband. He must control his wife properly. Once he relaxes his control, then she is practically gone for all times.' The women, on the other hand, regard all men as heartless. 'It is impossible to please a husband; to-day he likes a thing very much; to-morrow he will lose his temper over it.' 'The lot of a woman is difficult. Unlucky ones receive beatings every day; the lucky ones get them only periodically. But is there a woman whose husband never beats her?' In a philosophical vein they add, 'And why not? The man works and earns. If we do not please him he beats us. Of what use are our protests? If a bullock runs away from one owner, will not its second master yoke it to a plough and mercilessly goad it to move faster? If we leave one man and go to another, what guarantee is there that he will not treat us in the same way?'

The wife does not dominate the domestic scene, but if she is tactful she can manipulate things in such a way that her husband will rarely go against her wishes. Gradually she comes to occupy a key position within the household.

● 581 Finally two significant questions may be raised: what type of wives do most men want? and what type of husbands do most women want? While the ideals and likes and dislikes of individuals are bound to differ greatly on the basis of their personal equations, certain attributes are considered desirable by people from nearly all the different levels of the community. A wife should be, above

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

all, of a pleasant disposition, and should endeavour to keep her husband pleased. She must be 'tactful' and should be able to 'dissuade the husband from going the wrong way' without causing offence to him. This tact would be a valuable asset to her in organizing her general relations with the other members of the family. 'Foolish wives grumble and cry, and go on slaving for the household; the intelligent one wins over everyone by her pleasantness.' Then the wife must be a good housekeeper and a tolerable cook. Her economic virtues would ultimately earn for her the key position in the family. She must spend the money entrusted to her care very judiciously. She should save enough to buy her ornaments; and should lay aside something to meet unforeseen expenses. The more she can save without the knowledge of her husband, the more she will be appreciated by the elderly women. In sex she should not be passive, but should not be violently active either. 'We don't want a woman to be like a log of wood in the bed; but the aggressive ones definitely repel us', the men often remark. The women also comment on oversexed women who are shameless enough to cross the limits of womanly decency. Husbands do not want their wives to be fussy. The womenfolk seem to be well aware of this. In the words of one of our informants, 'If we nag too much, our words lose their value and our husbands make it a habit not to listen to whatever we say.'

Women's 'ideal' of a husband is a man who 'works hard and earns enough' to feed and keep the family in good clothes. If he can buy ornaments for the wife, he will be all the more admired. He should 'take an interest in his wife and children', and look to their comfort and welfare. While the women take it for granted that no husband is ever completely faithful to his wife, they resent their semi-permanent or permanent affiliations to a woman outside. They protest if his amours prove too expensive to the family. No woman would like her husband to earn the epithet of being 'a woman's slave', but neither do they want him to be overstrict and temperamental. The suggestion that a husband could be meek and docile appeared rather ridiculous to most women; what they seemed to like best was a firm, but friendly husband. A man not given to any excesses and possessing personality-traits which mark him out in the community in some way would certainly be an object of pride for his wife.

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113, 197, 564, 582, 614

[For information pertaining to language regions, kinship terminology and kin relationships, see 5: Karve AW1 India, category 116, pp. 230-1.]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

463 564 referred to as 'the Kapu' or agricultural castes. As this name suggests, they derive the major part of their subsistence by tilling the land, although individuals from any of these groups may engage in trade and commerce or may take up urban occupations.

In the second group we can place the following: the Brahmin (priests), the Komti (traders), the Kummari (potters) and the Golla (shepherds). The five sections of the Panch Bramha group of artisan castes, that is, the Wadla (carpenters), the Kammari (blacksmiths), the Ausula (goldsmiths), the Kase (workers in bell-metal) and the Kanchari (sculptors), also belong to this group —although they claim separate identity and are rather exclusive. The Sale (weavers), the Gaondha (toddy-tappers), the Sakali (washermen) and the Mangali (barbers) also follow their traditional occupations; and although in the hierarchy of caste organization their place is a little inferior to the castes mentioned above, they belong to the second group for the purpose of our classification. The position of the once-tribal but now largely assimilated Vaddar (stone-breakers) and the Erkala (hunters and basket-makers) is slightly different, for although they are not untouchables their position among the clean castes is the lowest.

564 There are only two untouchable or depressed castes in Shamirpet, the Mala and the Madiga. Of these two, the Malas consider themselves superior to the Madigas, by whose touch they are [641] polluted. However, it should be pointed out that the Indian constitution has abolished untouchability. The untouchable castes can draw water from the public wells and can without discrimination share the public utilities with the clean castes. Their children now freely attend the common village school. But social conservatism dies hard and legislation alone cannot overnight change the deep-rooted complexes of thought and behaviour which are the heritage of many generations of a caste-ridden social system. 582 Caste still retains its endogamous character, and traditional rules prohibit inter-dining with persons of lower castes. Thus in these two spheres at least the untouchable castes have still to confine themselves to their narrow circles. While in the cities the clean castes are no longer sensitive to the touch of a person belonging to these castes, in the countryside an untouchable still cannot approach too close to clean-caste people lest they be polluted by a chance physical contact. Some progressive-minded untouchables

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UNTOUCHABLE CASTES

Mala
(An untouchable caste)

Madiga
(An untouchable caste)

The above table does not include the Panch Bramha group. In point of religion they are Hindus, but their position in the caste hierarchy is rather uncertain. This group comprises five divisions: The Wadla (carpenter), the Kammari (blacksmith), the Ausula (goldsmith), the Kase (carver of figures in wood and stone) and the Kanchari (worker in bell-metal). Of these only the first three sections are found in Shamirpet. Inter-dining and inter-marrying, these sections constitute a distinct group of their own. In the local caste hierarchy they should be placed below the Kapu-Kummari-Golla group, but it cannot be said that they rank equal to or below the Sale-Gaondla group.

Among Hindus the Brahmin holds the highest place. He officiates at the ceremonies of all castes, except those of the Vaddar, the Erkala, the Pichha-Kuntla, the Mala and the Madiga. However, he is consulted by these castes also regarding the auspicious timing of agricultural operations or to perform marriage ceremonies; and his astrological calculations are eagerly sought by all people. All castes, except the Panch Bramha group, will accept food at his hands, but being 'pure and high-born' he cannot accept food from the hands of any but his caste fellows.

564 793 [787] [264]

The Komtis rank next to the Brahmins. They are mostly traders and money-lenders, keeping small shops where they sell grain and general provisions. All castes except the Brahmin and the Panch Bramha group accept food at their hands, but they do not take food from those castes whose social position is lower than their own, and thus can only accept food at the hands of the Brahmins.

564 264 582

The Reddi sections of the Kapu (agricultural) group, the Kummari and the Golla castes are of equal caste status. Although each is an endogamous caste, they will freely inter-dine with each other, and social contact between them is on a basis of equality. The position of the other Kapu section, viz. Muttarasi, is a little lower. The first Kapu section as well as the Golla will eat at their hands, but the Kummari will refuse food which they have touched.

On the next level are the Sale and the Gaondla, who enjoy a

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564 264 582 more or less similar position but are both endogamous and do not inter-dine. They accept food at the hands of the castes higher than themselves but not from those which are lower. Similarly, the Sakali and the Mangali have a similar caste status, but they do not inter-marry or inter-dine. But again, both the Sakali and the Mangali will dine with the Sale and the Gaondla and all the other castes higher than themselves. The Vaddar and the Pichha-Kuntla will eat with neither the Sakali and the Mangali nor with the untouchable Malas and Madigas, but they can take food at the hands of all castes higher than themselves. The Erkalas will eat from the hands of all castes except those of the Mala and the Madiga. The Sakali and the Mangali do not accept food from the Erkala. The Erkala and the Pichha-Kuntla will accept food from the Vaddar, but the Vaddar will not accept food from the Erkala and the Pichha-Kuntla. Finally, the Mala and the Madiga will eat at the hands of all the higher castes, but the Mala, considering himself superior of the two untouchable castes, will refuse food touched by a Madiga.

The position of the Panch Bramha group is peculiar. They constitute a consolidated and self-sufficient group. They do not accept food at the hands of any other castes, nor do any other castes accept food touched by them. Here the position differs vitally from that found in north India, where the carpenter, the blacksmith, the worker in bell-metal, the goldsmith and the carver of images constitute different endogamous castes which do not, as they do in this area, inter-marry and inter-dine. Their social status is neither very high nor very low. Everywhere they rank lower than the 'twice-born' *varnas* of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, but they are not regarded as impure and their status is infinitely superior to that of the untouchables. In the area under study while the Panch Bramha group is regarded as 'clean', even the untouchable Mala would refuse food touched by them, and it is only in recent years that the Madigas have started to eat from their hands. 'Their very touch poisons the food. How can we accept it?' the people are often heard to remark when they are asked to explain their refusal of food touched by any of the Panch [881] Bramha castes. The Panch Bramha castes wear the sacred thread 564 of the twice born and refuse food even from the Brahmin. It is probable that their social exclusiveness reflects an attitude which was developed in ancient times when a great fusion of Aryan and

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

non-Aryan groups was taking place in Indian society and Hinduism was consolidating itself. The highly organized craftsmen's guilds of those days may perhaps have succeeded in maintaining their integrity and exclusiveness for a long time, but had ultimately to yield; yet the tension created by their resistance remained, and even when they were absorbed into the fold of Hindu society they were not admitted as equals to the groups of comparable social status and in consequence probably continued to maintain their age-long exclusiveness.

All the castes whose relative positions in the caste-hierarchy have been shown in the accompanying table are endogamous. There is a permanent social distance between them; the individual is born into a caste, and a subsequent change in status is, except to the very lowest strata of society, equally impossible upwards or downwards.[1] In general it may be said that people accept food at the hands of all castes occupying a higher level in this hierarchy, the only exception being that of the Vaddar, who do not accept food from the highly placed Sakali and Margali. Without exception people on a higher level refuse food from those on a lower level. Each caste has a traditional occupation sanctioned by religion, and these monopolies should not be intringed upon, except in the case of agriculture, which all may pursue.

Mention should here be made of the Jangam and the Katike castes, of each of which there is one family in Shamirpet. The Jangam are a semi-priestly caste ritually attached to the Baljas, for whom they tie the 'lingam'—a phallic symbol representing Shiva—and function as priests on the occasion of weddings. On the days of *Pitra Moksha Amavasya*[2] and *Shivaratri*,[3] they visit Hindu houses, particularly of those peasants who follow the Shaivite[4]

[1] When a person is excommunicated or out-casted he is not down-graded and pushed into a lower caste; he is merely denied the privileges of equal participation in the socio-religious life of the community.

[2] The night of the New Moon in the Hindu month of Bhadrapada (August–September).

[3] The day on which Shiva is believed to have drunk the world's poison, retaining it in his throat, and thereby saving mankind from possible harm from this poison.

[4] Of the great gods of the Hindu 'trinity' Brahma is not worshipped because of his sinful infatuation for his own daughter, whilst Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped. Those who principally worship the former, usually in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, are known as Vaishnava; those worshipping the latter as Shaiva or Shaivite. Cf. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London, 1950), pp. 56–59, 296–300, 360–362.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

564 communities. Persons belonging to several different castes are [621] united by some common values and obligations in this unit. But caste as a unit of social organization cuts across the narrow boundaries of the village and extends to a fairly wide geographical region. The *varna* system or the fivefold division of Hindu society is an all-India phenomenon, but in the different geographical and linguistic regions these *varnas* are divided into numerous castes (*jati*) which are practically distinct from and independent of comparable castes in other areas. Thus in South India, in the Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu-speaking regions respectively, there are separate groups of Brahmins who constitute independent castes. There are numerous restrictions on inter-dining, and intermarriage between them is not permitted. All these groups will be designated by the generic term Brahmin; but in actual practice they are each a separate caste characterized by endogamy and [101] distinctive local traditions. It has been pointed out earlier that culturally Shamirpet lies in the area of Telangana, which is a •582 part of the larger culture-area of Andhra-desa. Most of the castes in the village confine their social intercourse to Telangana itself, a 564 few extending it to other parts of Andhra-desa. The Muslims, being 621 converts to an alien religion, are not obliged to observe this rule and can freely inter-marry with Muslim immigrants from other parts; but among them also marriage between people already having some blood ties is preferred. For Hindu castes it may be said that in actual practice a number of neighbouring villages constitute for them a quasi-independent local group within the wider regional community. In analysing one hundred and twenty family case-histories, it was found that out of three hundred and eighty marriages over 68% were confined to a group of villages (and the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad) within a radius of approximately thirty-five miles from Shamirpet; 30% to other villages within sixty miles of the village; and only 2% in still more distant villages or towns. In no case was a marital union entered into with a non-Telugu caste, even with a similar caste name and social status in another linguistic or geographical [571] area. Thus the horizontal ties of caste extend to the whole culture area, but active social relationships are generally confined to a cluster of neighbouring villages.

623 Two types of inter-village organizations deserve to be noted. They are councils of the different castes and inter-village councils.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus
Muslims

RITUAL STRUCTURE

For three to ten days the household gods, as well as those at the family's favourite shrine, are worshipped. For the latter the girl is taken out with the village women in a procession, and the Madigas are summoned to play their musical instruments. With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti, in all other castes the women from the neighbourhood assemble every afternoon for singing and dancing at the house of the girl for whom the ceremony is being performed. Among the Muslims, at the time of first menstruation the girl is secluded for seven to eleven days. At the end of this period she is given new clothes, which she wears after taking her bath.

Ear and nose boring of the girls is done before the age of puberty among both the Hindus and the Muslims. But this act has no religious rites attached to it.

Marriage. In the community people are as a rule married when they are adults; only in some cases are adolescents married. Child-marriage is rare. Out of 380 first marriages investigated by us, only 14 could be described as child-marriages.

Among the Hindus, negotiated marriages are common. People show an unmistakable preference for cross-cousin marriage when the subject is discussed with them; but out of the 340 Hindu marriages analysed by us, only 18% were cross-cousin marriages, the rest being negotiated marriages into unrelated families. Muslims permit both parallel and cross-cousin marriages, and indeed regard them as highly desirable. Our sample of Muslim marriages is not quite adequate, but out of 40 marriages fully investigated 19 were between cousins. Among the agriculturists, and to a lesser extent among others, it is necessary for the girl's parents to pay a dowry to the boy. This accounts for the relatively few marriages by service. When the parents of the boy are too poor even to arrange for the normal expenses of an average wedding—involving expenditure on the buying of clothes and ornaments for the bride and bridegroom, marriage feasts and other incidental expenses—the boy may serve with his prospective father-in-law for a stipulated period, at the end of which the latter marries him to his daughter at his own expense. Marriages by exchange may be arranged between two families to economize on the dowry; and further they may be celebrated at the same time so as to complete two weddings for the expense of one. Cases of run-away marriages occur at times, but they are

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

liberty and shield us when parents are angry. We like them and willingly do odd bits of work for them. But others are different. They always have a frown on their faces. At the slightest pretext they are annoyed. We do their work too, but very grudgingly. We make faces behind their backs.' The same applies to aunts. Cousins should be regarded as brothers and sisters, and in a joint family they are certainly treated as such. It naturally follows from this that one should treat one's nephews and nieces as one's own children. While this is found to be rather difficult in actual practice, any favouritism and partiality to one's own children to the exclusion of the brother's children is a fruitful cause of dissension within the family.

RELATIONS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY

Affinal relatives do not maintain close contacts. They meet only on ceremonial and ritual occasions and in such meetings follow the mode of correct behaviour prescribed by tradition. A man will show respect and touch the feet of both his father-in-law and mother-in-law, but his relations with them would always be of a formal nature and would rarely be characterized by intimacy or emotional attachment. Similarly, between the respective parents-in-law of a husband and wife, the relations are rather formal. When they do meet on ceremonial occasions or visit one another, they try to be polite and consciously avoid controversial issues which may cause unpleasantness. If the father of a girl is compelled to intervene on behalf of his daughter who finds life rather difficult in her husband's home, he will exercise considerable tact and refer to the matter in a roundabout way. Amicable settlement is preferred, and all possible efforts are made to avoid a show-down.

Outside the family circle the relations between a person and his or her mother's brother are of special significance. As cross-cousin marriages are preferred in the community, a boy expects to get his wife from his maternal uncle's home, and a girl feels that she may have to go there as a daughter-in-law. With the younger brothers and sisters of his wife a man would have joking relations, and would frequently exercise the privilege of familiarity permitted to him by custom. Other relatives such as maternal grandfather and maternal grandmother are so distant, and contacts with them so rare, that there are no traditional norms regarding them.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

602 However, in dealing with such relatives who are outside the family circle, one must observe the prescribed etiquette. They must be invited on all ceremonial occasions, and when they arrive they must be 'received well'. At the ceremony itself they should be given a place of honour befitting their age and relationship status. The relationship entitles them to hospitality, and according to the 'resources and capacity' of the family they should be well looked after when they are staying as guests. It is customary to cook special dishes in honour of such guests, and the choicest share of what is prepared is invariably given to them. Due attention should be given to their comforts for the entire period of their stay as guests in the house.

582 605 Among Muslims, besides cross-cousin marriage, marriage between parallel cousins is permitted and indeed encouraged. As a consequence of this the pattern of inter-personal relations between the children of two brothers is somewhat different from that described for the whole community. Cousins of opposite sexes spend their childhood together with each other playing and behaving as brother and sister. At the age of eight or nine an effort is made to segregate them, but this segregation is neither strict nor complete, and they continue to meet, and if they like they can [562] find opportunities to talk with each other. But when formal negotiations for marriage are opened, it is expected that the girl will start observing *purdah* and start veiling herself. From this time onwards the cousins should not have any direct contact. If the cousins are not to be married, they can continue as before. The correct mode of behaviour for them would be to regard each other as brother and sister.

LIVING TOGETHER

point of rubbing genital organs. Girls masturbate either by pressing and releasing their clitoris with their fingers or by rubbing their thighs. Obscenity and talk about sex are disapproved by the elders, but the boys regard it as a mark of toughness and as an indication of their grown-up status, and as such indulge in it fairly regularly. Their vocabulary of abuse includes all the major sexual words, and they can often be heard abusing each other in terms such as: 'Copulate with your mother', 'Cohabit with your sister', 'My penis!'—or the rather curious 'Your mother's penis'.

Most children's games involve competition in the use of skills and stamina. The children are divided into several groups and factions, and these often come into conflict on account of intense jealousies and rivalries. Elaborate group *mores* and codes of ethics govern their inter-relations during states of friendship, neutrality and enmity. Toughness in boys is the admired quality; weakness, refined ways, spying and complaining coming in for criticism and ridicule. Running away from fright, crying and treachery to the group are remembered long after the quarrels and restoration of peace between conflicting factions. Outside the play-group the growing children have to lend a helping hand to their parents. Grown-up girls assist their mothers at their domestic tasks and take partial charge of their younger siblings, while boys do odd jobs for the father and other older male relatives. It is now time that they should take their first steps in preparing for adult life.

Adolescence brings about a significant change in the life of both boys and girls. By this age girls are expected to become proficient in all the major domestic tasks. Negotiations for their marriage are invariably started at this age. They grow up faster than the boys. While boys of a comparable age are still regarded as 'grown-up children who do not understand', girls come to be looked upon more or less as fully-grown women. Now they must be careful about their dress; particularly their breasts should never be exposed. They should 'not run about the village like boys', nor should they talk or laugh so loudly as to attract notice. Mothers advise them to be cautious in their behaviour, for this is the age when young people start giving attention to them. Young people have a special fascination for adolescent girls 'whose youth is just beginning to blossom'. Young men succeeding in fondling 'the unripe, half-developed breasts' of a girl and in having intercourse with one 'whose pubic hair is just beginning to grow' easily win the

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

426 Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

435 Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

426 Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

796 *Festivals.*—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gownipalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, [782] wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. [782] The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease 759 people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest [743] hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

352 All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

• 582 No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.

[582] All Muhammadans observe purdah.

313 Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

871 *Education.*—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

very close to the human inmates. Rubbish and cow-dung are stored up in front of the houses, while in rainy seasons the whole becomes a stagnant pool of water, rubbish and cow-dung. 511 356

The houses of the Pariahs are filled with an awful smell of skins, bones and putrid flesh. The insufficiency of food that they suffer from tempts them to fill their bellies with toddy and other stimulants that ultimately ruin their health.

The Sudras are perfectly temperate and simple in habits and food. The "twice-born" castes are bound to marry their girls before twelve. The lower castes are not bound to do so. But the Sudras and lower castes actually marry their girls at a very early age, both to satisfy the anxiety of elders and for fear they may not have the money afterwards. I know a case in which a girl two months old was married to a boy of two years, the boy dying a year later of cholera. They maintain strict widowhood like the Brahmans. There is no purdah. 582 ●

The villagers bathe and wash clothes and also wash their cattle in the same tank as that used for drinking. 515

Education.—There is one school; its accommodation and equipment being a rented house, an atlas, a globe, text books, some pictures of common objects, civics primers, dumb-bells, a black board, a desk, benches for boys to sit upon. 871

Elementary education is given up to the fourth standard, in the vernacular, in history, arithmetic, geography, civics, etc. This education is most unpractical and incomplete and ill-suited to the villagers, who do not proceed to college classes. It does not enable them to read good books in Telugu or to learn even the elementary principles of sanitation. They are never made to feel that they are citizens of a world, or an empire, or a province, outside the narrow bounds of their village.

Attendance—	Boys.	Girls.
1913	19	4
1914	9	3
1915	45	12
1916	54	8
1917	48	6

About 30 per cent of the adults can read the vernacular; two persons can read and talk English. There is a noted musician in the village but no other pandit. Not less than 25 or 30 per cent of those who have passed through the school have lost their capacity to write or cipher after leaving. One boy has proceeded to the Mechanical Engineering course in the Victoria Technical Institute, Bombay; another to the Arts course in the Madras University. [191]

There are 90 to 100 books, of which 70 are owned by Brahmans, made up of novels, dramas, puranas, the Mahabharata and stories. Among the Sudras, a development of literary taste, though in a very small degree, is perceptible. There are many devotional songs and lives of Telugu saints, while stories of the epics rendered into songs and recited by "Bhagavathars" are very frequent. The latest innovation is the introduction of dramas. Novels are still a rarity, as well as histories. No newspaper comes to the village. 538

The village has no temple except that of the village goddess. Her festival is celebrated with much slaughter of cattle and goats given by their owners whenever there is an outbreak of cholera or small-pox; or, failing these, once in four or five years. The cost is 796

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

other castes, especially the Brahmins, the Komtis, the toddy-tappers and the shepherds, as well as the Muslims. This category also includes two Malas and a Madiga—all three belonging to untouchable castes. The land in the fourth group belongs to several different castes. However, many of these families possess only small fragments of dry land which are quite inadequate for their needs and can in no sense be described as 'economic holdings'.

The above figures have been taken from government records. While the possession of land sold to persons outside the kin-group is given after the completion of the necessary legal formalities, the division of shares from the family land does not necessitate this and in consequence we find that the land shown in the name of one person in the official records may actually be in the possession of several families. This may be illustrated by two examples. E. D. R. has four acres of dry land and six acres of wet land recorded in his name in government registers. The dry land and three acres of wet land are under his exclusive possession. This land is cultivated by him; and the entire harvest belongs to him. But the other three acres of wet land are divided into four pieces. One of these fragments is cultivated by E. D. R. himself, one by his cousin S. R. who is E. D. R.'s father's elder brother's son. The other two fragments are cultivated by E. R. and N. R. whose position is a little unusual. In the life-time of E. D. R.'s grandfather they 'came to his house' for suitor service. After serving the family for a stipulated number of years they were married to the daughters of the family, but continued to live there to assist the old man in his cultivation. After the death of E. D. R.'s grandfather they established separate houses of their own, and are now in exclusive possession of these fragments of land which belonged to E. D. R.'s family. From the above it is clear that although the land records show the land as being in the possession of E. D. R. alone, it is in fact possessed by four different families. The Madiga untouchables were given two acres of land as a reward for the services which they render to residents of the village and touring government officials. Official records show this land as being in the possession of one family: in point of fact, it is shared by as many as seven families.

Seceding members of a family get a share of the family's ancestral land. Fragmentation follows this division of ancestral

RITUAL STRUCTURE

For three to ten days the household gods, as well as those at the family's favourite shrine, are worshipped. For the latter the girl is taken out with the village women in a procession, and the Madigas are summoned to play their musical instruments. With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti, in all other castes the women from the neighbourhood assemble every afternoon for singing and dancing at the house of the girl for whom the ceremony is being performed. Among the Muslims, at the time of first menstruation the girl is secluded for seven to eleven days. At the end of this period she is given new clothes, which she wears after taking her bath. 881

Ear and nose boring of the girls is done before the age of puberty among both the Hindus and the Muslims. But this act has no religious rites attached to it. 852

Marriage. In the community people are as a rule married when they are adults; only in some cases are adolescents married. Child-marriage is rare. Out of 380 first marriages investigated by us, only 14 could be described as child-marriages. 582

Among the Hindus, negotiated marriages are common. People show an unmistakable preference for cross-cousin marriage when the subject is discussed with them; but out of the 340 Hindu marriages analysed by us, only 18% were cross-cousin marriages, the rest being negotiated marriages into unrelated families. Muslims permit both parallel and cross-cousin marriages, and indeed regard them as highly desirable. Our sample of Muslim marriages is not quite adequate, but out of 40 marriages fully investigated 19 were between cousins. Among the agriculturists, and to a lesser extent among others, it is necessary for the girl's parents to pay a dowry to the boy. This accounts for the relatively few marriages by service. When the parents of the boy are too poor even to arrange for the normal expenses of an average wedding—involving expenditure on the buying of clothes and ornaments for the bride and bridegroom, marriage feasts and other incidental expenses—the boy may serve with his prospective father-in-law for a stipulated period, at the end of which the latter marries him to his daughter at his own expense. Marriages by exchange may be arranged between two families to economize on the dowry; and further they may be celebrated at the same time so as to complete two weddings for the expense of one. Cases of run-away marriages occur at times, but they are 583

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus

583 regarded as breaches of the established rules of society and treated accordingly.

585 It is difficult to summarize the rites and observances involved in a Hindu marriage, for they differ greatly from caste to caste, and from family to family. Here only a very general outline can be given.

The wedding takes place in the bride's house, on an auspicious day fixed by the two parties on the advice of the Brahmin priest. The bridegroom's party, consisting of relations and friends, leave their village in good time to arrive in the bride's village at least a day before the actual date of the marriage. On arrival they are received with great ceremony by the bride's people, and are lodged in a house kept vacant and clean for their use. In the courtesies that are exchanged it is necessary to make some special effort to keep the bridegroom's mother and sisters pleased for any dissatisfaction to them is likely to lead to trouble which may hold up further rites. While the bridegroom's party try to settle down in their house, the bride's people finalize the arrangements for the first dinner. When everything is ready word is sent to the bridegroom's party. After the dinner nothing remains to be done on that day. The guests return to their temporary abode; the hosts get busy to make everything ready for the rites of the next day. [515] When the next day arrives the bride's mother and other female relations carry water and twigs to the groom's mother and other guests so that 'they may wash their mouths'. A little later breakfast [776] is sent to them. The first major rite for the day is the worship of the bride's *kula-devata* or family god. In this both the bride and the bridegroom participate. The second major rite is known as *lagnam*, which must be performed at an auspicious hour determined by the Brahmin on the basis of his astrological calculations. The bride's party go in a procession to bring the guests to the marriage shed. At the appointed hour the *lagnam* is performed by chanting religious verses. The bridegroom ties a necklace of black beads round the bride's neck. This necklace symbolizes her married status, and she should not be without it unless she is widowed. He also puts rings on the second toes of her feet. Before the tying of *mangalsutra* (black beads) the two have to promise to stand by each other through all phases of life, for the mutual satisfaction of bodily, economic and spiritual needs. But the marriage is not yet complete. To put the seal of religious authority on it, the important

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rite of *seshahoman* must be performed. For this the bride and bridegroom are seated before a fire, sacred verses are read, and incense is burnt. This completes the marriage. Later the bride and bridegroom are seated facing each other for dinner. The ground around the wooden seats on which they sit is decorated with multicoloured designs. While eating the two are encouraged to throw a few morsels into each other's plates. Several minor rites follow. In one the newly-married couple are asked to address each other by using personal names. The bride has to show great reluctance in doing this, for a wife generally does not utter the name of her husband. She is given a doll, symbolizing a child, and is asked to entrust it to the care of 'its father' on the pretext that she has to cook or to do other household work. The next day, after a few minor rituals, the girl is 'given away' to her husband and his parents. This is done to the accompaniment of heart-rending and pathetic songs. The father asks her to regard the home of her father-in-law henceforward as her own home; and never to do anything—in thought, word or deed—that might bring discredit to her parents. He then begs the girl's father-in-law to treat her well, to ignore her faults, failings and shortcomings, and to teach her the ways of their family. The girl goes away with her husband. In her new home she has to go through a series of rites, worship of the family god and feasting. After three to seven days she returns to her parents for a brief stay.

Among all the castes the general tone of marriage ritual suggests the influences of Sanskritic rites, but the Brahmin does not officiate at the marriages of all castes. He is invited by the Komti, the agricultural castes, the Kummari, the Golla, the Sale and the Gaondla. The barber and the washerman invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, otherwise they manage with their own caste-priest. The Panch Bramha group has its own priests. The other groups occupying lower positions in the caste hierarchy invite a specialist from their own caste to officiate at the ceremony. Naturally recitation of sacred verses and marriage formulae from the scriptures is confined to ceremonies conducted by the Brahmin; in the other castes, while the pattern followed is essentially the same, the Sanskrit chants are absent. Other occupational castes whose co-operation is required in the ceremony are: the barber, the potter, the Madiga and the carpenter. The barber assists the parties during negotiations, carries their messages,

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but are separated by a screen. The bride's sister or cousin asks the groom to extend his hand towards her so that she may apply *kenna* (a perfumed paste) to his index finger. He refuses to do this unless she promises to be his slave. When he does give her his finger, she catches hold of it, and lets go of it only when he promises to be her slave. Later turmeric paste is applied to the bride and she is attired in her bridal clothes. At the appointed time the groom is brought on a horse or in a decorated carriage by his people in a procession. The bridegroom finds the main entrance closed. It is opened by the bride's brothers when small gifts are offered to them. The *kazi*, Muslim priest, solemnizes the marriage by reading the prescribed words of *nikah*. The signature of the bridegroom is obtained on a document which embodies all the terms of the marriage contract, including the *mehar* (alimony) which he will have to pay if he leaves his wife. While this is being done the bride remains inside. Her father and some responsible elders then go to her and say, 'You are being married to X, with a *mehar* fixed at Rs. —. Are you willing to be his wife?' Her consent is necessary; although she often indicates it not by saying 'yes' but by crying. The bridegroom's mother puts a necklace of black beads around the bride's neck, and a nose-ring in her nose. Ceremonies of fun and frolic follow. The two are seated on a decorated bed, but a screen is held between them, and they throw rice at each other. Then the screen is removed and a mirror is placed between the two. The groom is asked to read some passages from the Koran and to see the reflection of his wife's face in the mirror. Later the bride is given away ceremonially by her parents to the head of the bridegroom's family. The procession for going home is formed by the groom's party, and the newly-married couple are taken in a decorated carriage. More rites follow at the bridegroom's house, where the two have to wash each other's feet. During all these days feasting goes on, to which friends and relations are invited. On the final day an elaborate feast is given. Later, in a day or two, the bride is taken back to her parents' home. There the bridegroom's people are received with great courtesy and are given an impressive feast.

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husband by touching his feet. She washes the husband's clothes, and eats the leavings in his plate. The husband cannot do likewise. When the wife errs, the husband reprimands her, and can abuse and beat her. However, a good wife is not expected to answer him back. Even when the husband is wrong she is supposed to bear her lot meekly and submissively. This cultural pattern is reflected in the lament of the wife over her husband's demise, when she wails, 'Where is my lord? Where is my master? Now who will support me? The shield that protected me is gone; now I am helpless.'

This, then, is the 'ideal'. Almost everyone in the village would verbalize the expected husband-wife relationship in similar words. But the reality appears to be very different; and a close study of the actual family records would reveal that these ideals are more or less a social fiction. The husband is, without doubt, superior, and has, in most families, the upper hand; but practically nowhere do we find him a completely dominant, authoritarian and patriarchal figure. Moreover, the quality of inter-personal relations between husband and wife change as they leave one stage of life and enter another.

It has been pointed out earlier that married life is started by a couple under the parental roof. During this stage, at least for the first few months, they are not supposed to show any special concern for each other. The man continues to work under the direction of his father or elder brother; the woman carries out the instructions of her mother-in-law. There is hardly any opportunity for them to meet and talk during the day, and when they do meet under the cover of darkness, possibly in a separate room, the proximity of the parents' room does not allow them the liberty of engaging in audible love-play or even of talking freely. Of necessity they have to speak in whispers. The cultural pattern demands that the wife must resist the initial advances of her husband for several nights. She often feigns complete ignorance regarding sexual matters and displays horror and disgust when the husband approaches her. After two or three weeks the wife becomes more co-operative. Now sex dominates their life for the several months that follow. There is casual conversation between the two, but in these first months household affairs are invariably not discussed by them. The husband generally speaks to her about the village affairs and his kinsfolk. He also tells her his experiences of the city.

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593 565 837 [586] to maintain silence about them. But if affairs cross the limits of decency, or the constant misbehaviour of the wife threatens to become the subject of public gossip, the wife receives very harsh treatment and may even be driven out of the house. If she once leaves the house, readmittance for her would be practically impossible among the people of the upper level. On the other two levels, while tempers are roused very quickly and are even expressed publicly in a violent way, the reconciliation is not difficult. Faults of the wife are often openly discussed among them, and she is ridiculed in the presence of others; but she is quite readily forgiven also, and if she does not go astray again, she soon regains her former position in the household.

593 The stereotyped attitudes of wives for husbands and of husbands for wives are common for the community—as a whole. 'A woman should not be trusted. You can never tell when and how she would slip out', say the men in a knowing manner. Others add, 'Much depends on the husband. He must control his wife properly. Once he relaxes his control, then she is practically gone for all times.' The women, on the other hand, regard all men as heartless. 'It is impossible to please a husband; to-day he likes a thing very much; to-morrow he will lose his temper over it.' 'The lot of a woman is difficult. Unlucky ones receive beatings every day; the lucky ones get them only periodically. But is there a woman whose husband never beats her?' In a philosophical vein they add, 'And why not? The man works and earns. If we do not please him he beats us. Of what use are our protests? If a bullock runs away from one owner, will not its second master yoke it to a plough and mercilessly goad it to move faster? If we leave one man and go to another, what guarantee is there that he will not treat us in the same way?'

The wife does not dominate the domestic scene, but if she is tactful she can manipulate things in such a way that her husband will rarely go against her wishes. Gradually she comes to occupy a key position within the household.

581 Finally two significant questions may be raised: what type of wives do most men want? and what type of husbands do most women want? While the ideals and likes and dislikes of individuals are bound to differ greatly on the basis of their personal equations, certain attributes are considered desirable by people from nearly all the different levels of the community. A wife should be, above

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WEB OF FAMILY TIES

When a son-in-law settles with his wife's parents, we occasionally get examples of matrilocal residence. But this is rare and is largely confined to the cases of a few orphans and children of very poor parents who take recourse to the method of suitor service for securing a wife and then continue to live with their parents-in-law. The joint family is approved by social tradition. The following table illustrates an ideal joint family:

	Paternal Grandparents Parents	
Brothers and their wives	Ego : Wife	Unmarried sisters
Nephews Nieces	Sons and their wives	Unmarried daughters
	Grandchildren	

It is indeed difficult to locate family units in which five generations live together under the same roof. In the villages of Andhradesa, particularly Telangana, it is impossible to find a family in which all nuclear families of three generations share a common house. Among the higher castes of the Hindus such large joint families are still met with in the small towns and cities, but they are not often seen in the villages. In actual practice joint families in this part of the country are much smaller units, and often they consist of parents and their married sons and their wives and children, or of brothers and their wives and children. While joint families are regarded as ideal, it is common for sons to separate from their parents within a few years of their marriage. As a result of this separation they start as an elementary family, which comprises at first only the husband and the wife. This elementary family gradually becomes larger as children are added to it. When sons grow up, get married and continue to live with their wives in their parental home the unit can once again be classed as a joint family. In this connection case-histories of one hundred and twenty families from the village were examined. In 34% of the cases sons had separated from their parents within two years of marriage. Thirty-six per cent separated between two and three years after marriage. Separation took place after three, but within five years of marriage in 28% cases. Only 22% of the sons were still found to be living with their parents five years after their marriage. As most marriages are between adults, effectiye married

WEB OF FAMILY TIES

596 life begins almost immediately after the marriage ceremony, or at the most within six months. For the purposes of the above analysis, the year when their effective married life started has been regarded as the year of marriage.

596 Further analysis of the case-histories reveals an almost uniform
591 pattern of development in a majority of cases. For a year or so
593 after his marriage a son continues to live with his parents. His wife also lives with him. Domestic quarrels and dissensions develop within this period and compel him to start thinking about separation. In some cases this takes place in the course of the next year; in others it may take three to five years. Those who can hold together for five years generally continue to live under the same roof peacefully for a much longer period. Nevertheless, separation is known to have taken place in some cases even after ten to fifteen years of living together.

596 A young married man separating from his parents or brothers
593 generally maintains close connections with their family or families. However, as the immediate cause for separation is often a quarrel or an acute difference of opinion, for some time the separating families continue to have strained relations. They may not even be on speaking terms. With the passage of time much of the bitterness of the dispute wears off and cordiality gradually returns to the different branches of the same main family. When the relations between the main family and the seceding family are once again cordial, they start taking interest in each other's affairs and problems. Ceremonies, feasts and festivals bring them all together. Rites connected with the major crises of life are great occasions for family reunions. Particularly in the event of death old quarrels and misunderstandings are generally forgotten and all near-relations assemble for the last rites. In the rituals that follow the presence of all the branches of the family is regarded as obligatory, and the absence of anyone at such an occasion is bound to be viewed very seriously. This would almost always lead to a permanent breach of relations between the absenting unit and the other units of the same family.

596 In this context it is necessary to point out that an equivalent of the term 'family' is used in the community to denote three different social units, each varying from the other slightly. It may mean: (1) the elementary family or the 'house', (2) the extended family unit, or (3) a still larger group comprising the near-

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husband by touching his feet. She washes the husband's clothes, and eats the leavings in his plate. The husband cannot do likewise. When the wife errs, the husband reprimands her, and can abuse and beat her. However, a good wife is not expected to answer him back. Even when the husband is wrong she is supposed to bear her lot meekly and submissively. This cultural pattern is reflected in the lament of the wife over her husband's demise, when she wails, 'Where is my lord? Where is my master? Now who will support me? The shield that protected me is gone; now I am helpless.'

This, then, is the 'ideal'. Almost everyone in the village would verbalize the expected husband-wife relationship in similar words. But the reality appears to be very different; and a close study of the actual family records would reveal that these ideals are more or less a social fiction. The husband is, without doubt, superior, and has, in most families, the upper hand; but practically nowhere do we find him a completely dominant, authoritarian and patriarchal figure. Moreover, the quality of inter-personal relations between husband and wife change as they leave one stage of life and enter another.

It has been pointed out earlier that married life is started by a couple under the parental roof. During this stage, at least for the first few months, they are not supposed to show any special concern for each other. The man continues to work under the direction of his father or elder brother; the woman carries out the instructions of her mother-in-law. There is hardly any opportunity for them to meet and talk during the day, and when they do meet under the cover of darkness, possibly in a separate room, the proximity of the parents' room does not allow them the liberty of engaging in audible love-play or even of talking freely. Of necessity they have to speak in whispers. The cultural pattern demands that the wife must resist the initial advances of her husband for several nights. She often feigns complete ignorance regarding sexual matters and displays horror and disgust when the husband approaches her. After two or three weeks the wife becomes more co-operative. Now sex dominates their life for the several months that follow. There is casual conversation between the two, but in these first months household affairs are invariably not discussed by them. The husband generally speaks to her about the village affairs and his kinsfolk. He also tells her his experiences of the city.

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The girl talks to him about her childhood friends in the village and about her relations. At this stage, even if she is troubled by her mother-in-law, she would not complain to her husband about her discomforts and difficulties at home. The stereotype norms that a girl unconsciously picks up from conversation between elderly women, or consciously learns as a result of direct instruction by her mother are: 'Unless the husband is completely under your influence, do not try to take him away from his mother. When your grip over him is firm, you can persuade him to do what you like. But any premature efforts on your part will only generate distrust about you in his heart.' Thus, she begins complaining to her husband about the bad treatment that she receives from her mother-in-law and the other women relations when she is sure that the relative strength of her influence over him is greater than theirs. The husband finds himself in a dilemma. He knows that a man who 'listens too much to his wife' is an object of social scorn and ridicule. Thus if he starts taking sides with his wife, the comment of the elders would generally be against him, and even the people of his own age-group would circulate funny, but often quite imaginary, stories about his submissiveness to his wife. On the other hand, he realizes that nearly everyone at some stage has to take sides, and that even his critics have had to do so, at some point in their lives. His position becomes really difficult when he is subjected to pressure simultaneously from two directions: when the mother complains about his wife and the wife complains about his mother. To begin with, most sons ignore these complaints and accusations, and refuse to take sides. In the next stage they side with, or at least pretend to side with, the mother. For the satisfaction of the mother the son would scold the wife once or twice. If the wife takes it ill, she would refuse to speak with him when they meet in the night. The husband has then to make some efforts to console her. Often he says to her that he did not intend any of his remarks to be taken seriously. Or he may even say that the mock-scolding was meant only to satisfy the old mother. The wife takes this opportunity to narrate more accounts of sufferings that she has to undergo in the house, on account of the troublesome mother-in-law and the other deceitful female relatives. In a joint family this continues, but in a great majority of cases after some years the husband and wife secede from the main family to set up an independent household of their own.

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in life. Indirect education through folktales, parables and songs is now supplemented by direct and conscious instruction by the parents. The mother seeks to train her daughter to be a good wife; she would often say to her, 'The husband's home is very different from the home of your parents. Here you sit down and the meals are served to you by your mother; there even if you work to the point of breaking your limbs you will not have a word of appreciation. And if you do not work, your tormenting mother-in-law and sisters-in-law will not only abuse you, but will also remember your parents in the foulest language.' Through anecdotes and reminiscences, she creates a vivid picture in the daughter's mind of what she is likely to find when she leaves her first home to enter her second and real home. As the time for the girl's marriage approaches, she finds herself attached to the mother all the more. If the father disapproves of any of the ways of the girl seriously, rather than speak to her directly, he would bring the matter to the notice of her mother, through whom he would seek to influence the daughter. Of course on minor matters he can speak to her directly. Similarly, in the case of grown-up boys, when any action more serious than a mere warning, use of strong language or giving of a threat is called for it is the father and not the mother who is supposed to handle them.

When the children enter their youth and adulthood, there are further changes in the pattern of inter-personal relationships between the parents and children. By this time the girls are married off and leave the parental home to take their place as wives in the homes of their respective husbands. For three or four years they maintain a somewhat intimate and regular contact with their parental home, and their people too are interested in their adjustment and welfare in the new surroundings. Afterwards, however, the girl gets increasingly absorbed in the affairs of her own home, and the memories of childhood friends, as well as those of her parental home, gradually recede into the background. In later years, on ceremonial occasions she returns to her parental home more or less a stranger. Not that the parents are totally unconcerned about the welfare of their daughter, or that the girl has altogether forgotten them, but the distance that separates them (in time and space) gradually takes away much of the glow and warmth of the feelings which they have for one another. On the other hand, the boys also marry and their wives come home to

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the parents often say when they want to persuade one of their older children to yield to an apparently 'unreasonable demand' of the younger. When there is a quarrel between the siblings, it is invariably the elder who is admonished. 'One can understand a young child being unreasonable, but being older you should know better', the parents would say. Younger children very often complain to the parents about the older siblings; the latter prefer to deal with them personally when the parents are away. However, if the parents are too partial to their pet child, the others conspire to put him in disfavour. Spying by the younger children, when it is discovered, is punished by the older siblings. They may boycott them, refuse to speak to them, may not allow them to partake of their share of good things to eat, and may tease them in various ingenious ways. They often have a silly nickname for such a child, or they may keep on referring to some oddity in him, and thus tease and cause offence to him constantly. When they are six or seven, brothers and sisters form different groups. Aware of the pattern of male dominance, the brothers begin to regard themselves as superior to the sisters. They dislike doing anything which is regarded as 'feminine work', and if compelled to do so do not fail to express their extreme distaste. They would prefer to do it only if unobserved by their playmates, for if one of them were to notice it the 'news' would soon spread and the other boys would have funny ditties and remarks ready when next they met him. At this stage they begin to assert their superiority over their sisters. The latter must not join them in boy's games. When they are discovered engaging in anything that is regarded as particularly masculine, they are told, 'Now go and mind the pots; there is plenty to do at home.' Family histories recorded for the purpose of this study do not reveal any permanent tender emotional ties between brothers and sisters. It has already been pointed out that a few years after her marriage a girl returns more or less as a stranger to her parental home. On the other hand, there is considerable attachment between the sisters before they are married, but in their case also it gradually wears off after marriage.

The brothers either continue to live in the same house, or, if they separate, they live in the same village. Migrations are comparatively few, and even when one of the brothers moves away he continues to maintain contact with the families of his brothers

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life begins almost immediately after the marriage ceremony, or at the most within six months. For the purposes of the above analysis, the year when their effective married life started has been regarded as the year of marriage.

Further analysis of the case-histories reveals an almost uniform pattern of development in a majority of cases. For a year or so after his marriage a son continues to live with his parents. His wife also lives with him. Domestic quarrels and dissensions develop within this period and compel him to start thinking about separation. In some cases this takes place in the course of the next year; in others it may take three to five years. Those who can hold together for five years generally continue to live under the same roof peacefully for a much longer period. Nevertheless, separation is known to have taken place in some cases even after ten to fifteen years of living together.

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bad way, the elders of the allied families are expected to intervene. 596
Scandals or dishonourable behaviour in one unit are likely to spoil the name of all the allied families, and as such tradition enjoins elders to advise, warn and even admonish the erring members. A young man given to excessive drinking, gambling or any similar vice would often be admonished by the elders of this extended family. If he cannot keep his wife under control, or if the quarrels (626)
of the two become very frequent and too public, the neighbours would convey the information to the elders of the extended family and expect them to use their initiative in putting things right. In all such cases they will be within their customary rights if they intervene. They can demand that their advice is heard and followed.

Within the family unit the eldest male is generally regarded as the head. His wife or the next senior male is given the second place. A respectful son very often describes his old widowed mother as the 'head' of the family. However, in many cases the *de facto* head of the family may be a son under whose guidance and supervision the land is cultivated or the craft or profession of the family is practised. Parents dominate the scene in their youth and early middle age. With approaching old age they gradually recede to the background. Nominally they remain the heads of the family, but their sons are left more or less free to conduct the management of the family property and profession as they like. As long as the father remains the real head of the family, the internal management of the family remains the charge of the mother. Sons are expected to obey her and the daughters-in-law are expected to carry out her instructions. Any failure or reluctance on the part (606)
of a daughter-in-law to carry out the wishes of her mother-in-law leads to constant quarrels and complications, and in many cases to ultimate separation. Between sons and daughters, as a rule, preference is shown to the former, but if the sisters have considerable seniority in age, their younger brothers are expected to respect and obey them.

In the village community of Shamirpet, which has considerable 829
variations of caste and class, and significant differences in education and urban contacts, it is only natural to expect great variations in the family ideals and ethics of the different groups. In the themes of their idealizations, the different sections of the population show striking similarities; but in their attitudes and reactions

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to specific social situations the different levels present remarkable contrasts.

For the purposes of such comparison, the population of the village may be broadly classified into three levels:

(1) *Upper Level*: comprising the 'twice born' castes of Brahmins and Komtis: rich Reddis and Muslims; and others who have had urban contacts or education in the city.

(2) *Intermediate Level*: all ordinary agriculturists; clean occupational castes and Muslim tradesmen constitute this group, which is by far the largest in the village.

(3) *Lower Level*: all the poorer sections of the population, such as the untouchable Malas and Madigas, and semi-tribal Vaddars and Erkalas, as well as poor Muslims, can be placed in this category.

With their urban contacts and education, as well as considerations of 'respectability' befitting their class, the people on the upper level set sufficiently high standards of behaviour. The stereotyped idealizations of the other two levels of population closely resemble the ideal-patterns of the upper level.

All three levels regard solidarity, co-operation and understanding as the essential attributes of the family that may be regarded as a model for the whole community. The ideal family should work on the principle of 'one for all, and all for one.' Different members of the family should function like an organized team, and have mutual trust and understanding. Toleration, goodwill and a sense of give-and-take among its members are necessary for the well-being and prosperity of the family. On the other hand, dissensions, conflicts and lack of understanding lead a family to its downfall.

There is unanimity in all three levels that the structure of the family is founded on its recognition of four basic principles. These are:

(1) Respect for age.
(2) Respect for position in the scale of kinship.
(3) Superiority of the male.
(4) Necessity of keeping certain family matters confined to the responsible members of the family, or at the most, within the family.

Further, in all three levels the importance of compromise as a

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tool for correct ordering of intra-family relations is emphasized. Mediation and reconciliation are regarded as the best methods of getting over family difficulties; timely partition of property and separation as the next best.

The people in the upper level not only believe in these ideals, but most of them consciously strive to achieve them in actual practice. A Brahmin will lose respect in the community if he gives up these noble ways and starts imitating the 'animal-like ways' of people on the lower levels. Prosperity of the Komti traders and money-lenders can be built up only when the whole family makes a concerted effort for it. A family of substantial agriculturists can further augment its land and improve its financial status by working hard as a team. This is equally applicable to both Hindu and Muslim agriculturists. People with urban contacts and education have also an urge to rise higher; and that necessitates solidarity, co-operation and understanding within the family. Great emphasis is laid here on correct behaviour towards different members of the family according to their age and kinship status. Disagreements must be expressed through permitted ways. Abuse and foul language should not be employed in referring to or addressing the elders. Any form of physical violence against them would be unthinkable and would cause great resentment in the other members of the family. Women on this level are generally kept confined to the home. Among the Muslims they observe strict *purdah*; among the Hindus for considerations of respectability it would be improper for them to go out to work. Thus they are largely confined to their houses. They have some ornamental value; nevertheless, in the entire social setting the comparative superiority of the male is latent. Family secrets on this level are always discussed in hushed tones, and all possible efforts are made to prevent them from leaking out. When husband and wife quarrel, the angry outburst must not be heard outside the home. If the husband beats the wife, her crying should not be loud enough to attract curious sympathizers into the house. The amours and intrigues of a member of the family, if they cannot be stopped, should at least be kept secret, and efforts should be made to prevent them from developing into open scandals. Mediation or arbitration by family elders is often effective for settling disputes within these families. If the misunderstandings and consequent difficulties seem to be beyond repair, property is gracefully

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829 partitioned, and separation granted to the members who want to
565 secede from the family. This is sought to be done in an orderly
593 way, and every possible effort is made to ensure that the differences within the family do not become the subject of local gossip.

When we consider the actual behaviour of the people on the intermediate level, we find that many of these ideals are very considerably diluted. The value of solidarity is understood, but the willingness to make concessions and personal sacrifices for the sake of the family is not sufficiently strong to make it really effective. Age is generally respected, but in angry outbursts abuse
[201] may be showered on parents and uncles. Unable to control his temper one may even spit at them, or throw dust at them (symbolizing their burial, and thus indirectly wishing their death), or strike them. It would probably be necessary to express some sort of an apology for this unbecoming behaviour later, but the unrepentant individual can repeat it when he is provoked again. This type of behaviour is confined to a few individuals, and is socially criticized but none the less tolerated. Here too the superiority of the male is insisted upon, but the woman also works and is not tied down to many of the shackles of respectability. She does not lose face if she is beaten by her husband semi-publicly; occasionally she hits him back. She expresses her anger or suffering by running back to her parental home. In many cases some effort is made to conceal family secrets, but when passions rise, a father and son, or two brothers, but more often a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, will openly quarrel in the courtyard or the village lanes, and in the course of the hearty exchange of abuse these secrets may be broadcast by them at the top of their voices. Family differences are discussed privately and occasionally in public as well, but even when property is divided and separation is completed, mutual bickerings and exchange of harsh words continue for several months in most cases.

829 On the lower level the 'ideals' get diluted so much that it is
593 difficult to find any traces of them in actual practice. Division of
562 property and separation at this level are so frequent as to reduce
829 the conception of family solidarity to practically a meaningless ideal. On ritual occasions, respect is shown to people on account of their age or kinship status, but in everyday life one can ignore these considerations with impunity. Although theoretically the woman is inferior, at this level she enjoys much more freedom. She

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can work for wages and has considerable freedom of movement. Sexual lapses on her part are more liberally viewed. If the husband beats her, she too can beat him. If the abuses of her husband are loud, hers can be louder still. She can leave her husband and take another with comparative ease, and without any social stigma. This would permanently lower the status of persons on the upper level, and would be commented upon very adversely in the intermediate class. The family secrets are announced to the outside world by the members of the family itself in their open-air quarrels. Compromises are often made through mediation and arbitration, but may be disregarded with comparative ease after a few days.

It is probably needless to say that the above three levels are not fixed, nor are they exclusive. Modern education and other modern means of communication—especially the cinema—often infuse a spirit of romantic individualism into the youth of the upper level, who, rather than working for family solidarity, often disintegrate it. Education, urban contacts, 'disgust with rustic ways', and desire for greater respectability according to accepted social standards in some cases set in motion efforts at vertical movement in families on the lower levels.

2. INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY

HUSBAND AND WIFE

According to the traditional norms of the society a husband is expected to be an authoritarian figure whose will should always dominate the domestic scene. As the head of the household he should demand respect and obedience from his wife and children. The wife should regard him as her 'master' and should 'serve him faithfully'. It is the husband's responsibility to provide adequately for the support and maintenance of 'his dependants' and the wife's duty is to 'run the household frugally and efficiently'. In an ideal home 'all major decisions are taken by the husband in consultation with his wife and grown-up children', but the final say in all matters connected with the family is always with the husband. The husband should 'watch the activities and ways of his wife' as well as 'take care of the proper upbringing of his children'. The wife should 'serve her husband with loyalty and devotion'. The husband is 'superior'; the wife is his 'subordinate'. As a mark of the recognition of his superiority, the wife shows respect to her

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husband by touching his feet. She washes the husband's clothes, and eats the leavings in his plate. The husband cannot do likewise. When the wife errs, the husband reprimands her, and can abuse and beat her. However, a good wife is not expected to answer him back. Even when the husband is wrong she is supposed to bear her lot meekly and submissively. This cultural pattern is reflected in the lament of the wife over her husband's demise, when she wails, 'Where is my lord? Where is my master? Now who will support me? The shield that protected me is gone; now I am helpless.'

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593 With the setting up of an independent houshold the nature of husband-wife relations undergoes a definite change. Now the two are free to run their own affairs. No doubt the husband has not now to work under anybody's supervision, but he also lacks the security provided by the joint family. Similarly, the wife has no longer to slave for her mother-in-law, but all the same she has to do the entire work connected with the running of the household. The husband is now the real head and has to work hard to provide for the maintenance of the family. The major share of the family's subsistence comes through his labour; in some cases the wife also assists him. In many families, a small part of the family's earnings may be contributed by the wife also. But the main task of the woman is to run the household and manage the domestic economy. As far as possible the house should be kept neat and tidy, children and cattle should be well looked after, and above all at fixed hours meals should be provided for the members of the family. Ordinarily a woman does not interfere with 'outside affairs', that is matters not directly connected with domestic management are believed to be the responsibility of the husband. Similarly, the husband is not expected to meddle too much in the actual running of the household. Nevertheless, major decisions connected with either of these spheres are arrived at after mutual consultation. Cases on record clearly show that in several instances a dominating wife effectively interferes in the management of 'outside affairs', and in time the husband learns not only to take her advice but to depend upon it. On the other hand, instances of the other type are not wanting, where a wife who is consistently negligent about her household duties is sharply rebuked by her husband and is made to carry out his detailed instructions regarding the actual management of domestic affairs. Care and education of the children are primarily the responsibility of the mother, but in this field the father is also expected to give some of his time and attention.

593 837 Both husband and wife watch each other's activities closely. Improvidence and spendthrift habits, excessive drinking and gambling, and extra-marital sex-intrigues to the neglect of the spouse on the part of the husband are critically watched and commented on by the wife. If mild hints do not prove effective she takes recourse to taunts and threats. One of the most important and often-used weapons in the armoury of the wife is her threat

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of running away to her parental home. She often expresses her anger and discontent by neglecting the children and other household activities. If things still do not improve to her satisfaction, she begins to protest loudly, which often ends in open quarrels and altercations. On the other hand, among the men the stereotype that by nature woman is faithless is widely believed, and while they admit that there are some notable exceptions, they nevertheless emphasize the necessity of vigilance on the part of the husband and other responsible members of the family. The suspicion regarding a woman is directed particularly against two things: namely, possibility of a sexual liaison with a 'lover', and that of her stealthily giving money and grain to her relatives on the paternal side. If he suspects his wife, the husband makes suggestive hints and veiled threats. When subsequent events confirm his suspicion, he voices his protests loudly. Now he administers threats of dire consequences, and as a foretaste of what would come if she does not change her ways, he may even beat his wife. If things do not change for the better even with this, the subsequent developments may indeed be very complicated. However, much depends on the personality and disposition of the husband. Rather than allowing the affair to develop into an open scandal, some husbands overlook occasional lapses of their wives; others are so jealous that they cannot forget an incident of this type even when the wives mend their ways and keep on taunting them.

In a joint family, the daughter-in-law does not have any independence unless she becomes the mother of two or three children. Until then she should not be found even speaking to her husband. Efforts at endearment, smiling or even exchanging fond glances would be enough to cause comment and would earn for the couple a reputation for being 'shameless'. The husband in such families often hears the complaints from both his mother and his wife, and leaves them to adjust their relations among themselves.

In the preceding section I have discussed the ethics and ideals of family organization on the three levels of village population. The authoritarian husband and the docile wife is the ideal of people on all three levels, but it is only on the upper level that we find them holding to the ideal in actual practice. Even there, the desire to maintain 'family prestige' and 'good name' forces the husband to overlook some of the faults and failings of the wife and

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593 565 837 [586] to maintain silence about them. But if affairs cross the limits of decency, or the constant misbehaviour of the wife threatens to become the subject of public gossip, the wife receives very harsh treatment and may even be driven out of the house. If she once leaves the house, readmittance for her would be practically impossible among the people of the upper level. On the other two levels, while tempers are roused very quickly and are even expressed publicly in a violent way, the reconciliation is not difficult. Faults of the wife are often openly discussed among them, and she is ridiculed in the presence of others; but she is quite readily forgiven also, and if she does not go astray again, she soon regains her former position in the household.

593 The stereotyped attitudes of wives for husbands and of husbands for wives are common for the community—as a whole. 'A woman should not be trusted. You can never tell when and how she would slip out', say the men in a knowing manner. Others add, 'Much depends on the husband. He must control his wife properly. Once he relaxes his control, then she is practically gone for all times.' The women, on the other hand, regard all men as heartless. 'It is impossible to please a husband; to-day he likes a thing very much; to-morrow he will lose his temper over it.' 'The lot of a woman is difficult. Unlucky ones receive beatings every day; the lucky ones get them only periodically. But is there a woman whose husband never beats her?' In a philosophical vein they add, 'And why not? The man works and earns. If we do not please him he beats us. Of what use are our protests? If a bullock runs away from one owner, will not its second master yoke it to a plough and mercilessly goad it to move faster? If we leave one man and go to another, what guarantee is there that he will not treat us in the same way?'

The wife does not dominate the domestic scene, but if she is tactful she can manipulate things in such a way that her husband will rarely go against her wishes. Gradually she comes to occupy a key position within the household.

581 Finally two significant questions may be raised: what type of wives do most men want? and what type of husbands do most women want? While the ideals and likes and dislikes of individuals are bound to differ greatly on the basis of their personal equations, certain attributes are considered desirable by people from nearly all the different levels of the community. A wife should be, above

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WEB OF FAMILY TIES

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 In general the attitude of the children towards their parents should be one of respect and obedience. Very early in his life a child must learn to act on the traditional norms of showing respect to different categories of people on the basis of their age and kinship status. The parents are entitled to the highest respect from the children; the latter must show it by touching their feet on ceremonial occasions. Between the father and the mother, the former symbolizes authority to a greater degree, while the constant association of the latter develops ties of sympathetic understanding between her and the children. Both must be respected, but of the two the father is feared much more. The mother is generally responsible for the upbringing of the children, but vigilance is also expected of the father, who must provide the corrective when too much leniency on the part of the mother begins to spoil the children. Of course the mother is responsible for the daily care of the children. She baths, clothes and feeds them. She looks after them during their illnesses. While she is doing her normal household work, she is expected to keep an eye on the children, and to ensure that they are kept away from mischief. Until they are about five years old, the life of the children centres around the mother. It is to her that they look for protection and help. 'When he is in a playful mood, the father may fondle the child; but it is the mother who attends to his daily routine.' 'The father,' it is said, 'loves the smiling child, but it is the mother who has to pacify it when it starts crying.'

[858] The nature of the parent-child relationship changes with the age and status of the children. The traditional themes of correct treatment during infancy and early childhood are very different from those of childhood and adolescence. Similarly, when the sons and daughters enter the phases of youth and subsequently of adulthood, the tone of the parent-child relationship undergoes a significant modification.

593 842 Traditional opinion regards a son as an asset; a daughter, a liability. While a son 'belongs' to his parents, a daughter is bound eventually to go to some other family. Care of a daughter is regarded as 'watering a neighbour's tree'; you take all the trouble with it but its fruit goes to someone else. In a large family having many sons, a girl is definitely desired and welcomed. A family having too many daughters and no sons is unhappy, for a son is

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both a psychological and a ritual necessity. Notwithstanding this preference for sons, in actual practice no discrimination is observed in the treatment of children on the grounds of their sex.

As a rule infants are treated with affection. Until a child is four or five years old, it is mainly a responsibility of the mother. The mother nurses it whenever it starts crying indicating its desire to be fed. The child sleeps with its mother in the night and is at liberty to suck whenever it likes. Feeding of the child is primarily the mother's duty. However, when it is six to eight months old, elder sisters, female relations and male members of the household may start sharing this task with her by occasionally giving solid food to the child. While other relations give some food to the child occasionally, its attachment to the mother does not diminish in any significant way, as it is breast-fed by her until it is four or five years old. In teaching the child regular habits of sphincter control, standing, walking and speaking the mother's share is very considerable.

On the whole, an infant is the cause of delight to the family, and it is often fondled and carried about by the elders. They all invariably make funny faces and peculiar noises to make the baby smile, fondle it in many different ways, and find great enjoyment in imitating its meaningless sounds.

The situation radically changes after the child reaches the age of five or six years. Now the parents must be strong and should start disciplining it. At this stage the child finds the father an authoritarian figure and begins to fear him. The liberty that he was allowed during his early childhood is increasingly curtailed. Now the accent is on good behaviour and regular habits. The child is more frequently spanked for being troublesome. Absorbed in the care of a younger baby, the mother may often have to leave the elder child to spend most of his time in his own way. During the day-time he mostly plays out of doors with other children of his age-group. As he grows older the discipline becomes more and more difficult. At first he was punished for being 'troublesome' or for 'crying without reason', but now he has to distinguish clearly between things to be done and things not to be done. The child must be very particular about the latter. These include mostly urinating and defecating inside the house, demanding food and money at odd times too often, beating younger brothers and sisters, stealing, lying and using foul language. As a general rule, the

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in life. Indirect education through folktales, parables and songs is now supplemented by direct and conscious instruction by the parents. The mother seeks to train her daughter to be a good wife; she would often say to her, 'The husband's home is very different from the home of your parents. Here you sit down and the meals are served to you by your mother; there even if you work to the point of breaking your limbs you will not have a word of appreciation. And if you do not work, your tormenting mother-in-law and sisters-in-law will not only abuse you, but will also remember your parents in the foulest language.' Through anecdotes and reminiscences, she creates a vivid picture in the daughter's mind of what she is likely to find when she leaves her first home to enter her second and real home. As the time for the girl's marriage approaches, she finds herself attached to the mother all the more. If the father disapproves of any of the ways of the girl seriously, rather than speak to her directly, he would bring the matter to the notice of her mother, through whom he would seek to influence the daughter. Of course on minor matters he can speak to her directly. Similarly, in the case of grown-up boys, when any action more serious than a mere warning, use of strong language or giving of a threat is called for it is the father and not the mother who is supposed to handle them.

When the children enter their youth and adulthood, there are further changes in the pattern of inter-personal relationships between the parents and children. By this time the girls are married off and leave the parental home to take their place as wives in the homes of their respective husbands. For three or four years they maintain a somewhat intimate and regular contact with their parental home, and their people too are interested in their adjustment and welfare in the new surroundings. Afterwards, however, the girl gets increasingly absorbed in the affairs of her own home, and the memories of childhood friends, as well as those of her parental home, gradually recede into the background. In later years, on ceremonial occasions she returns to her parental home more or less a stranger. Not that the parents are totally unconcerned about the welfare of their daughter, or that the girl has altogether forgotten them, but the distance that separates them (in time and space) gradually takes away much of the glow and warmth of the feelings which they have for one another. On the other hand, the boys also marry and their wives come home to

WEB OF FAMILY TIES

884 live with them. They think that this ends their tutelage under their
593 father and establishes them as independent members of the community. The parents do not necessarily share this view, and consequently in the period that follows there is considerable stress and need for understanding and accommodation on both sides. The son is divided between loyalty to his father and his new-found desire for independence on the one hand; his affection for the mother generated by close association from the day of birth and his attraction for the wife on the other. During this stage the parents cannot punish or chastise their sons; they can at best advise
[626] and warn. When repeated advice and warnings do not have the desired effect, methods of employing pressure or ridicule are resorted to. Pressure may be brought to bear on the son through village elders, other influential people and even through his friends. Stories about sons who forget their duties and responsibilities towards their parents because of their wives are legion. Socially it is bad form to be engrossed completely in the wife to the neglect of the parents; it is worse to deny them the respect and courtesy that is their due at the bidding of the wife. The traditional norms of respectful behaviour must be observed in dealing with parents. Intimate subjects, particularly those having a bearing on sex, should not be discussed in the presence of the parents. Opinion should not be proffered unless it is asked for. All forms of endearment must be avoided by the husband and wife in the presence of the elders. It is not very proper for a young father to fondle and kiss his child too often when his parents are present. Finally, parents should not be abused or beaten; as far as possible differences should be smoothed out by peaceful means. Nevertheless, when there are acute differences in the points of view of the parents and children, exchange of hot words and loud quarrels between them are not uncommon.

888 Tradition lays down fairly strict norms regarding the treatment of aged, dependent parents. A son failing in his duty of providing adequately for his old parents, and not caring sufficiently for their comforts, particularly during illness, invites strong social disapproval and comment. He is regarded as a bad example. Elders, well-wishers and friends are bound to remind him repeatedly about his obligations to his aged parents. At this stage the old people are expected not to interfere with the domestic management of the household, and as a price for this non-interference the

606 brothers the daughter-in-law has terms of privileged familiarity,
607 and while they are not expected to cross certain limits, tradition permits them to indulge in joke and banter. Unmarried brothers-in-law provide sympathy and friendship to the harassed wife, but when they grow up they too are drawn to their wives, and the former ties of intimacy are gradually forgotten in the humdrum realities of life.

● SIBLINGS

593 Social ideals demand that there should be solidarity between siblings, especially between brothers, and that they should 'love and help' one another. The older brothers and sisters, particularly the latter, must share the responsibility of looking after the younger ones with their mother. In actual practice up to the age of six or seven they are constant companions; later the sisters gradually become absorbed in feminine pursuits and are thus unable to participate as freely in the children's games as they did before, and the boys too develop greater interest in their respective play-groups. Thus, to begin with, the inter-personal relations between the siblings are closest in their early childhood, but later they develop on their own lines, and distance between the sexes increases gradually.

The older siblings can claim some 'authority' over the younger ones. When the mother is otherwise occupied or is ill, the older siblings have to look after and care for the younger brothers and sisters. Particularly the older sisters have to lend a helping hand to the mother, and very often children become so much attached to them that they come to regard them as substitutes for the mother. While siblings of more or less the same age-group have to 'help, support and defend' one another, in their dealings with the other village children, the older ones must keep an eye on the doings of their younger brothers and sisters and bring their faults to
[861] the notice of the parents. The older siblings can occasionally spank the younger ones under their charge, but they must not do it too often. In return for the limited authority which they enjoy, they have to make some concessions. When a younger sibling starts crying for something, it is expected that an older brother or sister should forgo his own share to appease him. 'He is younger; he does not understand it, but you are older and understand everything. Let him have the thing. After all, he is your brother',

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the parents often say when they want to persuade one of their older children to yield to an apparently 'unreasonable demand' of the younger. When there is a quarrel between the siblings, it is invariably the elder who is admonished. 'One can understand a young child being unreasonable, but being older you should know better', the parents would say. Younger children very often complain to the parents about the older siblings; the latter prefer to deal with them personally when the parents are away. However, if the parents are too partial to their pet child, the others conspire to put him in disfavour. Spying by the younger children, when it is discovered, is punished by the older siblings. They may boycott them, refuse to speak to them, may not allow them to partake of their share of good things to eat, and may tease them in various ingenious ways. They often have a silly nickname for such a child, or they may keep on referring to some oddity in him, and thus tease and cause offence to him constantly. When they are six or seven, brothers and sisters form different groups. Aware of the pattern of male dominance, the brothers begin to regard themselves as superior to the sisters. They dislike doing anything which is regarded as 'feminine work', and if compelled to do so do not fail to express their extreme distaste. They would prefer to do it only if unobserved by their playmates, for if one of them were to notice it the 'news' would soon spread and the other boys would have funny ditties and remarks ready when next they met him. At this stage they begin to assert their superiority over their sisters. The latter must not join them in boy's games. When they are discovered engaging in anything that is regarded as particularly masculine, they are told, 'Now go and mind the pots; there is plenty to do at home.' Family histories recorded for the purpose of this study do not reveal any permanent tender emotional ties between brothers and sisters. It has already been pointed out that a few years after her marriage a girl returns more or less as a stranger to her parental home. On the other hand, there is considerable attachment between the sisters before they are married, but in their case also it gradually wears off after marriage.

The brothers either continue to live in the same house, or, if they separate, they live in the same village. Migrations are comparatively few, and even when one of the brothers moves away he continues to maintain contact with the families of his brothers

still resident in the village. Tradition emphasizes the necessity of solidarity between brothers, even if they live separately. They should stand by and support one another in the hour of need. Indeed, there are considerable misunderstandings and consequent quarrels between families, but they do co-operate and support one another when serious situations arise and call for such assistance. Those who fail to rise to the occasion and do not behave in the expected way are criticized by the community and may even be admonished publicly by the village elders. However, regarding the general tone of inter-personal relations between brothers it may be said that it is not characterized by deep sentiments and affection. Understanding is desirable, but it is believed to be rather difficult to attain. However, ties of kinship inevitably bring them close to each other on ritual occasions and in moments of distress.

OTHER RELATIVES WITHIN THE FAMILY

Brief mention may be made here of certain other categories of relatives who live together in the same house within the joint family.

Grandparents are believed to be indulgent. It is said that they 'always spoil the grandchildren'. It is remarkable that persons who have had a reputation for being very 'strict fathers' behave in an altogether different way with their grandchildren. They are lenient and friendly towards them, and indeed take a lot of interest in them. Amusing grandchildren and being in turn amused by them is one of the favourite pastimes of the grandparents. Most of the time they can be seen fondling them or carrying them about. When their parents are angry with them, young children often take shelter with their grandparents. Very few grandparents ever complain about the behaviour of the little ones, and they would rarely spank them.

An uncle must be treated like the father and an aunt like the mother. But in this relationship much depends on the age and personality of the uncle. If he is nearer in age to the children than to the father, he is regarded as a superior kind of elder brother, but if he is nearer to the father in respect of age, he is feared and respected by the children. Often the children develop their pattern of relationship with an uncle on the basis of his character and personality. 'Some uncles are friendly. They allow us considerable

585 distributes invitations, offers his occupational services in matters of haircutting and shaving, and at the wedding itself, at the time of important rites during the night, holds a lighted torch. The potter supplies the large quantity of earthenware needed for the different [533] rituals as well as for cooking. No marriage ceremony can be performed without the essential instrumental music played by the Madigas. The carpenter has to make the marriage-post, and other wooden fixtures as well, if they are required. The marriage rites require small payments to these occupational castes in the course of the ceremony itself. At the completion of the ceremony, depending on the means of the family, they are paid once again for their labours.

586 587 Divorce and widow re-marriage are allowed in all castes except the Brahmin and the Komti. Divorce or 'driving away the wife' is not very common. In the 380 marriages studied by us there were only 79 cases of desertion and divorce. In all such cases the elders, the village council and the caste council intervene and the parties involved in the dispute have to abide by their decisions.

595 Brahmins do not conduct the re-marriage of widows. Polygyny is permitted among the Hindus; but it is rare. At the time of our investigation there were only seven polygynous Hindu homes in the village.

584 Among the Muslims the standard marriage ritual prescribed by Islam is adhered to with some regional and local variations. Marriage negotiations are initiated by the boy's people, and when they are successful a date for the *nikah* (rites of marriage) is fixed 585 by them in consultation with a Muslim marriage priest. Four days before the actual wedding preliminary rites are started. The ceremony opens with the rite of *manjah* in which the womenfolk of the two sides grind turmeric in their respective homes, and playfully throw turmeric and coloured water on each other in their separate groups. On the second day the groom's people go to the bride's home with gifts for her. These gifts include jewellery, clothes and bangles. The bride is then garlanded by a responsible person from the groom's side; and a little later, with her mother's permission, *missi* (a thick black paste) is applied to her lips and teeth. This symbolizes the actual beginning of the wedding rites. On the third morning, the bride's people (with the exception of her mother) go to the groom's place. They take presents for the bridegroom, and he is garlanded by a younger sister or cousin of

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Muslims

the bride. The girl and the boy are seated opposite each other, 585
but are separated by a screen. The bride's sister or cousin asks the groom to extend his hand towards her so that she may apply *henna* (a perfumed paste) to his index finger. He refuses to do this unless she promises to be his slave. When he does give her his finger, she catches hold of it, and lets go of it only when he promises to be her slave. Later turmeric paste is applied to the bride and she is attired in her bridal clothes. At the appointed time the groom is brought on a horse or in a decorated carriage by his people in a procession. The bridegroom finds the main entrance closed. It is opened by the bride's brothers when small gifts are offered to them. The *kazi*, Muslim priest, solemnizes the marriage by reading the prescribed words of *nikah*. The signature of the bridegroom is obtained on a document which embodies all the terms of the marriage contract, including the *mehar* (alimony) which he will have to pay if he leaves his wife. While this is being done the bride remains inside. Her father and some responsible elders then go to her and say, 'You are being married to X, with a *mehar* fixed at Rs. —. Are you willing to be his wife?' Her consent is necessary; although she often indicates it not by saying 'yes' but by crying. The bridegroom's mother puts a necklace of black beads around the bride's neck, and a nose-ring in her nose. Ceremonies of fun and frolic follow. The two are seated on a decorated bed, but a screen is held between them, and they throw rice at each other. Then the screen is removed and a mirror is placed between the two. The groom is asked to read some passages from the Koran and to see the reflection of his wife's face in the mirror. Later the bride is given away ceremonially by her parents to the head of the bridegroom's family. The procession for going home is formed by the groom's party, and the newly-married couple are taken in a decorated carriage. More rites follow at the bridegroom's house, where the two have to wash each other's feet. During all these days feasting goes on, to which friends and relations are invited. On the final day an elaborate feast is given. Later, in a day or two, the bride is taken back to her parents' home. There the bridegroom's people are received with great courtesy and are given an impressive feast.

Islam permits polygyny, and a man can have up to four wives. 590
In Shamirpet, however, there were only three polygynous Muslim 586
homes in a total Muslim population of 340, at the time of our

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595 investigations. Their social system and usage permit divorce, and
586 clauses pertaining to alimony are embodied in the written marriage contract. In actual practice, in all cases of desertion and 'running away' these conditions are not adhered to very strictly, and compensation when paid is substantially less than the figure mentioned
585 in the contract. As pointed out earlier the marriage rites are conducted by the *kazi*, who is invited from the city for this purpose.

41 *Death.* Both Hindus and Muslims understand the physiological causes of death. It is generally attributed to natural causes, such as disease or old age; but in all cases where the circumstances or manner of death are unusual it is attributed to supernatural factors, such as wrath of gods and ancestor-spirits, witchcraft and black magic.

764 Among all the Hindu castes, the dead children are buried. The Brahmin and the Komti as a rule cremate their dead, except in cases of death from snake-bite and smallpox. Among the other higher castes both cremation and burial are practised. It is usual to cremate the aged as well as the rich and the influential. In the lower castes such as the Sakali, the Mangali and the Erkala, as well as among the untouchable Malas and Madigas, burial is more common. Soon after a death, word is sent round to relations and friends in the village and also in the neighbouring villages. The corpse is washed, clothed and tied on to a wooden or bamboo bier. It is covered with a new cloth, and decorated with flowers. If the family can afford it Madigas are called to play their musical instruments, which they do walking at the head of the procession. The bier is carried by four people on their shoulders. As they proceed slowly towards the graveyard or the cremation ground, people keep on repeating some solemn slogans, such as 'the name of God alone is true' or 'be truthful and your salvation will be assured'. When a person is to be cremated, his or her son, or in the absence of a son a younger brother or some other near kin, carries an earthen pot with fire in it. Midway between the house and the burial ground the bier is placed on the earth for a few minutes' 'rest', and then carried on. Before putting it on the funeral pyre or in the grave, the son, or a near relation of the deceased, goes round the pyre (or grave) three times sprinkling water all around it. The body is then put on the pyre with the bier, or is taken from it and put in the grave. A near kinsman sets fire to the pyre, or

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natural and necessary. Only morons and cripples remain single. Though it is rare for people to renounce their home and property in old age, old men and women excessively attached to material goods come in for a good deal of criticism, and people often remark about them, 'Will they carry their wealth with them to the other world when they die?' It is at this time that their thoughts turn more to religion and to the destiny of their souls in the future life, and it is now that they generally undertake pilgrimages to holy places. In a sense the broad essentials of the philosophy of the *ashramas* can be said to permeate the life and thought of the Hindu villagers. The village Muslims share these social attitudes with their Hindu neighbours. With conversion to Islam they have changed their religious faith, but in the socio-cultural spheres of life they still continue to have more or less the same basic attitudes as the Hindus. In their family ethics and ideals the two groups demonstrate considerable similarity.

To the village people the necessity of both marriage and family is self-evident. It is necessary that the family line should be continued. A male heir must be left. An unmarried person past the marriage age is an object of pity. A couple without a son are unhappy. Childlessness and inability to produce a male child on the part of a woman often lead to a polygynous household. Marriage is regarded as essential among all the castes and social groups in the village. In a community of 2,494 persons, demographic survey reveals the presence of only two single persons—both women. One of these is a deaf-mute; the other has been a victim of epileptic fits from her childhood and has in addition the unenviable reputation of being a thief. For the clean-caste Hindus the continuity of the family line is necessary for a further reason. A male child must make a ceremonial offering of water to the spirits of his deceased parents and ancestors, without which their souls may not have peace. The untouchable castes as well as the semi-tribal groups also have this ritual in a modified form. The Muslims neither have this belief nor any attendant ritual, but they too share with the Hindus the sentiment against childlessness.

1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

The patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint family is the normal type of family unit met with in this part of rural India.

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CHAPTER TWO

Social Structure

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To understand the social structure of an Indian village it is necessary to examine the various units through which the village community is organized. The basic and primary unit of the society is the elementary or joint family. Every family belongs to an exogamous division of a caste and several such divisions constitute an endogamous caste or an endogamous section of a large caste. Only excommunication or a change of religion can alter the position of the individual in any such social units. On the other hand, every family belongs to the community with whom it shares a settlement site, be it a village or a hamlet attached to a village. In socio-religious affairs, control of the individual is threefold—that of his family, his village and his caste. Often it is only the independent, endogamous division of the caste which takes cognizance of offences and penalizes erring members, and not the caste as a whole. On the other hand, very serious cases or matters concerning more than one village may be heard and decided by a larger judicial organ, comprising members of all the constituent villages. The structure and organization of the family, as well as the criterion of status differentiation in the community, can best be described in a separate chapter; here we shall examine the division of the community into castes, and follow it up by an analysis of the internal organization of the village with special reference to authority and the machinery regulating the administration of justice in the village.

1. CASTE IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

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The Hindus and the Muslims constitute two distinct sections in the population of Shamirpet. Although long residence and close

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if one of his caste fellows fails to fulfil the terms of his obligations or in any other way brings dishonour to the caste; if boys get unmanageable or girls earn an evil reputation for easy virtue, he effectively enters the scene, gives suggestions and advice, admonishes people if they do not seem amenable to persuasion, and in the case of adolescents and young boys may even inflict light corporal punishment. In his dealings with people E. D. R. possesses some dramatic qualities which make him something of a hero to his people. With his great influence in the counsels of the village he commands obedience from his own caste fellows as well as from many others. V. P. R., in a sense E. D. R.'s rival, has also a strong personality, and although he is not the recognized head of the caste he exercises considerable control over 'his area of influence'. Because of his influence he is one of those who are invited to participate in the deliberations of the *panchayat*. However, the two men exercise considerable tact in dealing with each other, and so far there has been no effective challenge to the position of E. D. R. The position of the head in a caste is what its holder chooses to make it. Ambitious rivals can steal some of his light and authority. If he proves unsuitable he may for all practical purposes be superseded by someone who is abler or more ambitious and aggressive.

The structure of the family and part played by the 'head' in its affairs will be analysed in a subsequent chapter. It will suffice here to point out that the type of family organization in Shamirpet and the neighbouring rural areas is patrilineal and patrilocal. Joint families are regarded as ideal, although there is a tendency for sons to separate after marriage, and brothers almost always separate some time after the father's death. The eldest male is generally regarded as the chief of the household, and, according to tradition, he must benevolently dominate the scene. Younger members of the household must show respect to him and his wishes. In his turn the head of the family should treat his brothers or sons equally, 'as alike as his two eyes'. A serious socio-religious offence committed by one member of the family would result in the excommunication of the whole family. As such the head of the family must watch the actions of all the members of his household and advise, warn or admonish them according to the necessity of the situation. The head of the family is answerable to the caste and the village councils for the members of his household, and this

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entitles him to maintain a controlling hand in domestic affairs. In the case of the head of the family also, much depends on the character and personality of the individual concerned. An irresponsible head who becomes a liability to the members of his family forfeits his claim to their obedience and respect, and in such cases the sympathy of the village people is generally given to the dissenting members of the family. Even after separation it is good form to treat the elders with courtesy and respect. On the occasions of family reunions, such as those connected with the crises of life or with the annual offering of water to the spirits of the deceased, it is the eldest member of the family who occupies the dominant position. In general, even after separation his help is sought in cases of disease and difficulty, and in all matters involving priority of one or the other, preference is always given to the elder. The exact position of the head of the family would, however, vary according to the equations of different families, with which we propose to deal later.

The Deshmukh also figures at the head of the government or semi-government village officials, whose relative positions can be arranged in a tabular form as follows:

DESHMUKH
[Combining the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel]

Sub-Inspector of Police
Head Constables
Masters
Constables

Patwari

FOURTEEN VILLAGE MENIALS

i. Kawalkar	viii. Kammari
ii. Talari	ix. Kummari
iii. Majkuri	x. Sakali
iv. Neerudi	xi. Mangali
v. Begari	xii. Ausula
vi. Yetti	xiii. Dappu
vii. Wadla	xiv. Kommu

The Deshmukh is the recognized headman of the village. Two hundred and ten acres of rent-free land, the normal revenue of which would have been Rs. 556/6/-, have been granted to him by the State. He also formally holds the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel; in the former capacity he assists the government officials in the collection of land revenue, in the latter he helps the police in the maintenance of law and order. The Deshmukh used to cultivate the rent-free land earmarked by the government for persons working in these two capacities, but he had delegated his powers

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a number of years, according to law he acquires semi-proprietary rights over them. The landlord does not want this to happen, and so with a view to safeguarding his own interests he leases out his land to different persons in different years. A short-term lease is naturally not conducive to land improvement, for the person cultivating the land does not risk any investment in it. If he does improve it, in one of the following years the landlord may lease it out to someone else who offers to pay more than the person who improved the land. Secondly, those who hold most of the agricultural land in the village are interested in maintaining a supply of cheap agricultural labour, without which it would be impossible for them to cultivate their extensive fields. They benefit more by cultivating their land with the help of this labour, than by leasing out their land. If they leased out all their surplus land the cheap labour supply would appreciably diminish, and for want of competition wages of those who were still available would rise. To avoid this they choose to leave some of their land uncultivated, and thus we have the paradox of having in the same village many land-hungry families and several hundred acres of uncultivated land.

The land belongs to the family, and normally the head of the family exercises control over it. On the death of the father, the land and other agricultural property—such as tools, implements and livestock—are distributed equally among the brothers. Provision is made for the marriage of unmarried daughters as well as for the maintenance of the minor sons of the deceased. In very special cases, with the consent of all the brothers, a widowed sister is also given a small share. But this is a gratuity rather than a rightful share.

The agriculturists have considerable sentiment for their land and cattle. If adversity compels them to sell some of their fields or cattle, the day when this is done becomes a day of semi-mourning for the household. The hour of transfer is indeed a sad one, and the farmer will complete the necessary formalities with a heavy heart. For several days the family atmosphere remains overcast with gloom. The womenfolk may even wail and shed tears of real grief. In the sentiments of an Indian peasant, the Earth occupies a mother's position and parting with a fragment of it is nearly tantamount to separation from the mother. It is surprising how cattle become almost members of the agriculturist's family, and how

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Web of Family Ties

In the social structure of Indian village communities the family occupies by far the most important place. It derives its significance not merely from its economic functions and its dominant role as an agency of socialization and social control, but its ritual importance is also very great to the average Hindu.

Classical Hinduism has prescribed four stages of life: celibacy (*brahmacharya*), family life (*grahastha ashrama*), resignation (*vanaprastha*) and renunciation (*sanyas*). In the first stage a person acquires concentration by controlling his instincts and impulses so that he may be able to dedicate himself to the pursuit of learning. This is the formative period of life, and in it a man is expected to equip himself for the proper discharge of his social responsibilities. In the second stage he enters life and begins to share his social obligations. Now he must marry and beget children. This is the creative period and covers a very considerable part of a man's life. The last two are the contemplative stages. As a preparation for the ultimate renunciation of worldly goods and worldly connections, he should first cultivate an attitude of detachment and devote himself to reflection. When this has been achieved, the time will have come for him to renounce formally all his possessions and relations. In contemporary rural India very few people can understand or explain the social philosophy that lies behind this system of *ashramas* or the 'stages of life', but its essence has reached them for countless generations through oral tradition and through the teachings of numerous saint-poets and has thus become ingrained in their thought-pattern and value-structure. Sex indulgence among children is socially disapproved in the Indian countryside. Marriage is universally regarded as

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natural and necessary. Only morons and cripples remain single. Though it is rare for people to renounce their home and property in old age, old men and women excessively attached to material goods come in for a good deal of criticism, and people often remark about them, 'Will they carry their wealth with them to the other world when they die?' It is at this time that their thoughts turn more to religion and to the destiny of their souls in the future life, and it is now that they generally undertake pilgrimages to holy places. In a sense the broad essentials of the philosophy of the *ashramas* can be said to permeate the life and thought of the Hindu villagers. The village Muslims share these social attitudes with their Hindu neighbours. With conversion to Islam they have changed their religious faith, but in the socio-cultural spheres of life they still continue to have more or less the same basic attitudes as the Hindus. In their family ethics and ideals the two groups demonstrate considerable similarity.

To the village people the necessity of both marriage and family is self-evident. It is necessary that the family line should be continued. A male heir must be left. An unmarried person past the marriage age is an object of pity. A couple without a son are unhappy. Childlessness and inability to produce a male child on the part of a woman often lead to a polygynous household. Marriage is regarded as essential among all the castes and social groups in the village. In a community of 2,494 persons, demographic survey reveals the presence of only two single persons—both women. One of these is a deaf-mute; the other has been a victim of epileptic fits from her childhood and has in addition the unenviable reputation of being a thief. For the clean-caste Hindus the continuity of the family line is necessary for a further reason. A male child must make a ceremonial offering of water to the spirits of his deceased parents and ancestors, without which their souls may not have peace. The untouchable castes as well as the semi-tribal groups also have this ritual in a modified form. The Muslims neither have this belief nor any attendant ritual, but they too share with the Hindus the sentiment against childlessness.

1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

The patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint family is the normal type of family unit met with in this part of rural India.

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WEB OF FAMILY TIES

When a son-in-law settles with his wife's parents, we occasionally get examples of matrilocal residence. But this is rare and is largely confined to the cases of a few orphans and children of very poor parents who take recourse to the method of suitor service for securing a wife and then continue to live with their parents-in-law. The joint family is approved by social tradition. The following table illustrates an ideal joint family:

	Paternal Grandparents Parents	
Brothers and their wives	Ego : Wife	Unmarried sisters
Nephews Nieces	Sons and their wives	Unmarried daughters
	Grandchildren	

It is indeed difficult to locate family units in which five generations live together under the same roof. In the villages of Andhradesa, particularly Telangana, it is impossible to find a family in which all nuclear families of three generations share a common house. Among the higher castes of the Hindus such large joint families are still met with in the small towns and cities, but they are not often seen in the villages. In actual practice joint families in this part of the country are much smaller units, and often they consist of parents and their married sons and their wives and children, or of brothers and their wives and children. While joint families are regarded as ideal, it is common for sons to separate from their parents within a few years of their marriage. As a result of this separation they start as an elementary family, which comprises at first only the husband and the wife. This elementary family gradually becomes larger as children are added to it. When sons grow up, get married and continue to live with their wives in their parental home the unit can once again be classed as a joint family. In this connection case-histories of one hundred and twenty families from the village were examined. In 34% of the cases sons had separated from their parents within two years of marriage. Thirty-six per cent separated between two and three years after marriage. Separation took place after three, but within five years of marriage in 28% cases. Only 22% of the sons were still found to be living with their parents five years after their marriage. As most marriages are between adults, effective married

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life begins almost immediately after the marriage ceremony, or at the most within six months. For the purposes of the above analysis, the year when their effective married life started has been regarded as the year of marriage.

Further analysis of the case-histories reveals an almost uniform pattern of development in a majority of cases. For a year or so after his marriage a son continues to live with his parents. His wife also lives with him. Domestic quarrels and dissensions develop within this period and compel him to start thinking about separation. In some cases this takes place in the course of the next year; in others it may take three to five years. Those who can hold together for five years generally continue to live under the same roof peacefully for a much longer period. Nevertheless, separation is known to have taken place in some cases even after ten to fifteen years of living together.

A young married man separating from his parents or brothers generally maintains close connections with their family or families. However, as the immediate cause for separation is often a quarrel or an acute difference of opinion, for some time the separating families continue to have strained relations. They may not even be on speaking terms. With the passage of time much of the bitterness of the dispute wears off and cordiality gradually returns to the different branches of the same main family. When the relations between the main family and the seceding family are once again cordial, they start taking interest in each other's affairs and problems. Ceremonies, feasts and festivals bring them all together. Rites connected with the major crises of life are great occasions for family reunions. Particularly in the event of death old quarrels and misunderstandings are generally forgotten and all near-relations assemble for the last rites. In the rituals that follow the presence of all the branches of the family is regarded as obligatory, and the absence of anyone at such an occasion is bound to be viewed very seriously. This would almost always lead to a permanent breach of relations between the absenting unit and the other units of the same family.

In this context it is necessary to point out that an equivalent of the term 'family' is used in the community to denote three different social units, each varying from the other slightly. It may mean: (1) the elementary family or the 'house', (2) the extended family unit, or (3) a still larger group comprising the near-

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kin on the paternal side. The composition of the family differs in different cases. In many cases it consists only of the husband and wife, their sons and unmarried daughters. In others one or both of the parents, unmarried brothers and unmarried sisters may also belong to this unit. Brothers and sons often establish their independent houses after marriage. In the same way, old parents may come to live with their son who had separated from them a decade or two earlier.

The *peddamanshi* or literally the 'big man' is the head of several family units which together constitute this extended family or allied families. In a still wider sense, family may include another category of near-kin who are one degree removed from the cluster of allied families.

In the diagram (overleaf) lines show the relatives who constitute the allied families, and dotted lines show the near-kin. Only unmarried girls belong to the family. On marriage they become members of their husband's family.

Each elementary family can be regarded as an independent unit of the extended family or the allied families. In everyday life it is practically free from the control of the other units of the allied families. Ordinarily these branches meet only on ceremonial and ritual occasions. Importance of the solidarity within the allied families is emphasized, and it is expected that any major decision will not be taken by any branch without consultation with the senior members of these allied families. Selling or buying land, starting litigation, obtaining large loans from a money-lender, leaving the village permanently for settling down in a different locality, and fixing the date and time for socio-religious ceremonies are among the subjects on which prior consultation with the senior members of the allied families is regarded as necessary. In any case the *peddamanshi* or head of these allied families should not be ignored. Often it is not difficult to get his permission and blessings; but people ignoring him inevitably come in for social censure. If the elders find the arrogance of the younger members too great they generally express their dissatisfaction and disapproval in their talk with the other people in the village. Their refusal to participate in a socio-religious ceremony of one of the branches of their family will cause a minor sensation in the village, and the comment of the society will generally be against the junior member who ignored the elders. If the affairs of any branch are in a

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE ALLIED FAMILIES AND THE NEAR-KIN

bad way, the elders of the allied families are expected to intervene. Scandals or dishonourable behaviour in one unit are likely to spoil the name of all the allied families, and as such tradition enjoins elders to advise, warn and even admonish the erring members. A young man given to excessive drinking, gambling or any similar vice would often be admonished by the elders of this extended family. If he cannot keep his wife under control, or if the quarrels of the two become very frequent and too public, the neighbours would convey the information to the elders of the extended family and expect them to use their initiative in putting things right. In all such cases they will be within their customary rights if they intervene. They can demand that their advice is heard and followed.

Within the family unit the eldest male is generally regarded as the head. His wife or the next senior male is given the second place. A respectful son very often describes his old widowed mother as the 'head' of the family. However, in many cases the *de facto* head of the family may be a son under whose guidance and supervision the land is cultivated or the craft or profession of the family is practised. Parents dominate the scene in their youth and early middle age. With approaching old age they gradually recede to the background. Nominally they remain the heads of the family, but their sons are left more or less free to conduct the management of the family property and profession as they like. As long as the father remains the real head of the family, the internal management of the family remains the charge of the mother. Sons are expected to obey her and the daughters-in-law are expected to carry out her instructions. Any failure or reluctance on the part of a daughter-in-law to carry out the wishes of her mother-in-law leads to constant quarrels and complications, and in many cases to ultimate separation. Between sons and daughters, as a rule, preference is shown to the former, but if the sisters have considerable seniority in age, their younger brothers are expected to respect and obey them.

In the village community of Shamirpet, which has considerable variations of caste and class, and significant differences in education and urban contacts, it is only natural to expect great variations in the family ideals and ethics of the different groups. In the themes of their idealizations, the different sections of the population show striking similarities; but in their attitudes and reactions

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THE CHANGING SCENE

178 The social structure of the village is basically the same
621 although with every administrative or political change in the village there were several organizational changes. The primary unit in this structure is either the elementary family (maintaining close contacts with allied families) or it is a large joint family. The head of each family is known as the 'big man'. The next unit is the caste; or in the case of the Muslims, the group sharing a common religion. Each of these groups has a hereditary caste headman who represents it in the village council. Finally, this council consists of these headmen of the different castes, three Ganadi and the headman of the village who is its presiding officer. The following tables show the significant lines of variation in social organization, with special reference to family, caste and village council:

I—FAMILY

178 • 596

Then	*Now*
(1) Insistence on family solidarity and cohesion.	(1) Growth of individualism.
(2) Greater attachment to the soil and settlement.	(2) Migrations more frequent.
(3) Intra-family relations governed by regard for age and kinship status.	(3) Less regard for these traditional principles.

II—CASTE

178 564

Then	*Now*
(1) Occupational specialization on the basis of caste.	(1) Caste no longer the final and only determinant of occupation.
(2) Prohibition on inter-dining with some equal castes and all lower castes.	(2) Rules of inter-dining less rigid.
(3) Hierarchy and permanent distance between different castes.	(3) Mild protest against social hierarchy: some modification in actual practice.

III—VILLAGE COUNCIL

178 623

Then	*Now*
(1) Constituted on hereditary principles.	(1) Also admits people with 'achieved status'.
(2) Little outside intervention.	(2) Considerable outside pressure.
(3) Decisions generally accepted.	(3) Defiance or avoidance possible.

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THE CHANGING SCENE

In the organization of the family the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement, and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger people, especially among those who have had some education or urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an increasing scale. In making records of the biographies and general attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two steps of people emerged clearly. While the elderly and the middle-aged, mostly illiterate, complained about the inconveniences of village life, they still regarded it as the only way of life possible for *them*. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal their contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs there; and on the other it has generated disharmony and dissensions within the family causing considerable dislocation in the established principles according to which priorities and concessions went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies is not more than 10% or 15% of the total in their age-group.

The caste system in the community presents only slight variations in some directions. As before, caste still retains its endogamous character. Similarly, caste continues to be a part of, and is sanctioned by, the traditional religion. However, its occupational character has undergone some change. People are now taking to new occupations. A goldsmith has opened a tea shop. Washermen and similar other castes are accepting menial jobs in the city. These are not their traditional occupations. Besides Muslims some non-Komti Hindus have set up general shops in the village; in the traditional system only Komtis could do so. Thus people are either giving up their traditional occupations, or they are taking to occupations which by tradition belong to some other castes.

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796 the others and offers them to the god of love. Imitating the ritual of cremation, then, the Kummari goes round the pyre thrice sprinkling water, sets fire to it and breaks the earthen pot. Men make a funny imitation of the sounds made at the time of the funeral and the crowd bursts into loud laughter. People wait for an hour or so and go home with some ashes from the pyre. They must be careful, for the young men of the village are still active, and such objects as wooden bedsteads, fences, doors and logs of wood are eagerly sought by them and thrown into the burning pyre.

Next morning Madiga drum-beaters and village watchmen go from house to house and beg for money. People start playing *holi*. Until mid-day they throw dust, mud, cow-dung and earth at one [602] another. Those standing in joking relationships with each other often engage in vigorous jest and banter. The singing of vulgar songs by men is permitted. At midday people bath and take their meal. Later in the afternoon they play *holi* again; but this time they only throw coloured powders and coloured water at each other.

New Eating. Twice every year, after each harvest, the 'New Eating' ceremony is arranged to initiate the eating of grain from the recently harvested crop. No particular day is fixed for it, and each family arranges it according to its own convenience. New paddy from the recently harvested crop is mixed with some old paddy, and is pounded and husked. If a family has no new paddy —and many non-agriculturists and agricultural labourers often do not—they borrow it from a neighbour. After being husked the rice is cooked and sweetened with jaggery. This is then offered to the gods and ancestor-spirits in the house, and later eaten by the members of the family. Prior to this ceremony, the eating of any grain from the new crop is forbidden by custom.

Muslim Festivals. Before coming to the common village festivals, it is necessary to describe briefly the festivals of the Muslims. With regard to religion and ritual the Muslim element in the village population has a separate identity of its own.

The Muslims observe seven important festivals. They are *Moharram, Meelad Sharif, Giarwin Sharif, Shabe Miraj, Shabe Barat, Ramzan* and *Id-uz-zuha*. These festivals follow the Muslim calendar, and unlike the Hindu festivals, which always occur in the same season, their time varies from year to year.

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liberty and shield us when parents are angry. We like them and willingly do odd bits of work for them. But others are different. They always have a frown on their faces. At the slightest pretext they are annoyed. We do their work too, but very grudgingly. We make faces behind their backs.' The same applies to aunts. Cousins should be regarded as brothers and sisters, and in a joint family they are certainly treated as such. It naturally follows from this that one should treat one's nephews and nieces as one's own children. While this is found to be rather difficult in actual practice, any favouritism and partiality to one's own children to the exclusion of the brother's children is a fruitful cause of dissension within the family.

RELATIONS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY

Affinal relatives do not maintain close contacts. They meet only on ceremonial and ritual occasions and in such meetings follow the mode of correct behaviour prescribed by tradition. A man will show respect and touch the feet of both his father-in-law and mother-in-law, but his relations with them would always be of a formal nature and would rarely be characterized by intimacy or emotional attachment. Similarly, between the respective parents-in-law of a husband and wife, the relations are rather formal. When they do meet on ceremonial occasions or visit one another, they try to be polite and consciously avoid controversial issues which may cause unpleasantness. If the father of a girl is compelled to intervene on behalf of his daughter who finds life rather difficult in her husband's home, he will exercise considerable tact and refer to the matter in a roundabout way. Amicable settlement is preferred, and all possible efforts are made to avoid a show-down.

Outside the family circle the relations between a person and his or her mother's brother are of special significance. As cross-cousin marriages are preferred in the community, a boy expects to get his wife from his maternal uncle's home, and a girl feels that she may have to go there as a daughter-in-law. With the younger brothers and sisters of his wife a man would have joking relations, and would frequently exercise the privilege of familiarity permitted to him by custom. Other relatives such as maternal grandfather and maternal grandmother are so distant, and contacts with them so rare, that there are no traditional norms regarding them.

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602 However, in dealing with such relatives who are outside the family circle, one must observe the prescribed etiquette. They must be invited on all ceremonial occasions, and when they arrive they must be 'received well'. At the ceremony itself they should be given a place of honour befitting their age and relationship status. The relationship entitles them to hospitality, and according to the 'resources and capacity' of the family they should be well looked after when they are staying as guests. It is customary to cook special dishes in honour of such guests, and the choicest share of what is prepared is invariably given to them. Due attention should be given to their comforts for the entire period of their stay as guests in the house.

582 605 Among Muslims, besides cross-cousin marriage, marriage between parallel cousins is permitted and indeed encouraged. As a consequence of this the pattern of inter-personal relations between the children of two brothers is somewhat different from that described for the whole community. Cousins of opposite sexes spend their childhood together with each other playing and behaving as brother and sister. At the age of eight or nine an effort is made to segregate them, but this segregation is neither strict nor complete, and they continue to meet, and if they like they can find opportunities to talk with each other. But when formal negotiations for marriage are opened, it is expected that the girl will start observing *purdah* and start veiling herself. From this time onwards the cousins should not have any direct contact. If the cousins are not to be married, they can continue as before. The correct mode of behaviour for them would be to regard each other as brother and sister.

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still resident in the village. Tradition emphasizes the necessity of solidarity between brothers, even if they live separately. They should stand by and support one another in the hour of need. Indeed, there are considerable misunderstandings and consequent quarrels between families, but they do co-operate and support one another when serious situations arise and call for such assistance. Those who fail to rise to the occasion and do not behave in the expected way are criticized by the community and may even be admonished publicly by the village elders. However, regarding the general tone of inter-personal relations between brothers it may be said that it is not characterized by deep sentiments and affection. Understanding is desirable, but it is believed to be rather difficult to attain. However, ties of kinship inevitably bring them close to each other on ritual occasions and in moments of distress.

OTHER RELATIVES WITHIN THE FAMILY

Brief mention may be made here of certain other categories of relatives who live together in the same house within the joint family.

Grandparents are believed to be indulgent. It is said that they 'always spoil the grandchildren'. It is remarkable that persons who have had a reputation for being very 'strict fathers' behave in an altogether different way with their grandchildren. They are lenient and friendly towards them, and indeed take a lot of interest in them. Amusing grandchildren and being in turn amused by them is one of the favourite pastimes of the grandparents. Most of the time they can be seen fondling them or carrying them about. When their parents are angry with them, young children often take shelter with their grandparents. Very few grandparents ever complain about the behaviour of the little ones, and they would rarely spank them.

An uncle must be treated like the father and an aunt like the mother. But in this relationship much depends on the age and personality of the uncle. If he is nearer in age to the children than to the father, he is regarded as a superior kind of elder brother, but if he is nearer to the father in respect of age, he is feared and respected by the children. Often the children develop their pattern of relationship with an uncle on the basis of his character and personality. 'Some uncles are friendly. They allow us considerable

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liberty and shield us when parents are angry. We like them and willingly do odd bits of work for them. But others are different. They always have a frown on their faces. At the slightest pretext they are annoyed. We do their work too, but very grudgingly. We make faces behind their backs.' The same applies to aunts. Cousins should be regarded as brothers and sisters, and in a joint family they are certainly treated as such. It naturally follows from this that one should treat one's nephews and nieces as one's own children. While this is found to be rather difficult in actual practice, any favouritism and partiality to one's own children to the exclusion of the brother's children is a fruitful cause of dissension within the family.

RELATIONS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY

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602 However, in dealing with such relatives who are outside the family circle, one must observe the prescribed etiquette. They must be invited on all ceremonial occasions, and when they arrive they must be 'received well'. At the ceremony itself they should be given a place of honour befitting their age and relationship status. The relationship entitles them to hospitality, and according to the 'resources and capacity' of the family they should be well looked after when they are staying as guests. It is customary to cook special dishes in honour of such guests, and the choicest share of what is prepared is invariably given to them. Due attention should be given to their comforts for the entire period of their stay as guests in the house.

582 605 Among Muslims, besides cross-cousin marriage, marriage between parallel cousins is permitted and indeed encouraged. As a consequence of this the pattern of inter-personal relations between the children of two brothers is somewhat different from that described for the whole community. Cousins of opposite sexes spend their childhood together with each other playing and behaving as brother and sister. At the age of eight or nine an effort is made to segregate them, but this segregation is neither strict nor complete, and they continue to meet, and if they like they can find opportunities to talk with each other. But when formal negotiations for marriage are opened, it is expected that the girl will start observing *purdah* and start veiling herself. From this time onwards the cousins should not have any direct contact. If the cousins are not to be married, they can continue as before. The correct mode of behaviour for them would be to regard each other as brother and sister.

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bad way, the elders of the allied families are expected to intervene. Scandals or dishonourable behaviour in one unit are likely to spoil the name of all the allied families, and as such tradition enjoins elders to advise, warn and even admonish the erring members. A young man given to excessive drinking, gambling or any similar vice would often be admonished by the elders of this extended family. If he cannot keep his wife under control, or if the quarrels of the two become very frequent and too public, the neighbours would convey the information to the elders of the extended family and expect them to use their initiative in putting things right. In all such cases they will be within their customary rights if they intervene. They can demand that their advice is heard and followed.

Within the family unit the eldest male is generally regarded as the head. His wife or the next senior male is given the second place. A respectful son very often describes his old widowed mother as the 'head' of the family. However, in many cases the *de facto* head of the family may be a son under whose guidance and supervision the land is cultivated or the craft or profession of the family is practised. Parents dominate the scene in their youth and early middle age. With approaching old age they gradually recede to the background. Nominally they remain the heads of the family, but their sons are left more or less free to conduct the management of the family property and profession as they like. As long as the father remains the real head of the family, the internal management of the family remains the charge of the mother. Sons are expected to obey her and the daughters-in-law are expected to carry out her instructions. Any failure or reluctance on the part of a daughter-in-law to carry out the wishes of her mother-in-law leads to constant quarrels and complications, and in many cases to ultimate separation. Between sons and daughters, as a rule, preference is shown to the former, but if the sisters have considerable seniority in age, their younger brothers are expected to respect and obey them.

In the village community of Shamirpet, which has considerable variations of caste and class, and significant differences in education and urban contacts, it is only natural to expect great variations in the family ideals and ethics of the different groups. In the themes of their idealizations, the different sections of the population show striking similarities; but in their attitudes and reactions

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593 husband by touching his feet. She washes the husband's clothes,
562 and eats the leavings in his plate. The husband cannot do likewise. When the wife errs, the husband reprimands her, and can abuse and beat her. However, a good wife is not expected to answer him back. Even when the husband is wrong she is supposed to bear her lot meekly and submissively. This cultural pattern is reflected in the lament of the wife over her husband's demise, when she wails, 'Where is my lord? Where is my master? Now who will support me? The shield that protected me is gone; now I am helpless.'

This, then, is the 'ideal'. Almost everyone in the village would verbalize the expected husband-wife relationship in similar words. But the reality appears to be very different; and a close study of the actual family records would reveal that these ideals are more or less a social fiction. The husband is, without doubt, superior, and has, in most families, the upper hand; but practically nowhere do we find him a completely dominant, authoritarian and patriarchal figure. Moreover, the quality of inter-personal relations between husband and wife change as they leave one stage of life and enter another.

585 It has been pointed out earlier that married life is started by a
593 couple under the parental roof. During this stage, at least for the first few months, they are not supposed to show any special con-
[591] cern for each other. The man continues to work under the direction of his father or elder brother; the woman carries out the instructions of her mother-in-law. There is hardly any opportunity for them to meet and talk during the day, and when they do meet under the cover of darkness, possibly in a separate room, the proximity of the parents' room does not allow them the liberty of engaging in audible love-play or even of talking freely. Of necessity they have to speak in whispers. The cultural pattern demands that the wife must resist the initial advances of her husband for several nights. She often feigns complete ignorance regarding sexual matters and displays horror and disgust when the husband approaches her. After two or three weeks the wife becomes more co-operative. Now sex dominates their life for the several months that follow. There is casual conversation between the two, but in
593 these first months household affairs are invariably not discussed
606 by them. The husband generally speaks to her about the village affairs and his kinsfolk. He also tells her his experiences of the city.

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The girl talks to him about her childhood friends in the village and about her relations. At this stage, even if she is troubled by her mother-in-law, she would not complain to her husband about her discomforts and difficulties at home. The stereotype norms that a girl unconsciously picks up from conversation between elderly women, or consciously learns as a result of direct instruction by her mother are: 'Unless the husband is completely under your influence, do not try to take him away from his mother. When your grip over him is firm, you can persuade him to do what you like. But any premature efforts on your part will only generate distrust about you in his heart.' Thus, she begins complaining to her husband about the bad treatment that she receives from her mother-in-law and the other women relations when she is sure that the relative strength of her influence over him is greater than theirs. The husband finds himself in a dilemma. He knows that a man who 'listens too much to his wife' is an object of social scorn and ridicule. Thus if he starts taking sides with his wife, the comment of the elders would generally be against him, and even the people of his own age-group would circulate funny, but often quite imaginary, stories about his submissiveness to his wife. On the other hand, he realizes that nearly everyone at some stage has to take sides, and that even his critics have had to do so, at some point in their lives. His position becomes really difficult when he is subjected to pressure simultaneously from two directions: when the mother complains about his wife and the wife complains about his mother. To begin with, most sons ignore these complaints and accusations, and refuse to take sides. In the next stage they side with, or at least pretend to side with, the mother. For the satisfaction of the mother the son would scold the wife once or twice. If the wife takes it ill, she would refuse to speak with him when they meet in the night. The husband has then to make some efforts to console her. Often he says to her that he did not intend any of his remarks to be taken seriously. Or he may even say that the mock-scolding was meant only to satisfy the old mother. The wife takes this opportunity to narrate more accounts of sufferings that she has to undergo in the house, on account of the troublesome mother-in-law and the other deceitful female relatives. In a joint family this continues, but in a great majority of cases after some years the husband and wife secede from the main family to set up an independent household of their own.

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of running away to her parental home. She often expresses her anger and discontent by neglecting the children and other household activities. If things still do not improve to her satisfaction, she begins to protest loudly, which often ends in open quarrels and altercations. On the other hand, among the men the stereotype that by nature woman is faithless is widely believed, and while they admit that there are some notable exceptions, they nevertheless emphasize the necessity of vigilance on the part of the husband and other responsible members of the family. The suspicion regarding a woman is directed particularly against two things: namely, possibility of a sexual liaison with a 'lover', and that of her stealthily giving money and grain to her relatives on the paternal side. If he suspects his wife, the husband makes suggestive hints and veiled threats. When subsequent events confirm his suspicion, he voices his protests loudly. Now he administers threats of dire consequences, and as a foretaste of what would come if she does not change her ways, he may even beat his wife. If things do not change for the better even with this, the subsequent developments may indeed be very complicated. However, much depends on the personality and disposition of the husband. Rather than allowing the affair to develop into an open scandal, some husbands overlook occasional lapses of their wives; others are so jealous that they cannot forget an incident of this type even when the wives mend their ways and keep on taunting them.

In a joint family, the daughter-in-law does not have any independence unless she becomes the mother of two or three children. Until then she should not be found even speaking to her husband. Efforts at endearment, smiling or even exchanging fond glances would be enough to cause comment and would earn for the couple a reputation for being 'shameless'. The husband in such families often hears the complaints from both his mother and his wife, and leaves them to adjust their relations among themselves.

In the preceding section I have discussed the ethics and ideals of family organization on the three levels of village population. The authoritarian husband and the docile wife is the ideal of people on all three levels, but it is only on the upper level that we find them holding to the ideal in actual practice. Even there, the desire to maintain 'family prestige' and 'good name' forces the husband to overlook some of the faults and failings of the wife and

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sons and their wives are enjoined by tradition to forget all disputes and dissensions and 'give as much comfort to the old people in their last days' as they possibly can.

THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

The daughter-in-law, coming from a different family and often from a different village, finds herself in totally new surroundings in her husband's home. Now she enters the new phase of life about which she has heard so much since the beginning of her later childhood. She has now to encounter the mother-in-law for whom she has an unmistakable dread. She expects her to be wicked, cruel and heartless. She has learnt to regard her husband's sisters as cunning and deceitful, and the wives of his elder brothers as troublesome and scheming. She expects love and friendship from the husband, but has to bear in mind the oft-repeated dictum of the village women that 'all men are uncertain' and that 'they cannot be depended upon'. She expects sympathy and friendship from her husband's younger brothers and his younger sisters—from the latter only if they are not grown up and if they are not almost of her own age. With the exception of these she has either to respect or to avoid most other members of the family. She comes to her new home with considerable diffidence and fear. She knows that here all her acts will be closely watched and criticized, and she has been taught to believe that however well she may act, it will not be easy for her to please her new relations-in-law. She leaves her parental home with a sorrowful heart, and enters that of her husband full of misgivings and uncertainty.

Notwithstanding the mental picture that she has had, she finds the reception given to her quite cordial. In most homes an effort is made to create a 'good impression' on her. At least for a few weeks she has some novelty about her, and is therefore cared for and looked after very well. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law do not spare her a critical eye, but their comments are invariably made when the bride is not within hearing distance. But this phase lasts only a few weeks, or at the most, two or three months. Later she must be initiated into the ways and traditions of the household and should be taught 'how to do things properly'. Each house has some peculiarities that are distinctly its own, and in order to adjust successfully into its pattern it is necessary for the bride to know and respect these. She must learn her own part in the domestic

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578 of her life in this house, and as such it is necessary for her to adapt herself to its ways. Her steps are watched; her contribution to the work of the household is critically evaluated, and comments are freely made to appraise her of the views of others regarding the quality and quantity of her work. The mother-in-law and the sisters-in-law keenly observe her talk and behaviour. Does she praise her parents and their home very much? If she does, the mother-in-law or one of the sisters-in-law will unearth some scandal about them. If she praises the fields belonging to her father, or even happens to mention the good food which she ate at home, her remarks would be noticed, and in return she would be taunted, either immediately, or at a suitable occasion later. Thus if she is tactless enough to say, 'I remember the rice in our house which had such a delicate flavour', in reply she would hear something like this: 'Yes, we know. In your parental house they served you platefuls of pearls and diamonds in place of rice; in this house you get only a handful of broken rice and paddy straw.' A casual remark from the daughter-in-law about her feeling tired, may be taken to mean that she is complaining about the hard work which she is made to do. The mother-in-law would retort, 'Yes, my flower, I know you are delicate. Why? In your parents' home you had dozens of servants and you did not have to move so much as a grain of rice, and here you work from dawn to midnight. They

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This is indeed a very well-established social pattern. To a mother-in-law, none of the daughters-in-law is perfect, although she may have preference for one over and above the others. From the daughters-in-law's point of view, a mother-in-law would ever remain a mother-in-law: 'Good and bad scorpions, both have the sting; the difference is that the one uses it more often than the other.'

I have already pointed out that the wives of brothers living together occasionally unite against the mother-in-law, but they too have their mutual jealousies and disputes. Husband's sisters, when they are young, are often quite friendly towards their sisters-in-law, but as they grow up they 'get wings' and start indulging in back-biting against them.

The daughter-in-law must maintain sufficient distance from her husband's father and his elder brothers. Unless it is absolutely necessary they should not speak to one another, and when it cannot be helped they must communicate in the minimum of words. Familiarity or intimate talk between them is regarded as highly improper. On the other hand, with the husband's younger

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607 and while they are not expected to cross certain limits, tradition permits them to indulge in joke and banter. Unmarried brothers-in-law provide sympathy and friendship to the harassed wife, but when they grow up they too are drawn to their wives, and the former ties of intimacy are gradually forgotten in the humdrum realities of life.

SIBLINGS

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The older siblings can claim some 'authority' over the younger ones. When the mother is otherwise occupied or is ill, the older siblings have to look after and care for the younger brothers and sisters. Particularly the older sisters have to lend a helping hand to the mother, and very often children become so much attached to them that they come to regard them as substitutes for the mother. While siblings of more or less the same age-group have to 'help, support and defend' one another, in their dealings with the other village children, the older ones must keep an eye on the doings of their younger brothers and sisters and bring their faults to
[861] the notice of the parents. The older siblings can occasionally spank the younger ones under their charge, but they must not do it too often. In return for the limited authority which they enjoy, they have to make some concessions. When a younger sibling starts crying for something, it is expected that an older brother or sister should forgo his own share to appease him. 'He is younger; he does not understand it, but you are older and understand everything. Let him have the thing. After all, he is your brother',

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WEB OF FAMILY TIES

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SIBLINGS

Social rules demand that there should be solidarity between siblings, especially between brothers, and that they should 'love and help one another'. The older brothers and sisters, particularly the latter, must share the responsibility of looking after the younger ones with their parents. In actual practice up to the age of six or seven they are constant companions; later the sisters gradually become absorbed in feminine pursuits and are thus unable to participate as freely in the children's games as they did before, and the boys also develop greater interest in their respective play-groups. Thus, to begin with, the inter-personal relations between the siblings are close in their early childhood, but later they develop on clear-cut lines, and distance between the sexes increases gradually.

The elder siblings can claim some 'authority' over the younger ones. When the mother is otherwise occupied or is ill, the older siblings have to look after and care for the younger brothers and sisters. Particularly the older sisters have to lend a helping hand to the mother, and very often children become so much attached to them that they come to regard them as substitutes for the mother. When siblings of more or less the same age-group have to help support and defend one another, in their dealings with the other village children, the older ones must keep an eye on the behaviour of their younger brothers and sisters and bring their faults to the notice of the parents. The older siblings can occasionally spank the younger ones under their charge, but they must not do it too often. In return for the limited authority which they enjoy, they have to make some concessions. When a younger sibling starts crying for something, it is expected that an older brother or sister should forgo his own share to appease him. 'He is younger; he does not understand it, but you are older and understand everything. Let him have the thing. After all, he is your brother',

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1355 AW17 Telugu AW17

arising in their respective fields, and were to help in doing specific investigations which were assigned to them from time to time. I had the privilege of directing both the research and the social service programme, and while the units were left free to a considerable extent in their respective welfare work, I was associated with the planning, direction and conduct of the research itself at every stage. The inter-faculty teams worked in the village for two summer vacations—extending to twenty weeks—and the anthropological unit remained in touch with the village for a whole year. At various stages the larger team included three women members —a doctor, a sociologist belonging to the Muslim community for work among the *purdah*-observing Muslim women, and an American lady, with training in psychology and anthropology, who was a 'guest' member of the team. The anthropology unit consisted of five members, each with post-graduate training in anthropology, four of whom spoke the regional language of the village and had spent many years in the countryside of the Telangana area of Hyderabad. Three of these members had previous training in practical field-work. As they were all Hindus by birth, we had further to seek the help of a woman lecturer trained in sociology for work among the Muslim women.

To begin with, the response of the village people was rather cold. For a short while we were regarded as missionaries; then as government agents brought into the village for organizing anti-communist propaganda. Some high-caste Hindus thought that we were there to instigate the low-caste untouchables to revolt against them. But our resources, especially our tents, crockery and cooks and buses, impressed them. The co-operation of highly placed officials rehabilitated us in the eyes of the village folk, and many of them who went to the city and made enquiries about us from educated relations returned to the village satisfied about our credentials. But more than all this, the excellent work of the Medical unit established rapport with the community, and the sympathetic welfare activities of the Agriculture, Veterinary and Education units further helped us to establish more intimate contacts with the people. They were benefiting by our presence: in the first two months 390 cases were treated by the Medical unit; several useful demonstrations were given by the Agriculture and Veterinary units, who also distributed vegetable seeds, plants of fruit-bearing trees and modern chemical fertilizers. The adult

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education centre attracted many people from the village; both the library and cultural programmes became popular. The Engineering unit dug soakpits in the village, improved the village well and constructed several model smokeless ovens. This changed the attitude of the people considerably. To begin with the investigators making anthropological enquiry were regarded as a nuisance; now they were tolerated as inquisitive but friendly outsiders. In a few days there was a change for the better. We had never talked politics or religion, there was no propaganda or attempt at reform and no superiority of city-ways and sneering at the rustic ways of the village people in our attitude. Indifference turned into warmth and friendship, and at this point we intensified our anthropological investigations. At first a general sociological census of the community was taken, and later investigations of specific problems were started. A sample of 120 families representing different castes and levels of income, education and urban contacts was selected for intensive investigations. Episodic and topical life-histories were recorded from 80 people, besides 11 full biographies. This was done in a series of free-association interviews, which were controlled only in the final stages. Besides this the established method of participant observation and the usual techniques of anthropological enquiry were also used. The life-histories provide most of the material on inter-personal relations and attitudes, much of which has been translated in this book from the actual words of the informants. All the available village records were carefully studied, and as far as possible all the material collected was carefully checked. The research reports by other units on topics assigned to them—such as the medical examination of 1,200 people, a diet and nutritional survey, a survey of village agriculture and its problems, a survey of animal care and health—were carefully studied at the time of the preparation of this report and used at appropriate places; but most of them will be published, it is hoped, independently in professional journals.

My aim in this book has been to give a clear and intimate picture of some aspects of life in one Indian village. As the book is likely to be used by social anthropologists and sociologists as well as by others, I have endeavoured to keep my presentation fairly general. As our project had received considerable publicity in the Indian press we could not hide the identity of the village in a pseudonym. This in its turn has created several problems in the

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Living Together

1. INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS

THE people of Shamirpet, like the other peasants of Andhra, exercise considerable reserve in their initial dealings with outsiders. The first impression that one gets regarding their attitude is one of extreme constriction, suspiciousness and guarded behaviour. When this initial reserve is broken down, they reveal themselves in a totally different light—as emotional, communicative, and at times even boisterous. Nearly all of them have great curiosity, and are easily attracted by anything that is even slightly uncommon or unusual. Opinions are freely expressed, and all public gatherings—big or small—are rather noisy. Middle-aged and elderly people generally have a grim expression, and it is considered a mark of respectability in women if they walk with their eyes downcast. But unobtrusiveness is not regarded as a virtue, and the people freely make comments and counter-comments on all subjects with which they may or may not have any concern. There is a great tradition for argument, which can easily drift into becoming a noisy quarrel or altercation. Tempers rise easily, and abuse may be showered volubly by both sides; but differences are patched up as easily, and it is not uncommon to see two people walking together as great friends although on the previous day they may have quarrelled bitterly on some trifling issue. In their inter-personal relations the people are hypercritical and very sensitive. This leads to a perpetual attitude of fault finding. As the people do not easily let go an opportunity of commenting on and criticizing their neighbours, their relations are never very smooth and certain. However, on occasions which demand a display of good-neighbourliness and generosity people

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691 off small debts, serious sexual intrigues, domestic quarrels assuming serious proportions, etc., keep on coming before the village council again and again. It is very rarely that it has to take the final step of ordering the social boycott of an individual. Caste *panchayats*, on the other hand, take recourse to this weapon very often when breaches of caste convention are brought to their notice. Eating with a lower caste, sex intrigue outside the caste, failure in observing injunctions attached to the status of ritual impurity, and inability to perform any major ritual are all punished by ostracism. This involves denial of social equality to the ostracized family. No one will share food or drink with it. No member of such a family will be invited to attend a socio-religious ceremony, nor will anyone accept his invitation. Its status of social equality will be restored when it performs the necessary rituals for the expiation of its offence.

578 Our investigations did not reveal the existence of any serious inter-group tensions and conflicts in the community. Just before and after the Police Action there was some Hindu-Muslim tension: in the first phase Muslims terrorized the Hindus; in the second the Hindus looted property from one Muslim house and terrorized the other Muslims generally and their ringleaders particularly. Between different castes or living-quarters of the village, within living memory, there were only two major disputes. Their details are not remembered, but it is claimed that the tension was short-lived and cordiality was established very soon between the warring sections.

578 The corporate unity of the village finds its fullest expression
621 when the inhabitants come into conflict with outsiders. The
609 village of Aliyabad shares with Shamirpet the water from the tank for the purposes of irrigation. The ratio of water supplied to Shamirpet and Aliyabad has been fixed at 5:2. Over this there have always been some difficulties. One night the floodgates were opened, and the water that should have irrigated Shamirpet fields was diverted to Aliyabad fields. Next morning an organized team from Shamirpet attacked Aliyabad. There were three different theories regarding what had happened the previous night. Aliyabad people said that the guards of the floodgates had asked them to take the water under the impression that it was their turn. The guards said that being threatened with violence they allowed the Aliyabad men to divert the water to their area.

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Perhaps the fact of the matter was that Aliyabad men had obtained the favour by bribing the guards; but their excessive greed in not allowing any water into Shamirpet fields had exposed their game. Prompt official intervention checked ugly developments; and later the issue was resolved at inter-village level. But in the dispute itself the two villages had forgotten their internal differences and dissensions and each of them had acted as one body. Another instance of such concerted action and village unity is provided by the conflict between the residents of Shamirpet and eight army men from the nearby cantonment. These eight people came to the village in two army trucks and started loading their vehicles with firewood cut and stored by a resident of the village. Obviously the army men intended to take it away without payment. The owner of the house tried to check them, and in the process he was badly beaten up. In the meantime the news had reached the other village people, who came rushing to the spot armed with sticks. They did what they thought proper at the time to avenge the honour of the village. Outnumbered by the villagers, the army men returned to their camp, threatening to bring their company to destroy the entire village. Police intervened and the trouble was not allowed to develop further.

In a society resting on rigid division of the population into castes separated by strict rules governing touching, eating and drinking, sex relations and matrimony, and social distance prescribed by tradition it is essential that people realize certain limitations and accept certain conditions. Caste consciousness develops quite early in one's life and these limitations and conditions are absorbed long before maturity by all through conversation groups, playgroups and general social experience. So far there has been no attack on the general premises on which the society rests, and therefore no serious inter-group or inter-caste conflicts have arisen. The lower castes have accepted their inferior status, and while they have made efforts to improve their lot they have not openly revolted against it. In their turn the higher castes have also shown considerable adaptability, and recognizing the general social trend they have readjusted their attitudes and curbed some of the earlier excesses and injustices. They may still object to being touched by a low caste man, but they will not protest against his wearing superior clothing befitting only the upper castes.

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113, 197, 564, 582, 614

[For information pertaining to language regions, kinship terminology and kin relationships, see 5: Karve AW1 India, category 116, pp. 230-1.]

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living in Shamirpet is the Madiga. The various sections of the Madiga community have their own special functions which are of great significance for the social life and culture of the caste. The Nulka Sandayya are said to be the descendants of Jamavanta,[1] who is believed to be the founder of the entire Madiga caste. The Baindlas are the marriage priests of the Madigas. Of the Sindus, the men are the minstrels of the Madigas and have the function of reciting the sacred caste legends and enacting them in the form of folk-drama; while the women are the prostitutes of the community. The Mashto earn their living by giving acrobatic displays. The Dakkal are the lowest of all Madiga sections and are distinguished by their customary refusal to take food from any non-Madiga. The Brahmin, who is at the apex of the caste-hierarchy, refuses to partake of food at the hands of anyone with a social status lower than his own, in effect from any but his own caste-fellows. And it is a juxtaposition that the lowest of the low castes refuses food from all communities of the higher levels, including the Brahmins.

Each independent endogamous division is divided into exogamous *gotram*; these in turn may be further subdivided into numerous *vansham*. The main function of these divisions is the regulation of marital unions. A person cannot marry in his own *gotram*; he must marry in some other *gotram* bearing a different name. Different *gotram* may have a number of common *vansham*, and as marriage between persons of the same *vansham* is forbidden, one must marry not only outside one's *gotram* but in a different *vansham* also. If a person of one's own *vansham* dies, one must observe ceremonial mourning for ten days. These subdivisions seem to perform no other special function. The enumeration of the various *gotram* and *vansham* is difficult and would only result in long and tedious lists running to forty and fifty names, and will not here be given.

The diagram shown opposite will illustrate the organization of the endogamous sub-castes *gotram* and *vansham* within the wider social unit of caste in the area under study.

In the diagram each sub-caste is endogamous; and as such a person born in unit 1 must marry within that unit, and so also persons in units 2, 3 and 4 must confine their marital relations to their respective units only. But each of these units is divided into a

[1] A conspicuous figure playing a significant role in the epic of *Ramayana*.

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number of exogamous *gotram*, and it is necessary that one must marry outside his own *gotram*. A *gotram* may be further subdivided into a number of *vansham*. In some cases the *vansham* units in the different *gotram* have common names, and this necessitates a further precaution: not only should a man marry in a *gotram* different from his own, but he must also see that he does not marry into his own *vansham* although it belongs to a different *gotram*. Thus, a person belonging to sub-caste 1, *gotram* 'A', *vansham* 'a', must marry within sub-caste 1, but he can choose a spouse from *gotram* B, C and D subject to the condition that he does not marry anyone belonging to *vansham* 'a' and chooses the spouse from *vansham* b, c or, for that matter, a *vansham* having any other name.

Gotram, for all practical purposes, are like exogamous clans. Each *gotram* bears a distinctive name, which is either derived from

CASTE

1				2				3				4			
A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd	abcd

1, 2, 3, 4 . . Sub castes
A, B, C, D . . . *Gotram*
a, b, c, d . . . *Vansham*

a sage of ancient India or is totemic in nature. The term *vansham* is derived from Sanskrit and means a lineage. Sociologically, in the context of patrilineal societies, if we define a lineage as 'an association of people of both sexes comprising all the recognized descendants by an accepted genealogy of a single named ancestor in a putatively continuous male line',[1] we can regard *vansham* as a lineage. Each *vansham* bears an individual name which is either derived from or is in some way associated with the common mythological ancestor of the sub-group. At the death of a person belonging to one's own *vansham* formal observance of ritual impurity and ceremonial purification are necessary even when one has no kinship or afinal ties with the deceased. A girl belonging to one's own *vansham* is a sister, a boy a brother, and that is why

[1] Meyer Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* (London, 1945), p. 30.

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sexual union of any type between the two is regarded as a kind of incest. It has already been pointed out that these units have no functions beyond those mentioned above and have no common organization, authority or ceremonial distinctively belonging to them.

Although in general we can regard Shamirpet as fairly representative of Telangana villages, some Telugu-speaking castes which play an important part in rural Telangana are not to be found in the village; and it will be perhaps advantageous to make a passing reference to some of these castes here. The Velma are a rich agricultural caste more or less equal in status to the Reddis. The Kamma are another caste of the Kapu group who inter-dine with the Reddi, but they are regarded as equals of the lower clean caste groups. The Balja traders are Shaivite Hindus whose status is regarded as being a little higher than that of the Komti. The Gandla works the oil press, and his status is similar to that of the Sale and the Gaondla. The Yenadi, who in some parts of Telangana act as village guards, are in status equal to the Erkala. The Lambada provide a colourful though somewhat alien element in the population of Telangana. In language, dress and ornament they stand out from the rest of the people of Telangana. Their northern origin is clear both from their physical appearance and from their language. The dress of the Lambada woman is picturesque. Her multi-coloured skirt (*lahanga*), tight bodice (*choli*) and upper covering (*odhni*) are elaborately embroidered and worked with appliqued mirror. Her ornaments are heavy and distinctive, and their tinkling sound lends an air of romance to the dusty roads of the countryside. There is a Lambada settlement some six miles from Shamirpet and they are a common sight on the nearby road.

Mention should also be made of three wandering caste groups—the Balsantanam, the Sharda-galu and the Dasari. The Balsantanam live in small, low, portable huts and move from village to village. They weave mats, sing songs and legends, and beg from village cultivators. The Sharda-galu are professional story-tellers and earn their livelihood by reciting the legends of their vast repertoire. Similarly, the Dasari are country dramatists who contribute towards the entertainment of the villagers by performing folk plays. Members of many of the castes mentioned above make occasional appearances in Shamirpet.

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Introduction

INDIA is predominantly an agricultural and rural country. An overwhelming majority of her people live in the countryside. In undivided India it was estimated that there were over 700,000 villages within the country. Since partition this number has diminished, but the rural-urban ratio in the population still remains more or less the same. According to various estimates, 70% to 80% of India's population live in villages.

From time immemorial the village has been a basic and important unit of the organization of Indian social polity. It finds prominent mention in the classical texts of the land. For example, according to the *Rig-Veda* (generally dated in the latter half of the 2nd millennium B.C.) society developed in a series of ascending formations, starting from the family (*griha* or *kula*) and gradually extending to the village (*grama*), the clan (*vis*), the people (*jana*) and the country (*rashtra*). The term *grama*, still largely used in India for village, denoted an aggregate of several families sharing the same habitation. Besides mentioning that the village was headed by the *gramini*, chief of the village, the *Rig-Veda* does not give us any details regarding its internal structure or organization or its external affiliations. In post-vedic literature, particularly the epics, we have somewhat more detailed glimpses of the then existing settlements. The *Mahabharata* (*c.* 2nd century B.C.–2nd century A.D.) mentions several types of habitations and settlements, such as cattle farm (*ghosh* or *vraja*), small barbarian hamlets (*palli*), forts to protect surrounding settlements (*durga*), villages developing around the forts (*grama*), town (*kharvata* or *pattan*) and city (*nagara*). Through the *Mahabharata* we get an

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outline of the system of village and inter-village organization. According to the epic, the village was the fundamental unit of administration, and had as its head the *gramini*, who was its leader and chief spokesman; one of the major responsibilities of this headman was to protect the village and its boundaries in all directions within a radius of two miles. The administrative system was organized on the basis of grouping of villages, each group having its own recognized leader. Thus a group of ten villages was under a *das-gramini*, and this was the first unit of inter-village organization. Two such groups, that is twenty villages, used to be under a *vimsatipa*. A group of a hundred villages was headed by *satgramini* or *gram-satadhyaksha*. Finally, a group of a thousand villages was under an *adhipati*. Several later works touch upon this subject, but they do not add materially to our knowledge of the system of village and inter-village organization in ancient India. However, it will not be out of place to make a brief reference to the place of the village in the writings of Manu (*c.* 200 B.C.–2nd century A.D.), the Hindu law-giver, whose code still largely governs the structure of Hindu society. Manu distinguishes between three kinds of settlements: village (*grama*), town (*pura*) and city (*nagara*). According to him, the village was the fundamental unit of administration, with its own officers and organization. The *gramini* was the head of the village. Apart from the different spheres of socio-religious life in which the family, the clan, the caste and the village were all equally interested, the village as a unit had a number of responsibilities of its own. Thus the maintenance and management of several public utilities such as wells, tanks, ponds, reservoirs, embankments, cow-pens, groves, parks and pastures was under the village itself. Approximately a thousand villages constituted a country and were under a *sahastesa*; within this group were several divisions and subdivisions—a hundred villages under a *satesa*, twenty villages under a *vimsi*, ten villages under a *dasi* and finally the village itself under a *gramini*. Notwithstanding the passage of time, the village system in India still continues to have many of the characteristics described by Manu. Even to-day the village retains its semi-autonomous character. Invariably it has a recognized headman with a definite set of duties and functions. Groups of ten to twenty villages still join together to decide important cases and to discuss issues of common interest. A thousand villages or so constitute a culture-area, or at least a subculture-area, and the

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rural community within this region invariably has a number of common cultural characteristics and social forms and values.

Yet we cannot regard the Indian village community as static, timeless and changeless. Time and the interplay of historical and sociological factors and forces have influenced the structure, organization and ethos of these communities in many significant ways.

II

To-day it is common to speak of the 'Indian village' or of 'the Indian peasant'. While it is true that many problems are common to the entire Indian countryside, this practice tends to give one an impression that the village as a social and cultural unit possesses a basically uniform organization and structure of values all over the Indian sub-continent. This would obviously be an over-simplified presentation of a rather complex situation. For a proper understanding of their social structure as well as of their problems, it is necessary to classify them into clearly distinguishable types. For such classification several criteria could be employed, including, among others, the following:

i. Size, population and land-area.
ii. Ethnic composition and caste-constitution.
iii. Pattern of land ownership.
iv. Structure of authority and power hierarchy.
v. Degree of isolation.
vi. Local traditions.

Each culture-area of India has its own nomenclature to classify the villages within its territory in respect of their size and population. In the Hindi-speaking parts of north and middle India it is usual to distinguish between *kheda* (a hamlet), *gaon* (a small village) and *kasba* (a large village). In Telangana, the Telugu-speaking part of the State of Hyderabad to which the village of Shamirpet described in this book belongs, a similar distinction is made between *gumpu*, *majra* and *grama*. The first of these denotes a tiny collection of huts, the second is a larger hamlet and the third is the village proper. The differences between these rural settlements are not confined only to their size and population. All three can be classified as belonging to the 'folk society', but they differ so greatly in their internal organization, economic self-sufficiency,

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621 patterns of adjustment with the outside world and the degree of
184 influence and prestige in the wider rural community that any attempt to combine them would be tantamount to overlooking significant sociological facts. The residents of the large villages look upon themselves as the leaders of the rural community, regarding those from smaller villages as a little less civilized and those from small hamlets as rustics. The man from the smaller village is suspicious and critical about the ways of the people from bigger villages, but he has in his heart of hearts an admiration and respect for them. To him also the people living in still smaller settlements [476] appear to be rather crude and rustic. As the division of labour in [463] the community is governed to a very great extent by traditional caste occupations, and co-operative labour of a number of different castes is required not only for agricultural activities, but also for socio-religious life, the large village, having within its population all the occupational castes, has a comparatively more integrated and self-sufficient economic and socio-religious life than the smaller villages, which, in the absence of one or more occupational castes, may have to depend on some other settlement. Because of its multi-caste constitution, larger population and greater complexity of internal problems, the organization of the larger village is often remarkably different from that of smaller villages. In fact, some of the smaller villages and hamlets come to be regarded as appendages of the larger villages, and although they have considerable autonomy in domestic matters they are very greatly influenced by the views and preferences of their larger neighbour.

The ethnic and linguistic composition of a village, as well as its caste constitution, also determines its character. The structure, ethos and problems of a wholly tribal village will be very different from those of a village with a mixed or homogeneous population. A tribal village is often unitary in respect of its authority structure, the tribal authority itself being supreme in secular, ritual and cultural village matters. On the other hand, in the case of a village which has a mixed population of tribes on the one hand and Hindu castes on the other, or of two different groups of parallel Hindu castes separated from each other by the fact that they speak different languages and belong to different culture-areas, or of Hindus and Muslims, the nature of its internal organization and authority is bound to be different. If the diverse elements of its population have equal strength—numerical as well as economic—

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it generally has a federal type of organization, in that each culture group within this settlement is semi-autonomous, and a common village authority drawn from all these groups has overriding powers for the community as a whole. In areas where there are intense or even pronounced inter-caste rivalries and tensions, the caste composition of the village will largely determine its patterns of inter-group adjustment.

It goes without saying that in a primarily agricultural country land must be greatly prized; and, with the great pressure of population and the conditions of private ownership, possession of land has not only an economic but a social and prestige value as well. Where all the land belongs to a landlord or is held by two or more landlords—as in the case of 'joint-villages'—the organization of the village is sure to be very different from that of a village inhabited by proprietary tenants. The general ratio of land distribution between two or more castes, between certain families or between one big landowner and the rest of the community may have a vital influence on the nature of village organization and problems.

No village in India is completely autonomous and independent, for it is always one unit in a wider social system and is a part of an organized political society. An individual is not the member of a village community alone; he also belongs to a caste, religious group or tribe which has a wider territorial spread and comprises several villages. These units have their own organization, authority and sanctions. Politically the villages are under the legislative, executive and judicial authority of the Indian Union and one of its constituent States. For administrative convenience these States are divided into districts, the latter being subdivided into *tehsils* or *taluquas*. In day-to-day administration the villages come into contact with the authorities and officials of this subdivision and of the district, although the laws of the State and the Union are binding on them. The village thus has independence and autonomy only in its domestic affairs. But who exercises the authority in this field? Is there a petty feudal landlord who has some administrative and judicial powers as well? Is there a government-recognized landlord who has arrogated to himself administrative powers? Or, has the village a *panchayat* (village council) constituted on the basis of local tradition? All the feudal states have been abolished in Republican India; but petty feudal estates still continue in

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some parts of the country, and effective steps have been taken in very few areas to abolish village landlordism. On the other hand, with a view to reviving village self-government, some State governments are establishing village councils with recognized legal powers, the members of which are appointed by the government. Locus of power in the community is another criterion in respect of which Indian villages often present very different pictures.

Nearness to or isolation from large administrative or industrial centres also has a bearing on the nature of the organization of a village and of its view of the world. Availability of or nearness to modern means of transport and communications also modifies the setting and fabric of a village, and in its classification it is necessary to take into account these vital factors.

Lastly, village settlements are governed by certain traditions—regional and local. The dress, speech and manners, as well as the lay-out of the village and construction of the houses, follow the prescribed patterns of the culture-area. Thus in the different areas we can naturally look forward to a certain degree of diversity in village organization. But apart from these regional variations villages have a corporate unity, and each one possesses an individuality of its own. Some villages are regarded as 'peaceful', others as 'difficult'. Some have a reputation for generosity and fair play, while others are notorious for their meanness. Some are known for being 'upright and strict'; others are criticized for their laxity. Love of litigation is a characteristic feature of some villages; ostentation and display of others; while still others may be very sensitive about their good name. Again, co-operativeness or its absence may characterize some villages. These attributes and qualities may have their roots in strong local traditions or in a combination of factors working at a particular time. But they do give a distinctive character to the village, and a study of the social ways, processes and motivations in such villages will not be without considerable sociological and psychological interest.

In view of the operation of factors delineated above, it is difficult to regard any one village as typical or representative of rural India as a whole. In fact, I would go a step further to say that such a village could hardly be regarded as representative even of its culture-area, except in a very general way. The problem before the social anthropologist and the sociologist is therefore a complex one, and what we need to-day is a series of studies of village com-

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munities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos. Until this is done our picture of social systems in rural India will remain vague and inadequate.

From the old ethnographic surveys and some preliminary studies published recently, an outline of the structure and organization of Indian villages is beginning to emerge clearly. Notwithstanding many significant differences, they have a number of structural similarities. In the north, middle and peninsular India, as well as in the eastern and western parts of the country, the following features characterize a very large number of villages.

1. As a territorial, as well as social, economic and ritual unit, the village is a separate and distinct entity. The residents of this settlement recognize their corporate identity, and it is recognized as such by others. It is not uncommon to find in them a sentiment of attachment towards their own settlement site. In several matters the village acts as a unit.

2. These settlements have a composite population comprising a number of groups belonging to different Hindu castes, and in some cases to tribes as well as to other religious groups. As far as the Hindu section of the population goes, these diverse groups are inter-dependent and integrated in the social, economic, ritual and administrative organization of the community. No caste alone is self-sufficient, for it requires the services of several other occupational castes which hold the monopoly of certain crafts and professions. This system of co-operative labour, based on a pattern of inter-caste relations approved by tradition, is not confined only to economic activities but also extends to ceremonial and ritual life. The hierarchical organization of castes within the community is so fixed in the structural patterns of rural India that the tribal as well as the non-Hindu (such as Muslim and Christian) segments of the population come to be regarded as other castes in the village.

In many parts of India, while maintaining their socio-religious identity, several of these non-Hindu groups have acquired some caste characteristics, particularly occupational specialization. For example, in some areas of rural India the Muslims function as an occupational caste variously, making fireworks, weaving, driving *tongas*, *ikkas* and other hackney-carriages, selling vegetables or playing musical instruments.

3. The members of this local group are bound together by ties

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of mutual and reciprocal obligations. Inter-personal and inter-group relations in several spheres of village affairs are governed by an established usage and social ethics. Breaches of the norms of the community and its established usage are dealt with either by the village elders or by a village council. The village council, speaking for the village, has the final authority of social ostracism through which it can effectively enforce its sanctions.

III

Modern community studies represent a very significant development in the field of social anthropology and sociology. The concepts and techniques formerly applied to the study and analysis of primitive and isolated tribal societies are now being adapted for the study of peasant communities, non-literate as well as literate, and also for the analysis of more complex and industrialized communities. This new direction in the focus of interest of an increasing number of social scientists and field-workers has inevitably led to important modifications in our conceptual framework and to a sharpening of our tools of research. The methodology of social sciences and techniques of field research have both gained very considerably from this new trend. The work of Robert Redfield, John Gillin, Sol Tax and Ralph Beals, among others, represents a substantial advance in this field, both in theory and in methodology. From Robert Redfield's *Tepotzlan: A Mexican Village* to Oscar Lewis's *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepotzlan Re-Studied* this branch of social anthropological enquiry has travelled far: the former inaugurated an epoch, which then appeared to be full of promise; the latter is a convincing proof of its maturity. On Middle America we now have a series of interesting and useful studies. In other parts of the world also important researches of this kind have been made. Studies of the great peasant societies of the Far East received encouragement and support from scholars both in Great Britain and in the United States. Malinowski's and Radcliffe-Brown's forewords to the works of Fei and Embree bear testimony to the interest evinced in community studies by the British social anthropologists. The work of Martin C. Yang and Francis L. K. Hsu received constructive support in the United States. A remarkable feature of some of these Far Eastern studies is that they were done not by Western scientists but by scholars

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Shamirpet and the neighbouring cluster of villages. However, villagers are able to collect some fuel as well as small quantities of edible and marketable minor forest produce from the local scrub jungle. In this type of landscape little game is to be expected. Tigers from the forests fifteen or twenty miles away are occasionally seen, but panthers, in search of stray goats, calves and dogs, are more frequent visitors to the village. Wild pigs are plentiful and always do very considerable damage to the crops. Spotted deer make an occasional appearance in the surrounding areas, while hares which abound in the shrubs are very often shot or hunted with dogs trained for this purpose. Wild ducks come seasonally to the large tank near the village, and green pigeons and partridges are among the other feathered game found in the vicinity of Shamirpet.

It has been pointed out that Shamirpet is only some twenty-five miles from Hyderabad and Secundrabad, which rank fourth among the cities of India in respect of population and size. It is only fifteen miles from the Bolarum cantonment and twelve miles from the military aerodrome of Hakimpet. A regular bus service plying between Hyderabad and Karimnagar touches Shamirpet, and there are about twelve buses running in both directions on this road every day. From this it should not be assumed, however, that Shamirpet is just a suburban extension of Hyderabad. Although it is in regular and constant touch with the capital, it is an independent village with an organization of its own.

No village in India can be singled out as being typical of the country as a whole, but Shamirpet possesses most of the characteristics which are common to the rural communities in middle and peninsular India. As an independent socio-economic and ritual unit it enjoys partial self-sufficiency in several aspects of community life. In the wider organization of the rural community it possesses partial autonomy. Its component units are mostly the occupational castes which are integrated into the structure of the village. Finally, it has a semi-judicial village council composed of caste elders and other influential persons. This council administers justice in socio-religious cases involving breaches of the traditional norms of society. The village as a unit of social organization performs several significant functions which form an important agency of social control.

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it is used for the growing of vegetables, specially fruit-bearing creepers, and throughout the year it is used by the household fowls. Similarly, in most of these houses the cattle-shed is very close to the main living-room. Hardly half a dozen houses in the village have latrines; the majority of the people go out into the fields or behind the rocks for answering the call of nature. Notwithstanding some variety, the decorative designs found on all the houses follow a generally established pattern. The floors are swept twice every day in almost all the houses. The mud floor is periodically smeared with cow-dung mixed with water and the walls are washed annually with lime or coloured earth. Grain and provisions are stored in large receptacles made either by the potter and well burnt to a vermilion red or by the Erkala in their traditional styles of basket-work.

All the houses in Shamirpet can be classed into one of these three types. The Gudse-type huts of the Erkalas are, however, a class by themselves. These small, circular huts, made from sheets of weed-matting, are about twenty feet in diameter and are often only six feet high. The interior is unpartitioned and serves as bedroom, dining-room, living-room and kitchen. Pigs and poultry are housed in similar but smaller round huts built in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling-hut.

From time to time groups of families belonging to the nomadic castes come to the village. These have their low, portable huts, which are mostly made of folding bamboo screens. Almost every month some group belonging to this category makes its appearance in Shamirpet and after a stay of a week or so moves off with its huts, dogs and pigs.

5. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHAMIRPET

The nearness of Shamirpet to the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad has been mentioned. People holding small government posts or having urban relations make periodic visits to the city. Others, especially young men, cycle down to Secundrabad or Hyderabad to visit the cinema or to look at the shops.

In the broad social sense, however, Shamirpet's more intimate ties are with the villages in the neighbourhood. In the events and developments of these villages the people of Shamirpet are very keenly interested. The hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli are

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in fact entered as parts of the village of Shamirpet in government records, and in a sense they are; nevertheless, on a restricted scale they enjoy considerable autonomy. The elders of the hamlets try, as far as possible, to decide the hamlet's minor disputes without referring them either to the headman or to the village council of Shamirpet. They say, 'We are poor inhabitants of a small hamlet. Our resources are limited. The people of Shamirpet are prosperous; they have adopted the ways of the city. If we refer our cases to them, they will impose such fines that our necks will break.' Yet there are many cases in which one of the disputing parties, dissatisfied with the judgement of the elders and possessing the necessary financial resources or influential support, will refer the case to the Shamirpet village council. In all such cases one or two elders and influential people from the hamlet in question are summoned to attend the proceedings of the village council at Shamirpet. Similarly, for all the ceremonies organized jointly by the people of Shamirpet as a whole it is customary to send invitations to Babugura and Upparpalli and it is expected that they will be represented by at least some of the village elders. When the people of the village as a whole are summoned on government business to the district or subdivisional headquarters, the residents of the two hamlets have also to accompany the people of Shamirpet, for all the three settlements are, according to government records, component units of one village. However, the distance between Shamirpet and the two hamlets is an effective barrier to the pursuance of a common social life. And from this point of view the two hamlets are as independent as two self-contained small villages.

The area surrounding Shamirpet is quite densely populated. It is not unusual to find a village or a small hamlet every three to six miles, and Shamirpet is surrounded by a number of villages, some large and others small. With most of these, Shamirpet, as a village, has very little to do. However, individual residents remain in constant touch with friends and relations in the surrounding villages. Ceremonies connected with the major crises of life, i.e. birth, marriage and death, often take people out of Shamirpet to the neighbouring villages, or bring people from there into Shamirpet. For a more or less well-defined block of villages the different castes have their respective caste councils, to which matters concerning the caste only are taken.

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CHAPTER TWO

Social Structure

To understand the social structure of an Indian village it is necessary to examine the various units through which the village community is organized. The basic and primary unit of the society is the elementary or joint family. Every family belongs to an exogamous division of a caste and several such divisions constitute an endogamous caste or an endogamous section of a large caste. Only excommunication or a change of religion can alter the position of the individual in any such social units. On the other hand, every family belongs to the community with whom it shares a settlement site, be it a village or a hamlet attached to a village. In socio-religious affairs, control of the individual is threefold—that of his family, his village and his caste. Often it is only the independent, endogamous division of the caste which takes cognizance of offences and penalizes erring members, and not the caste as a whole. On the other hand, very serious cases or matters concerning more than one village may be heard and decided by a larger judicial organ, comprising members of all the constituent villages. The structure and organization of the family, as well as the criterion of status differentiation in the community, can best be described in a separate chapter; here we shall examine the division of the community into castes, and follow it up by an analysis of the internal organization of the village with special reference to authority and the machinery regulating the administration of justice in the village.

1. CASTE IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

The Hindus and the Muslims constitute two distinct sections in the population of Shamirpet. Although long residence and close

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

2. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION: AUTHORITY AND MACHINERY OF JUSTICE

In the internal organization of Shamirpet two different units can be clearly delineated. The socio-religious organization of the village with its independent set of office-bearers and functionaries is quite distinct from the administrative organization of government and semi-government officials.

The following diagram will illustrate the internal organization of the village in socio-religious matters:

Deshmukh
Headman of the village)

Panchayat
(Village council)

Ganadi
(Organizers of village ritual)

Kulam-pedda
(Headmen of the different castes)

Peddamanshi
or
Inti-pedda
(Head of the family)

The Deshmukh is the hereditary headman of the village. He is the richest person in the settlement and has very considerable landed property. His forefathers became the headmen of the village some three hundred years ago, and since then the family has retained the title and office. By virtue of his wealth, position and the contacts he maintains with powerful government officials, the Deshmukh is a pivotal figure in the village and enjoys a position of great influence. Although his word is no longer law, he still wields very great influence in the village and is always given a place of honour at all village ceremonies. Village disputes of any importance are always referred to him, and his decisions and wishes are seldom disregarded. However, the Deshmukh takes very few decisions on his own authority and initiative. He seeks the help of the *panchayat*, which can be regarded as the central council for the village as a whole. Of course, the Deshmukh takes a prominent part in the deliberations and discussions of the *panchayat* and often guides it in such a way that his wishes in the matter are carried out.

The *panchayat* or village council consists of the headmen of

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night. Dogs, cats and donkeys dying in the village have to be disposed of by him, for the Madigas only deal with dead cattle and will have nothing to do with other carcases. The Yettis in Shamirpet are from the Sakali and the Madiga castes. The Sakali Yettis do most of the superior kinds of menial work, such as carrying the baggage of touring government officials who would not allow their luggage to be carried by the untouchable Madigas; while the Madiga Yettis have to do all sorts of odd jobs of an inferior nature. They may be required to patrol the village, to keep watch on government buildings and to sweep and clean the village occasionally. They are also required to bring fuel for the use of touring government officials. The Yettis are not paid any salary for their work, and the nominal payments made to them by touring officials bear no proportion to the work done by them. The rest of the village menials are occupational caste groups, also performing some semi-government duties. The Wadla, for example, must repair the flood-gates of the tank, attend to the repairs of furniture and other woodwork in government offices, repair the central flag post in the village and supply free of charge or on nominal payment the pegs required for fixing the tents of touring government officials. When required the Kammari do iron work for the government officials. The Kummari has to supply earthen pots for use on public occasions or for the use of touring government officials. The Sakali cleans the kitchen utensils and plates of touring government officials, washes their clothes and carries their baggage to the next camp. The Mangali lights the lamps in the village rest-house, shaves touring officials and massages their bodies if they require this service. The Ausula has the duty of examining, when required to do so, coins which are believed to be counterfeit. He has also to help the police in weighing stolen ornaments and in making estimates of their approximate market price. Finally, the Dappu and the Kommu, who are both Madigas, play their drums and pipes respectively on public occasions. They make all public announcements by the beat of drum and are, like the Yetti, often required to do other menial work as well.

3. INTER-CASTE AND INTER-VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

The village is a territorial unit, the smallest but most significant among territorial groups in the social organization of the village

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communities. Persons belonging to several different castes are united by some common values and obligations in this unit. But caste as a unit of social organization cuts across the narrow boundaries of the village and extends to a fairly wide geographical region. The *varna* system or the fivefold division of Hindu society is an all-India phenomenon, but in the different geographical and linguistic regions these *varnas* are divided into numerous castes (*jati*) which are practically distinct from and independent of comparable castes in other areas. Thus in South India, in the Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu-speaking regions respectively, there are separate groups of Brahmins who constitute independent castes. There are numerous restrictions on inter-dining, and intermarriage between them is not permitted. All these groups will be designated by the generic term Brahmin; but in actual practice they are each a separate caste characterized by endogamy and distinctive local traditions. It has been pointed out earlier that culturally Shamirpet lies in the area of Telangana, which is a part of the larger culture-area of Andhra-desa. Most of the castes in the village confine their social intercourse to Telangana itself, a few extending it to other parts of Andhra-desa. The Muslims, being converts to an alien religion, are not obliged to observe this rule and can freely inter-marry with Muslim immigrants from other parts; but among them also marriage between people already having some blood ties is preferred. For Hindu castes it may be said that in actual practice a number of neighbouring villages constitute for them a quasi-independent local group within the wider regional community. In analysing one hundred and twenty family case-histories, it was found that out of three hundred and eighty marriages over 68% were confined to a group of villages (and the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad) within a radius of approximately thirty-five miles from Shamirpet; 30% to other villages within sixty miles of the village; and only 2% in still more distant villages or towns. In no case was a marital union entered into with a non-Telugu caste, even with a similar caste name and social status in another linguistic or geographical area. Thus the horizontal ties of caste extend to the whole culture area, but active social relationships are generally confined to a cluster of neighbouring villages.

Two types of inter-village organizations deserve to be noted. They are councils of the different castes and inter-village councils.

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Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations. They do not believe in any of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, nor in any of the later incarnations; but they share with the Hindus a living faith in the existence of malevolent ghosts, spirits and witches. They participate with the rest of the community in village ceremonies and sacrifices. To ward off cholera, plague and smallpox, they too think that it is necessary to propitiate the local deities and goddesses.

Village Hinduism is not easy to describe. It is an extremely elastic religion, and within its all-India framework admits of a considerable degree of regional and local variation. In his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, M. N. Srinivas has introduced the useful concept of 'spread', and split up village Hinduism into 'All India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and 'Local Hinduism'.

The people of Shamirpet worship all the major gods of the Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. The concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their consequences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth also have such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

[The Muslims — Analyst]

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CHAPTER SIX

The Levels of Living

1. STATUS DIFFERENTIATION IN THE COMMUNITY

Six major factors contribute towards status differentiation in the village community of Shamirpet. They are:

i. Religion and caste.
ii. Landownership.
iii. Wealth.
iv. Position in government service and village organization.
v. Age.
vi. Distinctive personality traits.

Religion divides the community into two distinct groups: the Hindus and Muslims, standing out in marked contrast to each other. Hinduism is the older and longer established religion, and the majority of people in the village are Hindus. The Muslim group is largely composed of local converts, drawn from a number of castes—high and low. The Hindus naturally have a feeling of superiority regarding their religious faith and its antiquity, and do not view with favour the indiscriminate mixing of different castes in the Muslim community. But until 1948 they could not express these feelings openly as the Muslims had the backing of the State administration. The State was under Muslim rule, and being of the 'ruling race' the village Muslims were naturally in an advantageous position. They claimed superiority over the Hindus, and tried to dominate the village scene. While practical considerations forced the Hindus to remain silent, the Muslims aggressively denounced them as heathens. It had its reaction: after the Police Action, when Hyderabad was no longer a feudal

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earlier in this chapter, suggests that an extrovert and sensitive people who cannot conceal their approval or disapproval and who do not suppress their immediate reactions cannot have a very peaceful and quiet life. Indeed most of the tensions are short-lived, but quarrels and conflicts are numerous and frequent. As the community is partially autonomous in several spheres of life, it is necessary for it to have an effective mechanism for the control of these conflicts.

Shamirpet, however, is only partially autonomous, for it is a part of a wider social system. The extent of caste organization is regional, and covers a very large number of villages. In several spheres of life it is the caste rather than the village that has the upper hand in controlling the behaviour of its constituents. Details of ritual connected with the life-cycle, and observance of the *mores* and norms of the caste fall in this category. Further the village is but a small unit in the national political structure of a sub-continent. Its laws are made by the State Legislature and the Union Parliament; and the law-enforcing arm of the State extends to it as effectively as it does to the rest of the country. This brings the State police and magistracy on the scene. All important breaches of law go to the civil and criminal courts. What remains of the autonomy of the village appears quite insignificant, but in actual practice relatively few cases go to caste councils, fewer to courts of law, and left to itself to control the inter-group and inter-personal relations of its members the machinery responsible for social control and justice within the village finds itself burdened with considerable work.

How is this mechanism set in motion? How does it work? Presently I shall give a few illustrative cases which will reveal the process in certain typical situations. At this stage it is necessary to point out that all cases of conflict do not go to the village council. In many cases the parties to the dispute boisterously quarrel over the issue and there the matter ends. For a few days they probably will not be on speaking terms, leave each other out of social functions and ceremonies, and continue to indulge in mutual recriminations and behind-the-back slander; but in course of time normal relations will be resumed. In other cases mediation or arbitration of the elders may be sought or may be volunteered by the elders themselves. When influential village elders notice disorderly or unbecoming behaviour on the part of someone

691 off small debts, serious sexual intrigues, domestic quarrels assuming serious proportions, etc., keep on coming before the village council again and again. It is very rarely that it has to take the final step of ordering the social boycott of an individual. Caste *panchayats*, on the other hand, take recourse to this weapon very often when breaches of caste convention are brought to their 688 notice. Eating with a lower caste, sex intrigue outside the caste, failure in observing injunctions attached to the status of ritual impurity, and inability to perform any major ritual are all punished by ostracism. This involves denial of social equality to the ostracized family. No one will share food or drink with it. No member of such a family will be invited to attend a socio-religious ceremony, nor will anyone accept his invitation. Its status of social equality will be restored when it performs the necessary rituals for the expiation of its offence.

578 Our investigations did not reveal the existence of any serious inter-group tensions and conflicts in the community. Just before and after the Police Action there was some Hindu-Muslim tension: in the first phase Muslims terrorized the Hindus; in the second the Hindus looted property from one Muslim house and terrorized the other Muslims generally and their ringleaders particularly. Between different castes or living-quarters of the village, within living memory, there were only two major disputes. Their details are not remembered, but it is claimed that the tension was short-lived and cordiality was established very soon between the warring sections.

578 The corporate unity of the village finds its fullest expression
●621 when the inhabitants come into conflict with outsiders. The
609 village of Aliyabad shares with Shamirpet the water from the tank for the purposes of irrigation. The ratio of water supplied to Shamirpet and Aliyabad has been fixed at 5:2. Over this there are always some difficulties. One night the floodgates were opened, and the water that should have irrigated Shamirpet fields was diverted to Aliyabad fields. Next morning an organized team from Shamirpet attacked Aliyabad. There were three different theories regarding what had happened the previous night. Aliyabad people said that the guards of the floodgates had asked them to take the water under the impression that it was their turn. The guards said that being threatened with violence they allowed the Aliyabad men to divert the water to their area.

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Perhaps the fact of the matter was that Aliyabad men had obtained the favour by bribing the guards; but their excessive greed in not allowing any water into Shamirpet fields had exposed their game. Prompt official intervention checked ugly developments; and later the issue was resolved at inter-village level. But in the dispute itself the two villages had forgotten their internal differences and dissensions and each of them had acted as one body. Another instance of such concerted action and village unity is provided by the conflict between the residents of Shamirpet and eight army men from the nearby cantonment. These eight people came to the village in two army trucks and started loading their vehicles with firewood cut and stored by a resident of the village. Obviously the army men intended to take it away without payment. The owner of the house tried to check them, and in the process he was badly beaten up. In the meantime the news had reached the other village people, who came rushing to the spot armed with sticks. They did what they thought proper at the time to avenge the honour of the village. Outnumbered by the villagers, the army men returned to their camp, threatening to bring their company to destroy the entire village. Police intervened and the trouble was not allowed to develop further.

In a society resting on rigid division of the population into castes separated by strict rules governing touching, eating and drinking, sex relations and matrimony, and social distance prescribed by tradition it is essential that people realize certain limitations and accept certain conditions. Caste consciousness develops quite early in one's life and these limitations and conditions are absorbed long before maturity by all through conversation groups, play-groups and general social experience. So far there has been no attack on the general premises on which the society rests, and therefore no serious inter-group or inter-caste conflicts have arisen. The lower castes have accepted their inferior status, and while they have made efforts to improve their lot they have not openly revolted against it. In their turn the higher castes have also shown considerable adaptability, and recognizing the general social trend they have readjusted their attitudes and curbed some of the earlier excesses and injustices. They may still object to being touched by a low caste man, but they will not protest against his wearing superior clothing befitting only the upper castes.

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THE CHANGING SCENE

178 The social structure of the village is basically the same
621 although with every administrative or political change in the village there were several organizational changes. The primary unit in this structure is either the elementary family (maintaining close contacts with allied families) or it is a large joint family. The head of each family is known as the 'big man'. The next unit is the caste; or in the case of the Muslims, the group sharing a common religion. Each of these groups has a hereditary caste headman who represents it in the village council. Finally, this council consists of these headmen of the different castes, three Ganadi and the headman of the village who is its presiding officer. The following tables show the significant lines of variation in social organization, with special reference to family, caste and village council:

I—FAMILY

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Then	*Now*
(1) Insistence on family solidarity and cohesion.	(1) Growth of individualism.
(2) Greater attachment to the soil and settlement.	(2) Migrations more frequent.
(3) Intra-family relations governed by regard for age and kinship status.	(3) Less regard for these traditional principles.

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II—CASTE

Then	*Now*
(1) Occupational specialization on the basis of caste.	(1) Caste no longer the final and only determinant of occupation.
(2) Prohibition on inter-dining with some equal castes and all lower castes.	(2) Rules of inter-dining less rigid.
(3) Hierarchy and permanent distance between different castes.	(3) Mild protest against social hierarchy: some modification in actual practice.

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III—VILLAGE COUNCIL

Then	*Now*
(1) Constituted on hereditary principles.	(1) Also admits people with 'achieved status'.
(2) Little outside intervention.	(2) Considerable outside pressure.
(3) Decisions generally accepted.	(3) Defiance or avoidance possible.

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well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

The Police Action undertaken by the Indian Union in 1948 changed the fortune and status of the State of Hyderabad. The most significant outcome was that political power changed hands —from an extremist communal party to the people of the State. It had a profound effect on the rural areas. However, sufficient time must elapse before we can evaluate its total influence on the life of the community. But it has set in motion certain trends which are not without interest to the student of social change in peasant communities.

The first definite change is that Muslims who occupied a privileged position during the former régime now no longer do so. On account of some of their un-neighbourly acts of terrorism during the last phase of extremist Muslim rule in the State some of them had become very unpopular. Fearing retaliation by the Hindus they ran away from the village temporarily. Now they have all returned. For some time they were jeered at and ridiculed, but at the time of our study cordiality had returned to the Hindu and Muslim sections of the population.

The second noticeable change is that under the administrative reforms initiated by the new administration forced labour and forced extraction of hospitality by government officials have been prohibited. In practice they still continue on a restricted scale. Government's decision to take determined steps against bribery and corruption has been announced; but firm action still remains to be taken in this direction.

Thirdly, the abolition of feudal estates has been a big step in the direction of land reform. With the end of the Jagirdari system Shamirpet has once again come under normal district administration. Further reforms ensuring a more equitable distribution of land, fixing a maximum limit on land holding and ending the evils of absentee landlordism are under contemplation. When these plans materialize substantial changes can be expected.

Fourthly, the government has intensified its welfare and nation-building activities. The village is to have a better school in the near future. The Public Health Department is already more active. The Agriculture and Veterinary departments are making a better planned and organized effort towards the introduction

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medicines and injections. The old beliefs and practices survive, partly because of the non-availability of quick and efficient modern treatment, and partly also because of its prohibitive cost. Besides the two systems do not conflict, and in order to be doubly sure, most people continue magico-religious practices along with modern medicinal treatment. Adoption of several new tools and instruments for occupational work, as well as of several other items of Western technology, such as buses, railways, razors, and electric torches, introduced in the comparatively recent times is due to their efficiency and utility. In the matter of dress and ornament other factors must also be taken into account. Mill-made cloth was not regarded only as cheap and more durable; it came to be looked upon as more respectable also. The coarse handloom cloth was regarded as rustic, the finer mill-cloth, on the other hand, was more refined and dignified. Further, mill-made cloth allowed a wider range of choice in the matter of colours, designs and patterns. The style of dress was influenced by a variety of factors. Under Muslim rule the style of dress of the rulers became fashionable. With Congress in power there was a sudden switch from the Muslim court-dress to Congress-patronized national dress. Modern Indian—as well as Western-style clothes—cigarettes, sun-glasses and tea are not only popular because of their utility, they possess a great prestige value as well.

Influence of the city has brought about adjustment and modification in several spheres, but the need of balancing different extremes in the organization of the community has so far prevented any drastic structural change in village communities. Under the impact of the new socio-economic factors the family ties have weakened, the kin-group has lost some of its characteristic strength and in the system of status evaluation achieved-status is competing with traditionally ascribed status; but the society still continues to be caste-structured as caste plays a vital role in its social, economic and ritual organization. Democracy has brought in its wake party organization and elections which demand group formation and group allegiance: in several rural areas no new groups have emerged, the loyalties of the people have only been re-affirmed to the pre-existing caste groups. While no important social or economic projects and reforms have so far been put into operation, the first major political change—the

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178 621 [666] introduction of democratic elections—has demonstrated the strength of the traditional system which has made a bid for absorbing 'political group formation' and 'democratic elections' in its all-embracing caste structure. Deeper and more far-reaching economic and technological changes, as well as externally induced social reform, touching the basic framework of rural societies, may present a different set of problems and test the strength of the caste structure. Under their new pressures and incentives the community may have to work out a new pattern of adjustment which may necessitate important structural changes.

178 Limited as this change has been, it is none the less not unimportant to ask who inspires and leads this movement towards modification of traditional ways and adoption of new elements of culture. To answer this question it is necessary to analyse the major cultural trends operating in India as a whole. Viewing the country broadly, we find three major trends: (i) the regional culture, founded on the traditions, customs and life-ways of the culture-area; (ii) the national culture, comprising some all-India traits inspired by the national renaissance, cemented by the struggle for self-government as well as by social and economic reform, and sustained by the will to find a rightful place in the comity of nations; the elements in this category being partly revivalistic and partly conscious innovations; and (iii) adoption of traits and elements from Western technology and culture. Besides these, in any given area the 'urban' and 'folk' or rural patterns are clearly distinguishable. While in the urban areas all the three trends delineated above are found to operate with more or less equal force, in the rural areas the folk variety of the regional culture is still predominant although it has been modified by national and Western elements. The inspiration and lead for modification in the traditional ways definitely come from the urban areas brought into the village community by semi-urbanized people or inspired by the example of urban relatives. In the Indian setting while there is no polarity between 'folk' and 'urban' societies, for a proper perspective of social change this classificatory device can be used very effectively. On a limited scale the struggle for supremacy between 'old' and 'new' or between 'tradition' and 'progress' goes on in cities and smaller towns also, and every generation finds itself with a modified set of values. The rural communities clearly take the lead from the urban areas, although

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2. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION: AUTHORITY AND MACHINERY OF JUSTICE

In the internal organization of Shamirpet two different units can be clearly delineated. The socio-religious organization of the village with its independent set of office-bearers and functionaries is quite distinct from the administrative organization of government and semi-government officials.

The following diagram will illustrate the internal organization of the village in socio-religious matters:

Deshmukh
(Headman of the village)

Panchayat
(Village council)

Ganadi
(Organizers of village ritual)

Kulam-pedda
(Headmen of the different castes)

Peddamanshi
or
Inti-pedda
(Head of the family)

The Deshmukh is the hereditary headman of the village. He is the richest person in the settlement and has very considerable landed property. His forefathers became the headmen of the village some three hundred years ago, and since then the family has retained the title and office. By virtue of his wealth, position and the contacts he maintains with powerful government officials, the Deshmukh is a pivotal figure in the village and enjoys a position of great influence. Although his word is no longer law, he still wields very great influence in the village and is always given a place of honour at all village ceremonies. Village disputes of any importance are always referred to him, and his decisions and wishes are seldom disregarded. However, the Deshmukh takes very few decisions on his own authority and initiative. He seeks the help of the *panchayat*, which can be regarded as the central council for the village as a whole. Of course, the Deshmukh takes a prominent part in the deliberations and discussions of the *panchayat* and often guides it in such a way that his wishes in the matter are carried out.

The *panchayat* or village council consists of the headmen of

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623 564 castes; they are expected to do much more. In fact, a caste headman is the link between the residents of the village belonging to his own caste and, on the one hand, the common organization of the village as a unit, and, on the other, the wider caste organization of the entire neighbouring region. When the caste *panchayat* of the entire block constituting the regional community holds its meeting it is invariably the caste headman who participates in its deliberations on behalf of his village caste group. The office is hereditary, passing from father to son. But if the son has not attained maturity at the time of the death of his father, and is consequently not in a position to take over the responsibility, one of the brothers of the deceased may exercise the authority on behalf of the minor. In some cases even after attaining maturity the son remains only the nominal head, while his uncle continues to be the *de facto* chief. The general consensus of opinion regarding the function of the caste headman appears to be that 'he should keep his people under control' and 'not allow them to stray from the traditional ways of life'. 'If boys of my community do not behave themselves, the *panchayat* reprimands me for not keeping them under control. The village headman says that I must check them, but what powers do I have?' remarked one caste headman. With regard to his functions there is a general unanimity. 'Under a good caste headman boys of the caste obey established authority, respect is shown to the elders and quarrels are not often heard from houses in his jurisdiction.' All this he must do by the sheer force of his personality, for the nature of his authority is not well defined. 'He must be strict and firm, and also considerate and helpful. If he is only strict he will not be able to get the willing co-operation of his people. If he is too lenient nobody will pay any heed to what he says.' It has been pointed out earlier that some of the caste headmen are only nominal members of the *panchayat* and that at its meetings others speak on behalf of the caste. With one exception, these caste headmen lack the above qualities, and in general their caste people do not have much regard for their views. At least two of the hereditary caste chiefs are regarded with scorn by their own people and with ridicule by the villagers. Among the successful caste headmen, E. D. R., the leader of the Kapu (agriculturist) group, may be mentioned. He is in his late thirties, but even older people listen to him. If a son does not show due regard to his parents or a husband and wife quarrel too often and too publicly;

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if one of his caste fellows fails to fulfil the terms of his obligations or in any other way brings dishonour to the caste; if boys get unmanageable or girls earn an evil reputation for easy virtue, he effectively enters the scene, gives suggestions and advice, admonishes people if they do not seem amenable to persuasion, and in the case of adolescents and young boys may even inflict light corporal punishment. In his dealings with people E. D. R. possesses some dramatic qualities which make him something of a hero to his people. With his great influence in the counsels of the village he commands obedience from his own caste fellows as well as from many others. V. P. R., in a sense E. D. R.'s rival, has also a strong personality, and although he is not the recognized head of the caste he exercises considerable control over 'his area of influence'. Because of his influence he is one of those who are invited to participate in the deliberations of the *panchayat*. However, the two men exercise considerable tact in dealing with each other, and so far there has been no effective challenge to the position of E. D. R. The position of the head in a caste is what its holder chooses to make it. Ambitious rivals can steal some of his light and authority. If he proves unsuitable he may for all practical purposes be superseded by someone who is abler or more ambitious and aggressive.

The structure of the family and part played by the 'head' in its affairs will be analysed in a subsequent chapter. It will suffice here to point out that the type of family organization in Shamirpet and the neighbouring rural areas is patrilineal and patrilocal. Joint families are regarded as ideal, although there is a tendency for sons to separate after marriage, and brothers almost always separate some time after the father's death. The eldest male is generally regarded as the chief of the household, and, according to tradition, he must benevolently dominate the scene. Younger members of the household must show respect to him and his wishes. In his turn the head of the family should treat his brothers or sons equally, 'as alike as his two eyes'. A serious socio-religious offence committed by one member of the family would result in the excommunication of the whole family. As such the head of the family must watch the actions of all the members of his household and advise, warn or admonish them according to the necessity of the situation. The head of the family is answerable to the caste and the village councils for the members of his household, and this

entitles him to maintain a controlling hand in domestic affairs. In the case of the head of the family also, much depends on the character and personality of the individual concerned. An irresponsible head who becomes a liability to the members of his family forfeits his claim to their obedience and respect, and in such cases the sympathy of the village people is generally given to the dissenting members of the family. Even after separation it is good form to treat the elders with courtesy and respect. On the occasions of family reunions, such as those connected with the crises of life or with the annual offering of water to the spirits of the deceased, it is the eldest member of the family who occupies the dominant position. In general, even after separation his help is sought in cases of disease and difficulty, and in all matters involving priority of one or the other, preference is always given to the elder. The exact position of the head of the family would, however, vary according to the equations of different families, with which we propose to deal later.

The Deshmukh also figures at the head of the government or semi-government village officials, whose relative positions can be arranged in a tabular form as follows:

DESHMUKH
[Combining the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel]

Sub-Inspector of Police
Head Constables
Masters
Constables

Patwari

FOURTEEN VILLAGE MENIALS

i. Kawalkar	viii. Kammari
ii. Talari	ix. Kummari
iii. Majkuri	x. Sakali
iv. Neerudi	xi. Mangali
v. Begari	xii. Ausula
vi. Yetti	xiii. Dappu
vii. Wadla	xiv. Kommu

The Deshmukh is the recognized headman of the village. Two hundred and ten acres of rent-free land, the normal revenue of which would have been Rs. 556/6/-, have been granted to him by the State. He also formally holds the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel: in the former capacity he assists the government officials in the collection of land revenue, in the latter he helps the police in the maintenance of law and order. The Deshmukh used to cultivate the rent-free land earmarked by the government for persons working in these two capacities, but he had delegated his powers

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and functions to agents who acted for him. Now he gets a certain percentage of the total revenue collected in the village in lieu of the rent-free land. Thus, theoretically, the Deshmukh is both Mali Patel and Police Patel; but in actual practice these duties are carried out by his agents. In his capacity as Mali Patel of the village the Deshmukh takes steps to ensure the speedy collection of land revenue after each harvest and remits it to the district treasury. The Patwari can seek his assistance in matters connected with the land records and revenue of the village. For this he gets annually 5% of the total land revenue collected in the village. As Police Patel the Deshmukh is entitled to receive another 5% of the revenue collected during the year. In this capacity he has to send regular reports to the police regarding the occurrence of any crime in the village, keep an eye on the 'bad characters' and watch the activities of suspicious strangers. He maintains records of births and deaths in the village. It is his duty to assist the police in all possible ways in their investigations regarding criminal offences in the village. The other officials, such as the sub-inspector of police, head constables, constables and schoolmasters, are not a permanent part of the local population, and as such they do not generally get mixed up in local politics and other affairs. The police officials enjoy both prestige and power and are, in general, greatly feared by the people.

The Patwari, in spite of the fact that he is a petty revenue and land records official, occupies a pivotal position in the village and plays a very significant part in local politics. Being in charge of the land records, he can manipulate things both to the advantage and disadvantage of landowners, who often consult him and ask his advice. Of Patwaris in general it is said, 'What will they not do for a consideration? Give them money and they will prove their own father a bastard.' The present Patwari of Shamirpet is, for one in his position, a man of more than average intelligence and is himself a careful and substantial cultivator who owns some 247 acres of land jointly with his brother. He receives no salary from the government, nor does he have any rent-free land, but a certain percentage of the total land revenue is fixed by the government as his remuneration for the work.

All villages in Hyderabad State, as do most of those of middle and peninsular India, have a number of village menials. Their functions in the internal organization of the village are of two

623 threshing floors, topes, and other property used by the villagers in common, (d) the extension of village-sites and regulation of building, (f) the registration of births and deaths, (g) the control of pounds, (h) village protection, (i) improvement of agricultural stock and agriculture, (j) the promotion and encouragement of cottage industries, (k) the opening and maintenance of elementary schools, (l) the establishment and maintenance of Panchayat dispensaries, (m) gratuities to its officers and servants, (n) contribution to Joint Committee under Section 30 for any purpose in which the Panchayat is jointly interested and all other measures of public utility calculated to promote the safety, health, comfort or convenience of the inhabitants of the village, which are not included in any of the clauses relating to the District Board (vide Schedule 5 of the M. L. B. Act, 1930).

[652] **D. Supervision and Control :** The Panchayats were to submit copies of their budgets to the District Board, to the Collector and to the Inspector of Local Boards at Madras. The District Board and the District Panchayat Officer were expected to scrutinise the several items of income and expenditure.

The District and Assistant Panchayat Officers were to supervise the working and report on their progress to the Inspector of Local Boards. The reports of the minutes of the meetings would be recorded and reported to the District Board. Whenever a Panchayat was not working properly, and continued to be in an unsatisfactory condition for long, Section 45-A provided for the supersession of that body for an year and sometimes to another six months, when the administration would be entrusted to a special officer.

642 623 In 1941, the advisory regime in Madras wanted to introduce some reform in the matter of Panchayats and as such prepared a bill with the following provisions :— 1. introduction of ex-officio membership [622] of the village headman, who was also to be eligible for Presidentship, [624] 2. creation of whole-time executive officers for major Panchayats and the appointment of Village Karanams as Honorary Executive Officers of minor Panchayats, [651] 3. supervision and control of Panchayats by the District Collector, the Revenue Board being the co-ordinating body over the Collector, 4. compulsory levy of a house tax and an additional levy of 3 pies of land cess, and 5. provision for the appointment of a nominated Panchayat. A Committee was appointed to examine this bill. This advisory Committee reported that 1. the District Collector should be entirely divorced from Panchayat administration, 2. the Board of Revenue need have nothing to do with the Panchayats, and instead the post of a Registrar-General should

be created, 3. Panchayats should be created compulsorily in all villages in 5 years, 4. Village Officers should be precluded from Panchayats, though the headman might function as a temporary President for short periods in the absence of the President, 5. adult franchise for all men and women of 21 years of age and the system of ward division and voting by ballot should be introduced in all Panchayats, 6. only Panchayats with a normal income of Rs. 5000 and more should have whole-time paid executive officers, 7. the levy of house tax and vehicle tax should be made compulsory, but the proposed additional land cess of 3 pies should be optional, and 8. there should be no nominated Panchayats. 623 642 [624] [641] [651]

The only effect of this bill was an amendment that was introduced to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920, by Act XIX of 1943, by which, whole-time executive officers had been appointed to all major Panchayats, and such of the minor Boards as had been notified by Government in this behalf. In April 1946, the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1946 was published along the lines of the bill of 1941, with some modifications.

The power of Collector in the matter of supervision and control of Panchayats in the District was retained, though he was to function, subject to the control of the Registrar-General, who was to be the provincial supervising authority in the place of the Board of Revenue, originally provided in the Bill of 1941. The ex-officio membership of the Village Headman and his eligibility to exercise the presidential functions in the absence of the President or Vice-President through the Karanam as Honorary executive authority of the minor Panchayats, assigned in the Bill of 1941 was dropped out. The clauses for the Amendment Act of 1943 providing for the appointment of whole-time executive officers for notified Panchayats, had been incorporated in the new Act also. The provision made in the Bill of 1941 for nomination of members had been retained, though it was to be resorted to only in special circumstances, such as fraction or disorder in the village. [622]

But this Act was kept in abeyance while the Congress Ministry were thinking of introducing a thoroughly new Act.

At the time of the survey in 1947, the Panchayats were being governed by the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930. There had been no elections since 1939. Only the old Panchayats were continuing in power.

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623

[For an account of legal cases heard by the village council see category 116. pp. 203-210.]

[Because of the diversity of functions of the Village Panchayats, data filed in category 623 have been limited to that concerning the Panchayats which cannot readily be filed in other categories. Additional data will be found in the specific functional categories, as indicated below, and in the entire source, 26: Rao, AW1 India, category 116. --Analyst]

623 summaries of Panchayat functions and optional duties; administrative functions; membership, selection, and meetings; number and geographical distribution; attitude toward, supervision of, and distribution of authority.

217 provision of libraries
311 forest panchayats
312 water control
364 village sanitary boards
443 market facilities and control
465 panchayat salaries
564 caste membership of panchayats
624 local officials
642 legal basis and origins of panchayats
647 panchayat state officials
651 income through taxes
652 panchayat budgets and expenses
653 contributions to public works
658 maintenance of public buildings
666 panchayat elections
687 panchayat political offenses
692 panchayat judicial powers

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in fact entered as parts of the village of Shamirpet in government records, and in a sense they are; nevertheless, on a restricted scale they enjoy considerable autonomy. The elders of the hamlets try, as far as possible, to decide the hamlet's minor disputes without referring them either to the headman or to the village council of Shamirpet. They say, 'We are poor inhabitants of a small hamlet. Our resources are limited. The people of Shamirpet are prosperous; they have adopted the ways of the city. If we refer our cases to them, they will impose such fines that our necks will break.' Yet there are many cases in which one of the disputing parties, dissatisfied with the judgement of the elders and possessing the necessary financial resources or influential support, will refer the case to the Shamirpet village council. In all such cases one or two elders and influential people from the hamlet in question are summoned to attend the proceedings of the village council at Shamirpet. Similarly, for all the ceremonies organized jointly by the people of Shamirpet as a whole it is customary to send invitations to Babugura and Upparpalli and it is expected that they will be represented by at least some of the village elders. When the people of the village as a whole are summoned on government business to the district or subdivisional headquarters, the residents of the two hamlets have also to accompany the people of Shamirpet, for all the three settlements are, according to government records, component units of one village. However, the distance between Shamirpet and the two hamlets is an effective barrier to the pursuance of a common social life. And from this point of view the two hamlets are as independent as two self-contained small villages.

The area surrounding Shamirpet is quite densely populated. It is not unusual to find a village or a small hamlet every three to six miles, and Shamirpet is surrounded by a number of villages, some large and others small. With most of these, Shamirpet, as a village, has very little to do. However, individual residents remain in constant touch with friends and relations in the surrounding villages. Ceremonies connected with the major crises of life, i.e. birth, marriage and death, often take people out of Shamirpet to the neighbouring villages, or bring people from there into Shamirpet. For a more or less well-defined block of villages the different castes have their respective caste councils, to which matters concerning the caste only are taken.

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623 The panchayat or village council consists of the headmen of all the major communities living within the village and in addition several other rich and influential persons. It necessarily includes the headman of the village and the three organizers of village ritual. In May 1951 the *panchayat* consisted of twenty-seven persons: four village officers (one Deshmukh and three Ganadis), seventeen heads of different communities resident within the village, and six other rich and influential persons. Of the seventeen heads of different communities, eight are inactive members of the village council. They only attend its meetings on formal and ceremonial occasions and not when it meets to consider ordinary business. Two of these eight inactive members do not attend because they complain that the prejudice of some of the members prevents due consideration being given to their views and hence their participation in the deliberations would be useless. Others do not attend because they are 'too occupied with their own affairs' and do not want 'to get involved in local politics'. However, representatives of these six persons stand for the community in the meetings of the *panchayat*. The six members from the category of rich and influential persons are: V.P.R.—a substantial Reddi cultivator; B.R.—a rich toddy-tapper; N.B.—a Madiga cultivator; K.M.—a Muslim pensioner and brother of an influential village official; K.G.—a well-to-do shepherd; and B.N.—a substantial Mala cultivator.

Thus the *panchayat* of the village is formally composed of the important village officers, the heads of various castes and religious groups in the village and a few other people of influence. But it has been observed that, for one reason or the other, many of the caste heads do not attend its meetings. In most cases they do not have the necessary personality traits and do not mind if someone else volunteers to represent them. More talkative and influential persons gradually replace such inactive members, first temporarily, then permanently. Members of cliques wielding some influence in the community and others with some nuisance value have often been appeased by being invited to the *panchayat*, for this appeals to their sense of vanity. This recognition of their importance in some cases develops in them a greater sense of social responsibility.

The *panchayat* performs several important functions. It hears and decides minor disputes which do not ordinarily go to the courts of law, criminal or civil. It fixes the details of the ceremonies

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to be organized by the village community as a whole. If smallpox, cholera or plague is reported in any nearby village or from Shamirpet itself, it has to fix the day on which the whole village shall perform religious worship in order to ward off the epidemic. It fixes the contribution which should be made by the different families to any communal undertaking. In any undertaking concerning the village as a whole the initiative often comes from the *panchayat*. For example, if a temple or shrine has to be constructed or a tank or well has to be repaired, the matter would be placed before the *panchayat*. This body would plan the measure and then proceed to fix all the details. It will determine the amount of the contributions to be raised, and collect it from each family. If it is necessary to approach the government for financial help in the matter, the *panchayat* would first thoroughly analyse the subject and examine all the possibilities. Only after such a discussion would it determine the precise steps to be taken. Similarly, if a complaint has to be made against any government official, the matter is first discussed by the *panchayat*.

In the village community there are several groups and factions; the various cliques often hold divergent views. However, at the meetings of the *panchayat* the minority almost always yields to the majority—mostly without any grumbling. But once the *panchayat* has risen a protégé of the dissenting clique may be instigated to defy the decisions of the council. With the emergence of several factions within the community, and the tacit encouragement given by some of the minority groups to certain offenders to ignore its decisions, the authority of the *panchayat* has been slightly weakened. In consequence, even when the *panchayat* has heard them and given its verdict, some cases drag on in a state of indecision. From time to time they come up for reconsideration, but two or three years often elapse before a final decision is made. Some long-drawn-out cases are decided by the active intervention of the Revenue or Police officials. But such cases are few. Only a comparatively rich person can defy the *panchayat*, for unless he is able to bribe one of the minority cliques, he cannot enlist their sympathy and support in the lengthy proceedings. In most of the ordinary cases the decision of the *panchayat* is binding and final.

It has been pointed out that the *panchayat* includes all the headmen of the different caste-groups as well as of the Muslim community. These headmen do not merely represent their respective

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623 564 castes; they are expected to do much more. In fact, a caste headman is the link between the residents of the village belonging to his own caste and, on the one hand, the common organization of the village as a unit, and, on the other, the wider caste organization of the entire neighbouring region. When the caste *panchayat* of the entire block constituting the regional community holds its meeting it is invariably the caste headman who participates in its deliberations on behalf of his village caste group. The office is hereditary, passing from father to son. But if the son has not attained maturity at the time of the death of his father, and is consequently not in a position to take over the responsibility, one of the brothers of the deceased may exercise the authority on behalf of the minor. In some cases even after attaining maturity the son remains only the nominal head, while his uncle continues to be the *de facto* chief. The general consensus of opinion regarding the function of the caste headman appears to be that 'he should keep his people under control' and 'not allow them to stray from the traditional ways of life'. 'If boys of my community do not behave themselves, the *panchayat* reprimands me for not keeping them under control. The village headman says that I must check them, but what powers do I have?' remarked one caste headman. With regard to his functions there is a general unanimity. 'Under a good caste headman boys of the caste obey established authority, respect is shown to the elders and quarrels are not often heard from houses in his jurisdiction.' All this he must do by the sheer force of his personality, for the nature of his authority is not well defined. 'He must be strict and firm, and also considerate and helpful. If he is only strict he will not be able to get the willing co-operation of his people. If he is too lenient nobody will pay any heed to what he says.' It has been pointed out earlier that some of the caste headmen are only nominal members of the *panchayat* and that at its meetings others speak on behalf of the caste. With one exception, these caste headmen lack the above qualities, and in general their caste people do not have much regard for their views. At least two of the hereditary caste chiefs are regarded with scorn by their own people and with ridicule by the villagers. Among the successful caste headmen, E. D. R., the leader of the Kapu (agriculturist) group, may be mentioned. He is in his late thirties, but even older people listen to him. If a son does not show due regard to his parents or a husband and wife quarrel too often and too publicly;

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communities. Persons belonging to several different castes are united by some common values and obligations in this unit. But caste as a unit of social organization cuts across the narrow boundaries of the village and extends to a fairly wide geographical region. The *varna* system or the fivefold division of Hindu society is an all-India phenomenon, but in the different geographical and linguistic regions these *varnas* are divided into numerous castes (*jati*) which are practically distinct from and independent of comparable castes in other areas. Thus in South India, in the Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu-speaking regions respectively, there are separate groups of Brahmins who constitute independent castes. There are numerous restrictions on inter-dining, and intermarriage between them is not permitted. All these groups will be designated by the generic term Brahmin; but in actual practice they are each a separate caste characterized by endogamy and distinctive local traditions. It has been pointed out earlier that culturally Shamirpet lies in the area of Telangana, which is a part of the larger culture-area of Andhra-desa. Most of the castes in the village confine their social intercourse to Telangana itself, a few extending it to other parts of Andhra-desa. The Muslims, being converts to an alien religion, are not obliged to observe this rule and can freely inter-marry with Muslim immigrants from other parts; but among them also marriage between people already having some blood ties is preferred. For Hindu castes it may be said that in actual practice a number of neighbouring villages constitute for them a quasi-independent local group within the wider regional community. In analysing one hundred and twenty family case-histories, it was found that out of three hundred and eighty marriages over 68% were confined to a group of villages (and the cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad) within a radius of approximately thirty-five miles from Shamirpet; 30% to other villages within sixty miles of the village; and only 2% in still more distant villages or towns. In no case was a marital union entered into with a non-Telugu caste, even with a similar caste name and social status in another linguistic or geographical area. Thus the horizontal ties of caste extend to the whole culture area, but active social relationships are generally confined to a cluster of neighbouring villages.

Two types of inter-village organizations deserve to be noted. They are councils of the different castes and inter-village councils.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

According to the caste composition of the villages and existing social bonds between them, people belonging to one particular caste will have their own *panchayat* for a group of villages. Thus in the case of some castes ten to twenty villages have their own caste *panchayat*, while in the case of others thirty to forty villages together have a common council of this type. In some cases endogamous sub-castes have their own *panchayats*; but in many others the wider caste group comprising many sub-castes has a composite council of its own. Caste headmen representing each constituent village are the members of this council—although in actual practice other wealthy and influential, as well as vocal and assertive, persons also gradually come to occupy a seat in it. Serious breaches of the norms and traditions of the caste, as well as important intra-caste disputes, are heard and decided by these caste *panchayats*. Cases of divorce, failure in fulfilling agreements made before finalizing marriage arrangements, serious sexual lapses, and of breaches of the social norms of the caste, such as incest, breaches of the rules of endogamy and exogamy, eating forbidden food and pursuing a 'lower' occupation, etc., would be under the jurisdiction of such a caste *panchayat*. But it must be pointed out that there is no clear-cut distinction between the powers and functions of the caste *panchayat* and the village *panchayat*. For example, when a serious case of incest comes to their notice both these *panchayats* take action independently. Similarly, if a person belonging to one of the Hindu castes kills a cow or is found to have eaten beef, simultaneous action is likely to be taken by both the *panchayats*. In general, however, it can be laid down that matters of a primarily local interest are brought to the village *panchayat*, while those having a bearing on specific caste customs fall under the jurisdiction of the caste *panchayat*. A large number of marginal disputes may be heard by either, and often the local tradition defines their respective jurisdictions. As the *panchayat* in Shamirpet is sufficiently aggressive it has arrogated to itself a considerably wide range of powers.

While all villages and nearly all castes have their own *panchayats*, inter-village *panchayats* are formed from time to time when they are demanded by a special situation. They function as *ad hoc* arbitration committees. Conflicts between two villages, or between two parties belonging to different villages (and not drawn from one particular caste), often necessitate an inter-village

623 692 *panchayat*. In this the elders of the two villages which are parties to the dispute as well as the elders from an agreed number of villages from the neighbourhood sit together, hear the dispute and give their verdict. Of course, they have no authority to enforce their decision, and these days such cases often go to the courts of law established by the government.

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476 discharge of their functions. Tradition approves of such an arrangement, and mutual trust and inter-dependence ensure its continuity. Where this arrangement is accepted, a system of attachment of some families to certain other families naturally [433] follows. Agriculture being the most important activity of the countryside, the number of agriculturists is naturally the largest in the village population. These constitute the bulk of those who require and accept the occupational services of small caste groups offering them. Even the occupational castes stand in need of one another's services, although the number of families from each caste offering them within a village community is of necessity small. Each family will, therefore, attach itself to a number of families in the village and offer them services both in agricultural pursuits and socio-religious rites and ceremonies. Among the occupational castes themselves also there is a system of family attachments in operation. In Shamirpet some family affiliations date back to the time of the foundation of the village. Later immigrants either secured the services of some of the established families of the occupational castes, or they made arrangements with some of the newcomers to the village belonging to those castes.

476 This system is both complex and delicate. It is not easy for an ● 623 agriculturist to remove a family attached to his household and 626 secure the services of another. For example, A, a barber, is attached to the family of B, an agriculturist. If for any reason B is greatly dissatisfied with the services of A and wants those of another, he cannot abruptly dismiss A. His difficulty will not be in dismissing him, but in finding a substitute. Each of these castes [467] has its own inter-village council. Occupational castes have a developed trade unionism, and their code of professional ethics and etiquette too is very rigid. The dismissed person will be protected by this professional etiquette. No one else would be willing to act as a substitute for fear of being penalized by the caste *panchayat*. It may even be difficult for a number of families to join together and import a family belonging to that occupational caste from a different village. First, under these conditions of tension, an outside family would not come for fear of social pressure and ultimate ostracism for such an action. And if they do come, the caste fellows already in the village will make things very difficult, even unbearable, for them. In the course of our investigations,

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we recorded three cases of protracted antagonism between a group of employing families and the occupational caste families employed. In one of them the dissatisfied employer agreed to retain the family on its promise of doing better work in the future. In another the caste people arrived at an amicable settlement by attaching another family to the employer, and attaching the dismissed caste member to a newly-settled family in the village. The third one dragged on for a little less than four years, and, yielding to the pressure and persuasion of the village elders, the caste agreed to give a substitute. The employer in this case was a hot-headed farmer, but he was a man of some wealth and considerable influence, and as such he could secure the effective intervention of the village elders in his own favour.

According to our informants 'the system to-day is not what it was a decade or two ago'. Many attribute this change to the spirit of individualism which is now manifesting itself in several walks of life in the countryside, and is bringing about changes in the established patterns of life. 'In former times,' said an agriculturist, 'these low classes knew their position and behaved themselves well. If they worked satisfactorily they were treated by us very well. In fact, with the passage of time, our relations became more and more intimate. I remember those days when a barber's son would come into the courtyard, offer salutations to us and say "Uncle, the headman has called you" or "Mother, the ceremony in the neighbour's house is about to start and they are awaiting you." In many cases they were just like the members of our family, and although both parties maintained the traditional caste distance, we could always take each other into confidence even on matters of a delicate nature. But now things have changed. Those boys don't want to work here. They want to go to the city. They are not satisfied with the traditional arrangements of payment; and so there is difficulty.' However, the system still continues more or less in its established, traditional form. Urban contacts, education or attraction of something better or more lucrative, may distract a young man, causing him to refuse to replace his old or deceased father's services with a family to which they were attached, but one of his younger and less ambitious brothers or cousins will always be willing to take up the work.

We shall now examine the main economic functions and activities of the major caste groups in the village.

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earlier in this chapter, suggests that an extrovert and sensitive people who cannot conceal their approval or disapproval and who do not suppress their immediate reactions cannot have a very peaceful and quiet life. Indeed most of the tensions are short-lived, but quarrels and conflicts are numerous and frequent. As the community is partially autonomous in several spheres of life, it is necessary for it to have an effective mechanism for the control of these conflicts.

Shamirpet, however, is only partially autonomous, for it is a part of a wider social system. The extent of caste organization is regional, and covers a very large number of villages. In several spheres of life it is the caste rather than the village that has the upper hand in controlling the behaviour of its constituents. Details of ritual connected with the life-cycle, and observance of the mores and norms of the caste fall in this category. Further the village is but a small unit in the national political structure of a sub-continent. Its laws are made by the State Legislature and the Union Parliament; and the law-enforcing arm of the State extends to it as effectively as it does to the rest of the country. This brings the State police and magistracy on the scene. All important breaches of law go to the civil and criminal courts. What remains of the autonomy of the village appears quite insignificant, but in actual practice relatively few cases go to caste councils, fewer to courts of law, and left to itself to control the inter-group and inter-personal relations of its members the machinery responsible for social control and justice within the village finds itself burdened with considerable work.

How is this mechanism set in motion? How does it work? Presently I shall give a few illustrative cases which will reveal the process in certain typical situations. At this stage it is necessary to point out that all cases of conflict do not go to the village council. In many cases the parties to the dispute boisterously quarrel over the issue and there the matter ends. For a few days they probably will not be on speaking terms, leave each other out of social functions and ceremonies, and continue to indulge in mutual recriminations and behind-the-back slander; but in course of time normal relations will be resumed. In other cases mediation or arbitration of the elders may be sought or may be volunteered by the elders themselves. When influential village elders notice disorderly or unbecoming behaviour on the part of someone

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178 The social structure of the village is basically the same
621 although with every administrative or political change in the village there were several organizational changes. The primary unit in this structure is either the elementary family (maintaining close contacts with allied families) or it is a large joint family. The head of each family is known as the 'big man'. The next unit is the caste; or in the case of the Muslims, the group sharing a common religion. Each of these groups has a hereditary caste headman who represents it in the village council. Finally, this council consists of these headmen of the different castes, three Ganadi and the headman of the village who is its presiding officer. The following tables show the significant lines of variation in social organization, with special reference to family, caste and village council:

I—FAMILY

Then	*Now*
178 596 (1) Insistence on family solidarity and cohesion.	(1) Growth of individualism.
(2) Greater attachment to the soil and settlement.	(2) Migrations more frequent.
(3) Intra-family relations governed by regard for age and kinship status.	(3) Less regard for these traditional principles.

178 II—CASTE

Then	*Now*
564 (1) Occupational specialization on the basis of caste.	(1) Caste no longer the final and only determinant of occupation.
(2) Prohibition on inter-dining with some equal castes and all lower castes.	(2) Rules of inter-dining less rigid.
(3) Hierarchy and permanent distance between different castes.	(3) Mild protest against social hierarchy; some modification in actual practice.

III—VILLAGE COUNCIL

Then	*Now*
62 (1) Constituted on hereditary principles.	(1) Also admits people with 'achieved status'.
(2) Little outside intervention.	(2) Considerable outside pressure.
(3) Decisions generally accepted.	(3) Defiance or avoidance possible.

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Prohibitions on inter-dining are still there; but they have been greatly relaxed. As a general rule people observe them within the village, but ignore them when they eat in the shops or restaurants in the city. The caste system is still characterized by its traditional hierarchy, but some ineffective verbal protests can now be heard against it. Among the castes on the lower level of the agriculturist group there has been some effort made at rising in the social scale by the adoption of surnames and caste appellations traditionally belonging to the higher groups. Although it has been legally abolished by the Constitution of the Republic of India, untouchability is still practised within the village. However, untouchable children can now attend the village school. Clean castes and unclean castes both ride in the same buses. No objection is taken if untouchables now dress like respectable people of the higher castes. As the colonies of the two untouchable castes are quite separate from the main village settlement and have their own wells, there has so far been no problem of their being able to draw water from the well used by the higher castes. Untouchables certainly resent their degraded status, but they are careful not to voice their protests too loudly or too publicly for they are conscious of the advantages of silence in view of their dependent position in the economic structure of the community.

Traditionally the membership of the village council is hereditary and should be inherited by the eldest male child on the death of the father. In the case of the inheritance of the office of village headman this principle has been strictly observed. Two Ganadis inherited their office from their fathers, but an additional post of Ganadi has been created in recent years to accommodate a young man who had considerable influence over his age-group and who was creating problems in the village. From among the heads of the different castes resident within the village, eight are at present ineffective, titular members, and are represented in its deliberations by some other more vocal and assertive members of the caste. Other rich and influential persons are also invited to participate in the proceedings. It is said that before the Jagir period there was very little outside pressure on the village council. In the Jagir period the estate officials tried to influence it indirectly. At present government officials residing within the village discreetly pull the strings and exert pressure on the council to secure favourable decisions in certain cases in which for some

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reason they happen to be interested. In former times, as a general rule, the decisions of the village council were accepted unconditionally. Even to-day none can defy them openly, but often the cases are taken to superior law courts and factionalism within the council is exploited to get its decisions altered or modified.

In the traditional economic structure of the community the following characteristics were important:

(i) Occupation was determined by the caste of the individual.

(ii) Mobility was limited and people had great attachment to the settlement.

(iii) Different castes were integrated into the overall pattern of village economy on the basis of their functional specialization. For their co-operative labour payment was made in kind at the time of harvesting.

(iv) There was barter of occupational services between the various artisan and occupational castes.

It has already been pointed out that in the last few decades the occupational character of caste has undergone some modifications. In place of their traditional occupations people have started accepting other vocations. The traditional system of caste interdependence under which artisan and occupational castes attach themselves to the families of agriculturists is still there. But the attached labourers of untouchable castes are showing signs of discontent and figures for the last ten years show twenty-one migrations of Madiga families to the city. Barbers, washermen and carpenters also openly express preference for a basis of cash payment as that enables them to negotiate and bargain and puts an end to the uncertainty and occasional high-handedness of the employer under the old system. The traditional arrangements involving the barter of occupational services between artisan castes too is now gradually breaking down and is giving place to a basis of cash payment.

In the ritual structure of the community no significant variations have been found. Under the Muslim régime, Hindus co-operated in the public ceremonies of the Muslims. With the spread of the revivalist and reformist ideas of the Arya Samaj greater interest was taken in the Hinduism of the holy books. Preachers invited from the city added to the folklore of the people some fragments of traditional Hindu mythology. However, the regional cults as

well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

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CHAPTER IV

Structure and Working of Panchayats in Madras

Section I: Village Panchayats in Madras

PART I

Administrative and Legislative Position of Village Panchayats on the Eve of the Enquiry

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The idea of reviving the age old Panchayats in Madras got a momentum from the time of the Royal Commission on Decentralization. A Committee called the Local Self Government Committee, composed of officials and non-officials, was appointed in 1882. As a result of the recommendations of this Committee, the Local Boards Act of 1884 was passed recognizing the village as the unit of administration and authorising the formation of village unions in villages of more than 3000 population and Panchayats in villages with population of 3000 or less with permissive powers and limited authority for taxation. But, these unions could not be very popular as there was a division of loyalties and conflict of jurisdictions. The people were reluctant to pay taxes, without adequate returns, while the unions continued to be mere tax-collecting agencies without providing any amenities like village sanitation or education. Their inability to provide any facilities raised doubts as to the ability of Panchayats or unions to hold their own. This made the task of the succeeding legislators extremely difficult. No definite action was taken on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Decentralization for a long time. In 1915, the Government of India resolution was passed favouring formation of Panchayats in selected areas with permissible powers and limited authority in matters of taxation. Unions were formed in villages with more than 3000 population and informal Panchayats in villages with population of 3000 or less. Still, the number of unions did not increase very much. By 1916-17, the number was only 464 and went up to 527 in 1920-21. As the unions had no tax collecting authority they had to depend on their abilities to persuade the villagers to pay them some taxes for undertaking any works of public benefit. Neither the Provincial Government nor the Local Boards gave them any contributions. In the contest of such discouraging circumstances all round, the unions could not make much headway. After the Montague

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Chelmsford Reforms in 1919, the Local Self-Government became a provincial subject. The Madras Village Panchayat Act was passed in 1920, with functions of 1. construction and maintenance of roads, villages and bridges, buildings; 2. lighting of streets; 3. construction of drains; 4. cleaning of streets, removing of prickly pear, construction of latrines, construction, maintenance and repair of burning and burial grounds; 5. sinking wells and making bathing ghats; 6. control of cattle stands, and thrashing floors; 7. Control of rest houses; 8. extension of village sites; 9 enforcement of vaccination; 10. registration of births and deaths; 11. maintenance of latrines; 12. construction of pounds; and 13. maintenance of other public utility services, delegated powers from Local Boards such as control over markets and cart-stands, control of fisheries, establishment and maintenance of village schools, provision of medical relief, etc. 642 623

As the legislation of 1920 was only an enabling one, and not a compulsory measure, village Panchayats could not make much headway. By the end of 1924-25, their number was only 579, but, later on they were able to make progress, because of the appointment of a Registrar-General of Panchayats. Mr. N. Gopalswami Iyengar was the first Registrar-General, and he was rightly regarded as the father of the modern Panchayat Movement in Madras. The development of Panchayats during this period had to depend mostly on the efforts of honorary organisers as there was no regular subordinate supervisory staff under the Ragistrar-General. This Act fixed the age limit of a voter at 25 and prescribed 7 to 15 members to a Panchayat. It did not provide for any reservation of seats to minorities or for ex-officio membership of the village officials. Even on the testimony of their administration reports there were no regular meetings in several Panchayats. Most of them had not even establishments of their own. Often, the President of the Panchayat used to do all the clerical work. But all the same, the period from 1920 to 1930 was considered to be the Golden Age of Panchayats in Madras. The number of Panchayats increased from 579 in 1924-25 to 4,479 in 1931-32. [641]

There were certain inherent defects in the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1920, which hindered their progress. Functions like the removal of noxious plants from village sites, performance of kudimaramat work, distribution of water, the maintenance of watch over crops, sanitation and conservancy, repairs of drinking water services and provision of educational facilities, control over village artisans, etc. were entrusted to them (Sec. 12). But their 642 623 652

652 financial position was very precarious (Sec. 25). The Act did not
623 provide for any compulsory taxes, though many sources were
642 suggested. Most of the Panchayats depended on collections from marriages, kolagaram taxes, taxes on artisans and loans, oil-mills, factories, rice mills, market fees and collections from temporary stalls and festivals etc. No coercion in the matter of these collections was ever allowed. The Registrar-General of Panchayats was in charge of supervision and control of these bodies.

642 The position was changed in 1930 with the passing of the Madras
623 Local Boards Act. While the existing office of the Registrar-General of Panchayats was abolished, in its place the office of the Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils was created with four Deputy Commissioners under him. For every district, a District Panchayat Officer and under him one or two Assistant Panchayat Officers were usually sanctioned.

A. Structure: With regard to the functions of the village Panchayat, there was no change. Even the electoral qualifications were the same as for the District Boards and Legislatures. Only the number of members was changed from 8 to 16 instead of from 7 to 15. But, even this had nothing to do with the proportion of local population in the village. Another change was the provision of reserve seats for Christians, Muslims and Harijans in the Panchayats. By section 49, a provision was made to supersede a Panchayat for one year or so, if its working was not satisfactory.

652 **B. Finance**: There was some improvement with regard to the
651 resources of the Panchayat. From 1930, 1/6 of the land cess was granted to Panchayats and from 1934, the period of the abolition of the Taluka Boards, this was increased to 1/5. Besides this, there was provision for house tax, sales tax, profession tax, festival tax, Pilgrim tax, tax on cart-stands, bus stands, fishery rentals, grass sales proceeds, fees from public markets, slaughter houses, licences from D. N. O. trades, fairs and festivals, ferry rentals, warrant and destraint fees, magisterial fines, fines for encroachment, fees from Public Resort Act, Food Adulteration Act, Town Nuisance Act, as extended from the District Municipalities Act, etc. (Vide Schedule 4 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930). To these later on, were added the entertainment tax, stamp duties, registration surcharges, income from usufruct of avenues, scavenging fees, grants-in-aid of education, public health, medical help, libraries, water supply, and public works. For long time the land cess remained to

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be the main source of income to Local Boards, mainly the District Boards and Panchayats. 652 651

Besides these, there were other non-tax receipts like fees for choultries, scavenging rates, rates on threshing floors, sale proceeds of rubbish, sweeping, manure, grass on tank beds, and vezel, duties on harvested fields, fisheries, silt in the river bed, etc. The village annual fund called "Samudayam" existed in the Tamil Villages. Then there were special taxes like Kolagram or Mahimai for measurement, Kudi maramat for irrigation purposes, octroi and sales tax of 5% on commodities, brought and sold in the village.

C. Functions: These were: 1. obligatory and 2. optional. (Sections 112, 115 and 121). 623

Obligatory: The obligatory functions of the Panchayats were mentioned in Schedule 5 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930. They were: (a) the construction and maintenance of public roads within the limits of the village other than the portion of the district, (a) the establishment and maintenance of choultries within the limits of the village, (b) the lighting of all public roads and public places, (c) the opening and maintenance of libraries, (d) the construction of drains and disposal of drainage water and sewage, (e) the cleansing of streets, the removal of rubbish heaps, jungle growth and prickly-pear, the filling in of unused wells, insanitary ponds, pools, ditches, pits or hollows and other improvements of the sanitary condition of the village, (f) the provision of public latrines and arrangements to cleanse latrines whether public or private, (g) the opening and maintenance of burial and burning grounds, (h) the sinking and repairing of wells, the excavation, repair and maintenance of ponds or tanks for supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing purposes and the construction of bathing ghats, (i) the opening and maintenance of public slaughter house, (j) the opening and maintenance of public markets, other than classified as District Board markets, (k) the control of fairs and festivals other than fairs and festivals of the District Boards, serving the needs of an area wider than the village, which were classified as fairs and festivals, (l) the opening and maintenance of centres of physical culture, and (m) the opening and maintenance of parks.

Optional Duties: These were: (a) the planting and preservation of avenues on all public roads in the village not being district roads, (b) the opening and maintenance of public landing places, [illegible] and cart-stands, (c) the control of

623 threshing floors, topes, and other property used by the villagers in common, (d) the extension of village-sites and regulation of building, (f) the registration of births and deaths, (g) the control of pounds, (h) village protection, (i) improvement of agricultural stock and agriculture, (j) the promotion and encouragement of cottage industries, (k) the opening and maintenance of elementary schools, (l) the establishment and maintenance of Panchayat dispensaries, (m) gratuities to its officers and servants, (n) contribution to Joint Committee under Section 30 for any purpose in which the Panchayat is jointly interested and all other measures of public utility calculated to promote the safety, health, comfort or convenience of the inhabitants of the village, which are not included in any of the clauses relating to the District Board (vide Schedule 5 of the M. L. B. Act, 1930).

[652] **D. Supervision and Control:** The Panchayats were to submit copies of their budgets to the District Board, to the Collector and to the Inspector of Local Boards at Madras. The District Board and the District Panchayat Officer were expected to scrutinise the several items of income and expenditure.

The District and Assistant Panchayat Officers were to supervise the working and report on their progress to the Inspector of Local Boards. The reports of the minutes of the meetings would be recorded and reported to the District Board. Whenever a Panchayat was not working properly, and continued to be in an unsatisfactory condition for long, Section 45-A provided for the supersession of that body for an year and sometimes to another six months, when the administration would be entrusted to a special officer.

642 623 [622] [624] [651] In 1941, the advisory regime in Madras wanted to introduce some reform in the matter of Panchayats and as such prepared a bill with the following provisions :— 1. introduction of ex-officio membership of the village headman, who was also to be eligible for Presidentship, 2. creation of whole-time executive officers for major Panchayats and the appointment of Village Karanams as Honorary Executive Officers of minor Panchayats, 3. supervision and control of Panchayats by the District Collector, the Revenue Board being the co-ordinating body over the Collector, 4. compulsory levy of a house tax and an additional levy of 3 pies of land cess, and 5. provision for the appointment of a nominated Panchayat. A Committee was appointed to examine this bill. This advisory Committee reported that 1. the District Collector should be entirely divorced from Panchayat administration, 2. the Board of Revenue need have nothing to do with the Panchayats, and instead the post of a Registrar-General should

be created, 3. Panchayats should be created compulsorily in all villages in 5 years, 4. Village Officers should be precluded from Panchayats, though the headman might function as a temporary President for short periods in the absence of the President, 5. adult franchise for all men and women of 21 years of age and the system of ward division and voting by ballot should be introduced in all Panchayats, 6. only Panchayats with a normal income of Rs. 5000 and more should have whole-time paid executive officers, 7. the levy of house tax and vehicle tax should be made compulsory, but the proposed additional land cess of 3 pies should be optional, and 8. there should be no nominated Panchayats. 623 642 624 641 651

The only effect of this bill was an amendment that was introduced to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920, by Act XIX of 1943, by which, whole-time executive officers had been appointed to all major Panchayats, and such of the minor Boards as had been notified by Government in this behalf. In April 1946, the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1946 was published along the lines of the bill of 1941, with some modifications.

The power of Collector in the matter of supervision and control of Panchayats in the District was retained, though he was to function, subject to the control of the Registrar-General, who was to be the provincial supervising authority in the place of the Board of Revenue, originally provided in the Bill of 1941. The ex-officio membership of the Village Headman and his eligibility to exercise the presidential functions in the absence of the President or Vice-President through the Karanam as Honotary executive authority of the minor Panchayats, assigned in the Bill of 1941 was dropped out. The clauses for the Amendment Act of 1943 providing for the appointment of whole-time executive officers for notified Panchayats, had been incorporated in the new Act also. The provision made in the Bill of 1941 for nomination of members had been retained, though it was to be resorted to only in special circumstances, such as fraction or disorder in the village. 622

But this Act was kept in abeyance while the Congress Ministry were thinking of introducing a thoroughly new Act.

At the time of the survey in 1947, the Panchayats were being governed by the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930. There had been no elections since 1939. Only the old Panchayats were continuing in power.

PART II

Facts Revealed by the Survey

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The Village Panchayats were in the grades according to their annual income. The 1st, 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats, which were collectively called major Panchayats, had their annual income between Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 30,000; between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000; and between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000 respectively. Minor Panchayats had their annual income of Rs. 5,000 or less.

The villages selected for inquiry were the following :—

(1) Anantpur District :—Brahmanayeleru; Bukkapatnam; Bukkarayasamudram; Dharmavaram, Gooty, Gorantala, Guntakal, Kadiri, Konakundal, Lepakshi, Penu Konda.

(2) East Godavari District :—Alamuru; Amalapuram, Avidi, Balantram, Bodasakurru, Kapileswarapuram, Kothapeta, Mandapeta, Palivela, Pulletikurru, Ramchandrapuram, Razole, Tuni, Valluru, Venkatayapalem, Yeditha.

(3) West Godavari District :—Achanta, Akividu, Aravalli, Attili, Bhimavaram, Ganapavaram, Gogoti, Inaparru, Itempudi, Kandavilli, Kovvur, Mukkamala, Narsapur, Nidadavol, Peatapadu, Penukonda, Palakoderu, Pittala Vomavaram, Tadepalligudam, Tanuku, Undi, Vasadi, Velpur.

(4) Kishna District :—Gudur, Jaggayapet, Kantaram, Nuzvid, Pamaru, Pedana, Vuyyuru.

(5) Kurnool District :—Betamcherla, Dhone, Gudur, Joharapuram, Kallur, Maddikera, Nandikotkur, Pattikonda, Veldurti.

(6) Vizagapatam District :—Bayyavaram, Bhogapuram, Bobbili, Chodavaram, Chodavada, Gokavaram, Govada, K. Jagannadhapur, Kasimkot, Kothavalasa, Madugula, Parvatipuram, Pedabogila, Salur, Sitanagaram, Vadada, Yellamanchili.

(7) Bellary District :—Kampli, Muddapur, Rayadrug.

The first six districts now form the part of the newly created State of Andhra and the last, of the Mysore State.

A. Structure : (Table No. 18)

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Number of Members in the Panchayats : According to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930, the minimum and maximum number of members for Panchayats were 8 and 16, but, these numbers were not based on any proportion to population. There was no uniformity of procedure in each grade or among the several grades in any district. The number varied from Panchayat to Panchayat of the same type in every district, as well as in the Panchayats of the several districts. Among the first grade Panchayats, while Tuni in East Godavari with a population of 13,053 had 16, Guntakal in Anantpur with its population of 36,000 had the same number; in West Godavari, Panchayats like Bhimavaram and Narsapur with 32,000 and 30,000 population respectively had only 12 and 14 members respectively. Similarly among the second grade Panchayats, there was a difference in the number of members in the Panchayats of the same district as for instance. Ramachandrapuram and Mandapeta which had 14 and 16 members respectively with their local populations of 12,868 and 13,010 in each. The same disparity in number of members which bore no proportion to the local population of the Panchayats was revealed to be the universal feature of all third grade and minor Panchayats too.

Reserved Seats : Reserved seats had been provided in all the four types of Panchayats, for depressed classes, Muslims and Christians, but, all the three seats were not compulsorily reserved in every Panchayat. The number varied from Panchayat to Panchayat according to the proportion of that particular community in the local population. For instance while Tuni in the 1st grade, had reserved seats for depressed class communities and Christians, there was no reserve seat for Muslims; while in West Godavari, Bhimavaram had reserved seats for Christians and Muslims; Narsapur had reserved seats for all the three Communities. Similarly in the 2nd grade, 3rd grade and minor Panchayats, the practice varied from Panchayat to Panchayat.

Ex-officio Members : It was absent in the Panchayats in the Madras Presidency. Though this had been incorporated in the Panchayat Bill of 1941, it had been dropped from the Madras Panchayat Act of 1946, which did not come into force at the time of this inquiry.

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Women Members : There were no women members in the Madras Panchayats. There was no provision for reservation of seats

623 562 for them as in the Bombay Village Panchayat Act. As such, few women came forward to contest in the Panchayat elections.

666 **Method of Election** : Method of election was by ballot in all the major Panchayats. Even in minor Panchayats, the elections were revealed to be by ballot as in Kapileswarapuram, Kothapeta, Avidi and by show of hands in Panchayats like Bodasakurru, Yeditha and Alamuru in East Godavari. But, in the majority of minor Panchayats, election was only by show of hands.

623 **Wards and Hamlets** : Representation of members by the several wards in the Panchayat and inclusion of several neighbouring hamlets in the Panchayat jurisdiction were revealed to be the universal features in all the Panchayats surveyed, irrespective of the grade to which they belonged. This revealed, the existence of a fair representative system of Panchayat membership from the several wards and hamlets.

667 **Caste Composition of the Panchayats** : It was revealed to be predominantly Non-Brahmins, in every district and in every grade.

Casual Vacant Seats : Casual vacancies arising in the major or minor Panchayats were generally intimated to the District Panchayat Officer, who on receipt of information went to conduct fresh elections for the seats. But, during the course of the survey some instances came to light, where such intimations were not duly given to the District Panchayat Officer and where consequetly no fresh elections were held.

One Village-One Panchayat : This was the basis which was usually followed, but, there were also instances where joint Panchayats were found to be working well as in East Godavari and Kistna.

Supersession versus Nomination of Panchayat : Election versus nomination of the members of the Panchayats was a controversy that held the ground for a very long time in the discussions of the reform of Local Self-Government in Madras. Even in the Madras Panchayats Bill of 1941, it was contended that a nominated Panchayat was better than an elected one to eliminate friction, where there were contending parties in a village. The period of such bodies to be in power was from 1 to 3 years. This was a time when the Panchayat had to be dissolved for mal-administration and when a special officer had to be appointed for the purpose of carrying on the administration of the village. In practice, Panchayats when they proved unworkable were only superseded. They were not run by nominated members.

Literacy: Literacy test to the members of the Panchayats was never seriously taken by the Madras Government. Only the Vice-president and the President were found to be invariably literate except in a few instances, and even there, local importance and weight of authority served as the best springs of administrative efficiency rather than the test of literacy. 212 623

The Election of the Panchayat President: This sometimes led to village disturbances and party factions, but, the remedy did not appear to get him elected by the villagers as a whole, instead of by the Panchayat. 666 578

Village Officials: The idea of associating the village officers: the Karanams and the Munsif, as the ex-officio members of the Panchayat attracted the attention of the framers of the Madras Panchayat Bill of 1941, "in order that their experience and influence may be at the disposal of the Panchayat," but, this was strongly opposed by the reformers of the Local Self Government who felt that these village officers were no longer the natural leaders, but salaried officials of the Government and hence unfit to participate in matters of village administration entrusted to a purely honorary body. Another reason that was often adduced against them was that both of them might generally be leaders of two opposing parties and their entrance into the Panchayat would simply wreck its working. 624

Executive of the Panchayat: Under the amendment of the Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government of Madras appointed executive officers to Panchayats. The executive authority had 1. to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, 2. to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers specifically imposed or conferred on the executive authority by the Act; in fact, whenever it was expressly so provided for the sanction of the Board and subject to all other restrictions, limitations and conditions hereinafter imposed, 3. to exercise the executive power, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act and 4 to be directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the Act. (Sec. 24-B of the amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act 1943). He was to carry out all the resolutions passed by the Panchayat, but this obligation was limited to legal resolutions alone. 642 647

The executive officer was the custodian of all Government Records though the President had free access to them. All the official correspondence addressed to the District Board, or the Provincial Government had to pass through the President. While

647 the executive officer could participate and discuss in the meetings
642 of the Panchayats, he had no right of voting or moving any Resolution.

647 There were three grades in the pay scales of the executive
465 officers. The 1st grade Panchayats were those with an income of Rs. 20,000/- or above: they had executive officers on a pay of Rs. 80/- to Rs. 100/-. The 2nd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 10,000/- to 20,000/- had their executive officers on a scale of Rs. 65/- to Rs. 80/- whereas the 3rd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 5,000/- to Rs. 10,000/- paid Rs. 50/-to Rs. 65/- per mensum to their executive officers. These officers were directly recruited, trained and sent to the Panchayats by the Inspector of Local Boards except in a few cases where clerks from District Boards were also promoted as executive officers.

647 The executive officer and the Panchayat had an irreconcilable
623 hostility as a general rule. This had been the lot of most Panchayats, since legislation did not definitely describe their relative position and responsibilities.

The minor Panchayats had no executive officers. They had usually either part-time clerks or village teachers as their executives. In some places, the clerk of the cooperative society was also the executive of the Panchayat. There was no uniform practice in this regard among the minor Panchayats. In any contemplated reform the position of the executive with regard to the minor Panchayats too, must be finally decided.

Previous to the appointment of the executive officer, the appointment of the establishment personnel was entirely a concern of the President and the members of the Panchayat. But, since his appointment, the recruitment of the staff was handed over to him and he was to appoint the clerks, bill collectors, mistries, sanitary inspectors, and overseers, subject to the consent of the departmental heads concerned. This method had been devised to save the Panchayat staff, from being entirely at the mercy of the members of the Panchayat, who would have appointed them today and dismissed them tomorrow or forced them to become parties to village politics, supporting one party against the other. To keep up the integrity of the Panchayat, the services were now provincialised, and the staff members could also be transferred from one Panchayat to another.

650 50 gross Rs. 4. In Narsapur Panchayat (West Godavari), the rates of license fees were according to each type of process, e. g. for boiling paddy Rs. 20, storing paddy Rs. 10, and for storing and selling rice Rs. 10. In some Panchayats the articles stored and sold were charged license fees according to the number of bags or the floor area occupied in the godown, e. g. in Madugula Panchayat the rates for storing of grain bags were for bags from 1 to 10 Rs. 3, from 10 to 50 bags Rs. 5, 50 to 100 bags Rs. 7-8-0, from 100 to 1000 bags, Rs. 10, from 1000 to 2000 bags Rs. 12-8-0, and above 2000 bags Rs. 15. In Parvatipuram Panchayat in the same district, the rate was Re. 0-2-0 for 5 sq. feet. Again in Bhimavaram and Kovvur Panchayats in West Godavari, a license fee of Rs. 5 was charged for crushing seeds or making vegetable oils. In Bhimavaram separate fees were charged for street coffee vendors at Rs. 2-8-0 per annum and street sweetmeats vendors at Rs. 2 per annum. Narsapur Panchayat was found to be charging a license fee of Rs. 15 for refining gold. Tanuku Panchayat was charging a license fee of Rs. 10 for storing mango plants. In Attili Panchayat rice shops were charged on classwise basis i. e. 1st class Rs. 5 and 2nd class Rs. 4 but no clear indication was available as to the basis of this distinction. License fees were collected from wholesale shops, retail shops and ration shops too and they were also subject to the same variation as in the case of other instances. Ganapavaram Panchayat in West Godavari District was charging a license fee of Rs. 10 per ration shop, Alagadde Rs. 12 for a retail shop and Rs. 25 for a wholesale shop. Kasba Jagganadhapuram in Vizagapatam was charging Rs. 12 for a wholesale shop and Rs. 3 for a retail shop. The rates for electrical power installation and steam engines too varied between wide extremes from Panchayat to Panchayat, e. g. in Parvatipuram the license fee for steam engine per horse power installation was Rs. 6 while in Akividu the rate was Rs. 60 per annum for oil engine of 24 horse power.

Thus, though the license fees were a veritable goldmine to the Madras Panchayats a lot of spade work was essential by way of framing an exhaustive list of trades and callings on which they were to be collected and fixation of uniform rates and basis on which they were to be fixed up, if the present evils of wide disparities in items and dissimilarities in their rates were to be eliminated.

C. Functions

623 652 **Grades of Panchayats:** From 1944 all the Panchayats were classified into 3 grades as the 1st grade Panchayats were those with an

income of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 per annum, the 2nd grade with an income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 and 3rd grade with an income of upto Rs. 10,000. Panchayats with Rs. 5,000 income were classified as minor Panchayats. The first 3 were called the major Panchayats and they had executive officer, while minor Panchayats had no executive officers. 623 652

Grades of the Executive Officers: The grade of the executive officer in the 1st grade Panchayats was from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100, of 2nd grade Panchayats from Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 and of 3rd grade Panchayats from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. They were the servants of the Provincial Government working under the Local Boards. The Panchayats could not have any control over their executives. The executive officer was the chief executive of the Panchayat. He was to guide the Board in constitutional matters, put the resolutions before it for discussion and execute them according to its decision. He attended the meetings of the Panchayat, but was not allowed to vote. He was liable for transfer to any place in the Province. This meant a great hardship as the salary paid to him was too meagre to enable him to live in far off places from his native town. His pay, travelling allowance, dearness allowance and contributions to provident fund were all met by the Panchayat and the State Government paid nothing towards his maintenance. 647 [465] 623

Executive Officer and the Staff: The executive officer had under him a number of people like the sanitary inspector, the mistries, the supervisor for public works, vaccinators, compounders, midwives, bill collectors, not to speak of the clerical staff and menial staff like the scavengers, thotties, sweepers, lighters, peons, watchmen, etc. He was the appointing authority for staff beneath the clerical grade. The posts of the sanitary inspectors and overseers were advertised by him. They were to be appointed and paid by Panchayat with the approval and sanction of the District Health Officer and the District Engineer. But administratively they were subordinate to the executive officer and had to carry out the duties allotted to them by him. The sanitary inspector would have to look to matters of village sanitation, vaccination, administration of D. N. O. Licenses slaughter houses, clearance of sewage water, cleansing of gutters, cleansing of private and public latrines, etc. Similarly the overseer had to look to the execution of the public works all subject to the general supervision of the executive officer. 624 647

Executive Officers and Panchayat Boards: As a fact, the executive officers and the Panchayat Boards had a very strange relation. The executive officers were a much hated and an unhappy lot in the 647 623 578

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647 Panchayat : while the Panchayat wanted to dominate them the
623 executive officers placed themselves too high above the Panchayat
578 and regarded themselves sometimes as fallen angels. There were several instances, where the Boards tried to harass the executive officers and the executive officers tried in return to take vengeance on them.

Obligatory and Optional Functions of the Panchayats: The administrative functions of the Panchayats were divided into two types obligatory and optional. The obligatory functions included : public works, maintenance and construction of culverts, bridges and roads, burning and burial grounds, provision of water supply, parks, library and newspapers, lighting, public health and conservancy, slaughter houses, managements of fairs and festivals. While the optional functions were plantation of trees, provision of radio, arrangements with regard to infectious diseases, medical relief and donation, etc. Very often the funds of the Panchayats were spent to a large extent on salaries, office contingencies, dearness allowance, and travelling allowance, with little left over for discharging duties either obligatory or optional. (vide Table No. 20)

Public Works : The arrangements made by the village Panchayats for the construction and maintenance of roads, water tanks, sluices, channels and buildings constituted some of the important items of public works. In most of the villages in South India, provision of water supply and systematic arrangements with regard to maintenance of tanks and distribution of water to fields and settling of disputes arising out of it, were considered to be the functions of the village Panchayats. This was done by the contribution of communal labour according to which every resident of the community was to contribute his share to the maintenance of local public works. Employment of compulsory forced labour for execution of public works like tanks, canals, buildings and roads was a time-honoured custom in South India which continued even today.

Construction of roads and tanks was done by the employment of paid labour alone. But the Panchayats were not at liberty to undertake any work they liked. The Panchayats were generally authorised to undertake public works upto Rs. 250 without the necessity of the sanction of the higher authorities.

Some of the major Panchayats in the Circars and Nellore District had their own overseers and staff like the mistry on their establishment, paid them from their funds and got their works exe-

Table of Expenditure in Kadiri on Car Festival. 543

1	Removal of rank vegetation in the tank	..	Rs.	10	0 0
2	Cost of 15 buckets and 20 ropes	...	..	65	0 0
3	Cost of water pendals	...	..	16	0 0
4	Cost of pots and tumblers	...	..	62	0 0
5	Cost of public latrines	...	..	260	0 0
6	Isolation shed	...	..	20	0 0
7	Street watering by coolies for 6 days	...	..	30	0 0
8	Temporary menials for 14 days	...	..	72	0 0
	.. .. 8 for 5 days	...	..	40	0 0
	.. .. 6 .. 14 days	...	..	106	0 0
	.. .. 8 .. 5 days	...	..	50	0 0
9	Sanitary peons 2 for 15 days	...	..	48	0 0
10	Drain cleaners 2 for 5 days	...	..	30	0 0
11	Sanitary peons 2 for 5 days	...	..	15	0 0
12	Disinfection coolies 2 for 10 days	...	..	30	0 0
13	Baskets	...	..	25	0 0
14	Sand	...	..	30	0 0
15	Entrance, Lights, etc.	...	..	40	0 0
16	Miscellaneous	...	..	60	0 0
			Rs.	1062	0 0

In West Godavari, Velpur, Attili and Achanta Panchayats; in Kistna, Vuyyuru; in Vizagapatam Madugula and Bobbili; in Anantapur, Gooty, Madakasira, Bukkapatnam and Pamidi; and in Kurnool, along with Chembur, Gudur, Koilkuntla, Kadumunur, Markapur, Maddikera and Nandikotkur were some of the major Panchayats which were managing fairs and festivals in their areas.

Optional Duties of the Panchayats: Plantation of trees, maintenance of cart and bus stands, providing radio, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, collecting donations and catering to welfare activities were among the optional duties of Panchayats in Madras. 623

Plantation of Trees: While most of the major Panchayats in every district were paying some attention to this function, the 3rd grade and minor Panchayats needed greater stimulus. While Razole Panchayat in East Godavari had not done anything, Velpur, Achanta, Ganapavaram, and Tadepalligudam in West Godavari; Parvatipuram, Bobbili and Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, and Maddikera in Kurnool were the solitary instances of the 3rd grade Panchayats which had undertaken this function. 367

Rajhas had donated maternity wards in the hospitals situated in the Panchayat areas. 743

Donations: Some Panchayats patronised education by contributing funds; for instance, Bhimavaram in West Godavari planned to give Rs. 5,000 annually to the local college. Salur Panchayat in Kurnool was giving Rs. 500 to a school for blind. 658

Sundry Expenses: Besides these, there were separate funds set apart in every Panchayat for public amenities, law-charges, election expenses, office contingencies, dearness allowance, travelling allowance and salaries of the establishment, etc. 652

Meetings of Panchayats: According to the Madras Local Boards Act, every Panchayat should meet at least once a month to transact business and if for three months no meeting was held, the Panchayat would cease to exist or if a member remained continuously absent for three months, he was to be invalidated, though he could seek re-election 623

Name of the Village	Total No. of Meetings	Ordinary	Extra-ordinary	Percentage of Attendance	Adjourned for want of quorm
Amalapuram	17	17	...	...	...
Tuni	18	13	5	...	...
Bhimavaram	25	12	13	...	6
Narsapur	19	19	...	42	5
Ramchandrapuram	24	24	...	50	...
Jaggayapeta	12	12	...	50	...
Kadiri	16	10	6	50	...
Dharmavaram	17	17	...	42	7
Nuzvid	12	12	...	50	...
Achanta	12	12	...	poor	...
Pedana	12	12	...	50	...
Parvatipuram	13	13	...	52	...
Pamaru	12	12	...	34	...
Nandikotkur	12	12	...	34	...
Pattikonda	12	12	...	50	...
Maddikera	12	12	...	20	6
Vuyyuru	12	12	...	80	...
Akividu	12	10	2	50	2
Bukkapatnam	15	15	...	50	...
Penu Konda	16	16	...	66	...

The meetings of the Panchayat are important from the view point of their deliberations, for these formulate the work of Panchayats.

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623 **Meetings and Attendance**: Above table brings out the nature of Panchayat meetings and its interest in administrative work. The Panchayat meetings form an index of their importance in administrative activities. Even in major Panchayats, the civic consciousness and sense of responsibility among the Panchayat members did not appear to be quite satisfactory. The attendance in most instances was hardly more than 50 per cent and in the majority, not even that much. Very often Panchayats had to carry on their transactions with a bare quorum. Instances where attendance was more than 60 per cent were rare. This was a poor index of their sense of local responsibility. To expect them in the face of these facts to become nurseries of democratic traditions and administrative experience appeared to be a very ambitious dream.

The Panchayat members should of course be given 3 clear day's notice, but, even when they got advance intimation, they rarely attended. There were instances of Panchayats in East Godavari and Anantpur Districts where meetings were not held for months and yet neither they were superseded nor any effective action was taken against them in spite of the provision of the Madras Local Boards Act.

If that was the state of affairs in the major Panchayats, the situation in minor Panchayats could not naturally be expected to be better. There were usually party factions, village politics, group pressures, communal rivalries and these rent the village unity to a hundred shreds.

623 687 Superseded Panchayat Boards were also examined during the course of the investigation. The reasons for superseding a Panchayat might be any one of the following: village factions, party politics, abstention from meetings, opposition to taxation, nepotism in appointments, misappropriation of public funds, harassing executive officers or other public servants, committing frauds, writing off the proper dues of Panchayats, allowing unauthorised exemption of taxtion, lower assessments and discriminatory policies towards favourites, leaving the taxes in large arrears without ever bothering to collect them, and several other unhappy practices by which, the running of administration of the Panchayat by the same body appeared to be pregnant with disaster. Such a Panchayat was superseded and a special officer was appointed to look after it for a period of one year.

Neither the grade of the Panchayat nor its previous record saved it from supersession, when it reached a stage of serious deterioration.

The supersession period was normally one year and sometimes one and a half years. Many of the irregular Panchayats were superseded more than once. 623 687

A few samples taken in the survey would illustrate the circumstances under which Panchayats were usually superseded. We shall review only a few cases as Tuni in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Kantaram in Kistna, Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Gooty, Dharmavaram and Gorantala in Anantapur, as instances of superseded Boards.

Tuni Panchayat in East Godavari was once superseded for its wanton neglect of taxation and collection of arrears in 1939. 651 623 687

	Current Demand	Arrears
	Rs.	Rs.
License Fees	...	103—0—0
House Tax	3587—4—0	138—0—0
Profession Tax	226-14-0	75-12—0
Public Scavenging Fees	302—1-0	...
Markets	38—4-0	3944-14—3
Cart Stands	1119-10-0	2224—5—0
Slaughter House	92—0-0	247—6—8
Sale of Rubbish	...	76—0—0
Total	5266—1-0	8809—5-11

No coercive steps were ever taken by the Panchayat to collect this money. On the other hand these dues were written off without the consent the District Board. The Panchayat had also executed works of gravelling 7 roads in undue haste. Sanitation was neglected awfully. As a result the Board was superseded.

One Panchayat in West Godavari proved to be a notorious example of village factions. When the previous President of the Panchayat died, another came in his place, but the party of the dead President began to oppose every resolution. When the new one was thrown out and a member of the opposition party was elected, they in turn repeated the same thing in vengeance, and consequently no work could be done. Roads which were said to have been executed were proved as never laid down. Some of the lands acquired in the name of the Panchayat were misappropriated. Inspite of all the instructions from the Inspector of Local Boards and the District Panchayat Officer, the Panchayat refused to carry out their orders. Influential majority of population of the village exerted much pressure to see that the 623 518 687

623 Panchayat would not work under any circumstances. Ultimately it
578 was superseded.

687 In Kistna District there was a parallel instance. In one Panchayat three Presidents came in power in quick succession. When the President who was in office for 4 year resigned the Vice-President became the President. But he was thrown out and another was elected and during his term of office, the Panchayat was superseded. The cause of conflict was strong party factions. The difficulty was only one party in the village was returned into power while the other parties remained outside. So the members within the Panchayat tried to wreck it and ultimately the Board was superseded.

In Vizagapatam one Panchayat met on its own accord and began to cancel a resolution which it had passed permitting taxation on sugar pans, etc. Immediately when it was detected, the Board was superseded and a special officer was appointed, under whom the financial position had considerably improved.

Anantapur District had similar instances of Panchayats which were opposed to taxation, full of party factions, negligent in work and highly litigious. In one instance, the President of the Ex-Taluk Board was a member of the Panchayat and he was in the minority party. In the contest for the Presidential election for the Panchayat, the man from the majority party became successful. As the minority party wanted to pull down the party in power, they refused to pass the administration report, turned petromax lights to kerosene oil lights in the name of the public good and opposed vehemently any taxation The machine of the water pump system was spoiled. So the Inspector of Local Boards requested the Panchayat to add a surcharge of 12% to the house tax and provide themselves with this badly needed facility for which Government and District
687 Board gave donations. Yet the Board persisted in opposing for six
661 months postponing meetings for want of quorum, when it was finally superseded. Another minor Panchayat in Anantapur was superseded because the President and members under-assessed their houses and those of their relations.

These were instances of Panchayats getting annually an income of Rs. 200,000 where the engineer drew a much higher salary than the executive officer, but technically was a sub-ordinate to him.

623 The special officer who was put in charge was expected to bring about a uniform development in the administration of the Panchayat. He had powers to enforce fresh taxation, collect arrears and execute

schemes of administration which were conducive to social welfare in the local areas and when once the Panchayat was rehabilitated, fresh elections were held and it was given over to the new Board. This supersession of the working of the village body by its own elected representation was considered to be a punishment for the village which did not play fair with the functions entrusted to it.

Audit of the Panchayat Boards: The major Panchayats were audited once in a year by the lower grade sub-ordinate staff of the Accountant General's Office, while the minor Panchayats were audited by the District Panchayat Officers. But the inadequacy of audit staff left the position of acounts in a very unsatisfactory state.

D. Supervision and Control: The District Boards, the District and Assistant Panchayat Officers supervised the working of the village Panchayats. Usually there was one District Panchayat Officer with one or two assistants under him in each district. As they had to do in addition to supervision, inspection work regarding elections and propaganda also, the time left at their disposal for Panchayat supervision was not much with the result several Panchayats remained uninspected for a long time.

PART III

Observations

A. Structure: The classification with regard to the grades of Panchayats was not systematic. Panchayats which for long ceased to be in the 3rd grade and could be placed in the 2nd grade and the 2nd to 1st grade were not changed but were retained in their old grades. No attempt was ever made to regularise this procedure. There was also no proportion between the population of the Panchayats and their membership. The provision of the seats for the depressed classes, Harijans and Muslims was strictly in accordance with the proportion to their population. Women members were totally absent. Ex-officio membership of the Munsif was provided but later on was eliminated on the pretext that his co-option on the Panchayat might intensify village politics. This did not appear to be justifiable because his elimination from the Panchayat meant the loss of his useful services and those of his hereditary servants. Devoid of any share in Panchayat administration the village officials just did the revenue and police work entrusted to them and remained outside the current day to day administration of the village. The salaries paid to them and to their hereditary servants were very unattractive. Besides the Inams they

642 623 had, they got usally no other remuneration. Still they continued to do the village watch and ward and police work too. In view of the declining importance given to them so far, they had to be properly readjusted in the new village set up. The method of election in the major Panchayats was by ballot, but in the minor Panchayats election by show of hands was the practice in the majority of cases. Representation by wards or hamlets was in existence only in some of the Panchayats, but to avoid village conflicts the system was highly desired by most of them. Panchayats were not found in all villages which were fit to be Panchayats as their formation was not compulsory according to the statute. Cast composition of the Panchayats was predominently Non-Brahmins. There appeared to be some difficulty in filling up the casual vacancies as no regular reports were sent to the Panchayat Officer. One Panchayat in one village seems to be a better practice though no difficulty was seen even in the working of Joint Panchayats. Election versus nomination of members in the matter of superseded Panchayats was for long a matter of controversy; some like Mr. K. Jayaraman (in A study of Madras Panchayats) upholding a nominated Panchayat and others holding a fresh election to the Panchayat to be a better solution. Instead of these two, the best thing appears to be to leave the matter in the hands of an administrator for sometime. As the nominated bodies would not be expected to look to the daily administrative work of the Panchayats, it is a relief that executive officers are appointed to these Panchayats.

The different village authorities like the Village Panchayat, the Panchayat Court, the Panchayat School, the Irrigation and Forest Panchayats worked with separate constitutions under the control of separate authorities. It is a matter for earnest consideration whether all functions cannot be entrusted to a single Panchayat with expanded membership and more sub-committees to look after these different functions.

Again as there is no statutory obligation for the creation of Panchayats for a village of a fixed population as in Bombay, their progress stands to be slow.

651 **B. Finance**: The revenues at the disposal of the Madras Panchayats were more in comparison to those at the disposal of Panchayats in other States.

The share of the local fund cess distribution to the Panchayats was not based on any scientific basis; a Village Panchayat situated in an irrigated area got more, while a Panchayat in a dry

by the Panchayat Board. This was intended to prevent nepotism and party politics in the matter of official appointments. But this change in the method of appointment alone would not attract better staff unless the existing poor salary scales of the Panchayat staff are revised for the better. 642 647

The Panchayat staff should also not be allowed to be stationary, but with a view to gaining experience, they should be transferred at least from one Panchayat to another in the same district, while the executive officer, supervisor, sanitary inspector, mistry could be made to move throughout the division which was equivalent to ½th area of Province as the present scales of pay do not allow them to move with comfort to longer distances. The creation of a Local Board Civil Service and recruitment of staff through the Public Service Commission by examination may prove better than leaving the appointments to the discretion of the executive officer because, even he could be accused of partiality as the village Panchayats are always full of party politics. Panchayats expect the executive officer to join one side or the other and if he does not do that, make life impossible for him. His statutary position is such that he cannot stear clear of all such obligations and still be independent. While the Panchayats want them to be at their mercy, to appoint them and to dismiss them as they like; the executive officers prefer the total absence of any Panchayat control over them. They want to remain State servants, appointed, punished and dismissed only by the State. There was overwhelming evidence to support such a claim. There were instances where the executive officers had run-away when they were dastardly attacked by the Panchayat members because their vested interests were touched. Another executive officer was threatened with death by a Panchayat member who raided his house at midnight, because of the higher rates he charged to his favourite hotel keeper. The executive officer in another Panchayat had to literally run away from the Panchayat Board to the Railway Station to save his life from the dangerous fury of the Panchayat members for having converted the house tax valuation from capital to rental basis. Another Panchayat sent wires to the Inspector of Local Boards and the Local Government Minister stating that the Executive Officer had absconded with funds and a deal-lock was created in the working of the Panchayat, when he was only in a town and went there to see the District Collector. 623 [624] 578 647

None of the Panchayats either major or minor were able to undertake all the obligatory and optional functions. 623

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 367

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sa'. 443

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

Management of fairs and festivals was done by a few minor or major Panchayats, but, without exploiting their privileged position by means of a pilgrim tax or a tax on the vendors. 543

Optional functions like plantation of trees, provision of cart and bus stands, radio sets for listeners, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, etc. were done only by very few Panchayats. 623

The attendance of the members at the meetings of Panchayats was so irregular that there was often no quorum. Sometimes the Panchayats held no meetings at all for a long time or the members absented themslves continuously without any action being taken against them.

Panchayats were superseded and special officers were appointed to administer them for a year or two, when Panchayats could not work properly either due to local factions or opposition to taxation or any other undesirable features. Fresh Panchayat was ushered in only after the prevailing irregularities were removed and when the prospects of its smooth working were tolerably certain. 687 625

D. Supervision and Control: The District Boards, District Collectors and the Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils through four Divisional Inspectors, District and Assistant Panchayat Officers supervised the work and controlled the administration of the Village Panchayats. But in practice the supervision and control exercised appeared to be very superficial. The dual control of the District Board and the District Collector led to much confusion. Even the Panchayat budgets were never properly scrutinised with the result that they went on accumulating heavy opening balances as if there was no work they could undertake, thus allowing their administration to deteriorate. The District Panchayat Officers, with hardly one or two Assistant Panchayat Officers under them, could not naturally inspect all the Panchayats at least once in a year. Without increasing the number of supervisory staff and avoiding the defects of dual control, better and effective supervision of the Panchayats could not be envisaged.

While the accounts of the Minor Panchayats were audited by the District Panchayat Officers, those of the Major Panchayats were audited annually by the Local Audit Department. But the introduction of auditing the accounts had not effectively improved the Panchayats and the audit remarks were never properly implemented by them as their failure to do so was not often met with any punishment.

Table No. 18—Constitutional Aspects of the Village Panchayats in Madras

Serial No.	Name of the Village	District	Date of Starting	Grade	Population	Number of Members	Reserve Seats				Ex-officio Members†	Method of Voting‡	Brahmins	Kshatriyas	Kapus	Kammas	Telugas	Lingayats	Weavers	Komatis	Kamsalas	Artisans	Reddis	Adi-Andhras	Muslims	Christians	Hamlets	Wards
							Muslims	Christians	Harijans	Women																		
1	Amalapuram	E. Godavari	1890	I	30000	16	2	...	1	...	...	B	2	...	6	...	2	...	...	3	...	...	...	1	2	...	2	14
2	Tuni	,,	1883	I	13053	15	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	13
3	Bhimavaram	W. Godavari	1892	I	32000	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	9
4	Narsapur	,,	1894	I	30000	14	1	1	1	...	...	B	8	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	11
5	Guntakal	Anantapur	1916	I	36000	16	1	...	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
6	Mandapeta	E. Godavari	1891	II	13010	16	1	...	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	9
7	Ramachandrapuram	,,	1894	II	12868	14	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	11
8	Tadepalligudam	W. Godavari	1932	II	12000	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
9	Tanuku	,,	1894	II	15000	15	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	...	2	5	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
10	Nidadavol	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Vuyyuru	Kistna	1894	II	10000	8	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	3	...	4	9
12	Nuzvid	,,	...	II	14000	15	2	1	...	...	...	B	...	...	...	3	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	13
13	Jaggayapeta	,,	1896	II	12000	16	1	1	...	...	...	B	2	1	5	5	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14
14	Kovvur	W. Godavari	1869	II	9933	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
15	Velpur	,,	1918	III	10046	13	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	3	11
16	Attili	,,	1894	,,	9811	10	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
17	Uddi	,,	1919	,,	6383	9	...	...	...	...	...	B	...	2	3	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	8
18	Akividu	,,	1895	,,	9872	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	...	3	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	3	...	1	8
19	Achanta	,,	1884	,,	15000	10	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	1	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	10
20	Penukonda	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21	Peatapadu	,,	1894	,,	7931	9	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	3	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	8
22	Ganapavaram	,,	...	,,	8000	11	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	11
23	Razole	E. Godavari	1914	,,	5897	11	1	...	1	...	...	B	4	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	4	7
24	Gudur	Kistna	1917	,,	4810	10	...	...	...	...	...	B	...	1	6	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	8
25	Pedana	,,	1890	,,	10000	16	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	1	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	14
26	Kantaram	,,	1917	,,	4600	11	...	...	...	...	8	O	b	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	9
27	Pamaru	,,	1894	,,	10000	14	1	...	...	...	...	B	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	1	3	...	...	...	7	6

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(*Table No. 18—Contd.*)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	District	Date of Starting	Grade	Population	Number of Members	Reserve Seats: Muslims	Reserve Seats: Christians	Reserve Seats: Harijans	Reserve Seats: Women	Ex-officio Members	Method of Voting	Brahmins	Kshatriyas	Kapus	Kommas	Telugas	Lingayats	Weavers	Komatis	Kamsalas	Artisans	Reddis	Adi-Andhras	Muslims	Christians	Hamlets	Wards
28	Parvatipuram	Visagapatam	1937	III	20000	13	1	1	1	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	13
29	Bobbili	"	1936	"	21670	16	1	1	1	...	...	E	1	3	3	...	3	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
30	Salur	"	"	"	20880	16	1	...	...	...	...	E	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	14
31	Madugula	"	"	"	8364	11	...	...	...	...	...	E	4	2	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	9
32	Chodavaram	"	"	"	11341	13	...	...	1	...	...	E	4	2	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	12
33	Kasimkot	"	1937	"	8000	13	1	1	1	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	11
34	Yellamanchili	"	"	"	14078	13	1	1	1	...	...	E	2	2	1	2	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	4	13
35	Dharmavaram	Anantapur	1936	"	16000	13	1	1	...	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	11
36	Kadiri	"	...	"	16033	14	1	1	1	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
37	Gooty	"	1938	"	15000	16	1	1	2	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
38	Penu Konda	"	1936	"	5906	13	1	...	1	...	...	E	4	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	5	3	11
39	Dhone	Kurnool	1936	"	15000	11	1	1	...	...	...	E	...	...	1	1	...	2	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
40	Nandikotkur	"	1934	"	10000	11	1	...	1	...	...	E	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
41	Pattikonda	"	1934	"	10000	13	1	...	1	...	...	E	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
42	Maddikera	"	1932	"	10600	14	1	...	1	...	...	E	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
43	Kampli	Bellary	1936	"	7891	15	1	1	1	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
44	Rayadrug	"	1936	"	15560	15	1	1	1	...	...	E	1	2	...	1	1	2	4	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45	Valluru	E. Godavari	1939	Minor	3000	11	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
46	Alamuru	"	1924	"	3000	11	...	1	1	...	...	S	3	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	...
47	Yeditha	"	1933	"	8000	16	...	...	1	...	...	S	...	...	...	7	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
48	Kapileswarapuram	"	1937	"	8000	15	1	1	1	...	...	S	3	...	7	3	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	14
49	Palivela	"	1940	"	1500	11	1	...	1	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50	Avidi	"	1939	"	2000	13	...	...	...	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
51	Bodasakurru	"	"	"	4800	15	...	...	3	...	...	E	3	...	3	4	4	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
52	Kothapeta	"	1934	"	12000	9	...	...	1	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
53	Pulletikurru	"	...	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54	Balantram	"	...	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

Village administration.—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

Sanitary administration.—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

Crime.—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

History and prospects.—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

and functions to agents who acted for him. Now he gets a certain percentage of the total revenue collected in the village in lieu of the rent-free land. Thus, theoretically, the Deshmukh is both Mali Patel and Police Patel; but in actual practice these duties are carried out by his agents. In his capacity as Mali Patel of the village the Deshmukh takes steps to ensure the speedy collection of land revenue after each harvest and remits it to the district treasury. The Patwari can seek his assistance in matters connected with the land records and revenue of the village. For this he gets annually 5% of the total land revenue collected in the village. As Police Patel the Deshmukh is entitled to receive another 5% of the revenue collected during the year. In this capacity he has to send regular reports to the police regarding the occurrence of any crime in the village, keep an eye on the 'bad characters' and watch the activities of suspicious strangers. He maintains records of births and deaths in the village. It is his duty to assist the police in all possible ways in their investigations regarding criminal offences in the village. The other officials, such as the sub-inspector of police, head constables, constables and schoolmasters, are not a permanent part of the local population, and as such they do not generally get mixed up in local politics and other affairs. The police officials enjoy both prestige and power and are, in general, greatly feared by the people.

The Patwari, in spite of the fact that he is a petty revenue and land records official, occupies a pivotal position in the village and plays a very significant part in local politics. Being in charge of the land records, he can manipulate things both to the advantage and disadvantage of landowners, who often consult him and ask his advice. Of Patwaris in general it is said, 'What will they not do for a consideration? Give them money and they will prove their own father a bastard.' The present Patwari of Shamirpet is, for one in his position, a man of more than average intelligence and is himself a careful and substantial cultivator who owns some 247 acres of land jointly with his brother. He receives no salary from the government, nor does he have any rent-free land, but a certain percentage of the total land revenue is fixed by the government as his remuneration for the work.

All villages in Hyderabad State, as do most of those of middle and peninsular India, have a number of village menials. Their functions in the internal organization of the village are of two

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

624 465 kinds: routine duties in the everyday life of the village and special duties connected with the arrangements which have to be made for touring government officials arriving in the village. The division of work among these village menials follows in the main the traditional occupations of the different castes. Payment for their work is often nominal. Some of them are paid small monthly salaries; others are granted small fields free of land revenue; while still others supplement their earnings by collecting their 'dues' from the agriculturists of the village at the time of harvesting.

Of the fourteen *kamgars* or village menials, six persons holding four different categories of posts are paid a salary of Rs. 3 per month. The rest enjoy small fragments of rent-free land in return for their part-time government duties. The Kawalkar is responsible for keeping a watch on the village and for patrolling it at night. He must assist the police and the Police Patel in the prevention and detection of crime. He should immediately bring to the notice of the Police Patel any criminal act, epidemic and births and deaths that occur in the village. When required by officers he must carry government mail and revenue remittances. In general it is his duty to assist the touring government officials in their work. He is aided in these tasks by the Talari and the Majkuri. These two menials perform similar functions. The Talari must fetch water for touring officials. The Majkuri must report all relevant matters to the police and to the Deshmukh. The present Kawalkar belongs to the Reddi caste, and the Talari is a Muttarasi. Both the Majkuris are untouchable Malas. The work of carrying government correspondence and money remittances as well as that of patrolling the village falls to the lot of these two Majkuris. At present there are three Neerudis in the village, two of whom are Malas and one a Madiga. It is their duty to look after the tank bund, particularly to keep a watch on the flood-gates and report any damage or suspected foul play. They should also periodically check the water-level in the tank and keep the superior village officers informed. The three Neerudis hold together seven acres of rent-free wet land granted to them by the government. The present Begari belongs to the Mala caste; and besides holding this petty menial position, he is a grave-digger by profession. His main duty is to keep clean the village rest-house, which is used by occasional travellers and officials of low status. He is expected to light fires there during winter evenings, and generally sleeps there at

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

night. Dogs, cats and donkeys dying in the village have to be disposed of by him, for the Madigas only deal with dead cattle and will have nothing to do with other carcases. The Yettis in Shamirpet are from the Sakali and the Madiga castes. The Sakali Yettis do most of the superior kinds of menial work, such as carrying the baggage of touring government officials who would not allow their luggage to be carried by the untouchable Madigas; while the Madiga Yettis have to do all sorts of odd jobs of an inferior nature. They may be required to patrol the village, to keep watch on government buildings and to sweep and clean the village occasionally. They are also required to bring fuel for the use of touring government officials. The Yettis are not paid any salary for their work, and the nominal payments made to them by touring officials bear no proportion to the work done by them. The rest of the village menials are occupational caste groups, also performing some semi-government duties. The Wadla, for example, must repair the flood-gates of the tank, attend to the repairs of furniture and other woodwork in government offices, repair the central flag post in the village and supply free of charge or on nominal payment the pegs required for fixing the tents of touring government officials. When required the Kammari do iron work for the government officials. The Kummari has to supply earthen pots for use on public occasions or for the use of touring government officials. The Sakali cleans the kitchen utensils and plates of touring government officials, washes their clothes and carries their baggage to the next camp. The Mangali lights the lamps in the village rest-house, shaves touring officials and massages their bodies if they require this service. The Ausula has the duty of examining, when required to do so, coins which are believed to be counterfeit. He has also to help the police in weighing stolen ornaments and in making estimates of their approximate market price. Finally, the Dappu and the Kommu, who are both Madigas, play their drums and pipes respectively on public occasions. They make all public announcements by the beat of drum and are, like the Yetti, often required to do other menial work as well.

3. INTER-CASTE AND INTER-VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

The village is a territorial unit, the smallest but most significant among territorial groups in the social organization of the village

623 threshing floors, totes, and other [illegible] and [illegible] the villagers in common, (d) the extension of village sites and regulation of building, (f) the registration of births and deaths, (g) the control of pounds, (h) village protection, (i) improvement of agricultural stock and agriculture, (j) the promotion and encouragement of cottage industries, (k) the opening and maintenance of elementary schools, (l) the establishment and maintenance of Panchayat dispensaries, (m) gratuities to its officers and servants, (n) contribution to Joint Committee under Section 30 for any purpose in which the Panchayat is jointly interested and all other measures of public utility calculated to promote the safety, health, comfort or convenience of the inhabitants of the village, which are not included in any of the clauses relating to the District Board (vide Schedule 5 of the M. L. B. Act, 1930).

[652] **D. Supervision and Control :** The Panchayats were to submit copies of their budgets to the District Board, to the Collector and to the Inspector of Local Boards at Madras. The District Board and the District Panchayat Officer were expected to scrutinise the several items of income and expenditure.

The District and Assistant Panchayat Officers were to supervise the working and report on their progress to the Inspector of Local Boards. The reports of the minutes of the meetings would be recorded and reported to the District Board. Whenever a Panchayat was not working properly, and continued to be in an unsatisfactory condition for long, Section 45-A provided for the supersession of that body for an year and sometimes to another six months, when the administration would be entrusted to a special officer.

642 623 [622] [624] [651] In 1941, the advisory regime in Madras wanted to introduce some reform in the matter of Panchayats and as such prepared a bill with the following provisions — 1. introduction of ex-officio membership of the village headman, who was also to be eligible for Presidentship, 2. creation of whole-time executive officers for major Panchayats and the appointment of Village Karanams as Honorary Executive Officers of minor Panchayats, 3. supervision and control of Panchayats by the District Collector, the Revenue Board being the co-ordinating body over the Collector, 4. compulsory levy of a house tax and an additional levy of 3 pies of land cess, and 5. provision for the appointment of a nominated Panchayat. A Committee was appointed to examine this bill. This advisory Committee reported that 1. the District Collector should be entirely divorced from Panchayat administration, 2. the Board of Revenue need have nothing to do with the Panchayats, and instead the post of a Registrar-General should

be created, 3. Panchayats should be created compulsorily in all villages in 5 years, 4. Village Officers should be precluded from Panchayats, though the headman might function as a temporary President for short periods in the absence of the President, 5. adult franchise for all men and women of 21 years of age and the system of ward division and voting by ballot should be introduced in all Panchayats, 6. only Panchayats with a normal income of Rs. 5000 and more should have whole-time paid executive officers, 7. the levy of house tax and vehicle tax should be made compulsory, but the proposed additional land cess of 3 pies should be optional, and 8. there should be no nominated Panchayats.

The only effect of this bill was an amendment that was introduced to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920, by Act XIX of 1943, by which, whole-time executive officers had been appointed to all major Panchayats, and such of the minor Boards as had been notified by Government in this behalf. In April 1946, the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1946 was published along the lines of the bill of 1941, with some modifications.

The power of Collector in the matter of supervision and control of Panchayats in the District was retained, though he was to function, subject to the control of the Registrar-General, who was to be the provincial supervising authority in the place of the Board of Revenue, originally provided in the Bill of 1941. The ex-officio membership of the Village Headman and his eligibility to exercise the presidential functions in the absence of the President or Vice-President through the Karanam as Honorary executive authority of the minor Panchayats, assigned in the Bill of 1941 was dropped out. The clauses for the Amendment Act of 1943 providing for the appointment of whole-time executive officers for notified Panchayats, had been incorporated in the new Act also. The provision made in the Bill of 1941 for nomination of members had been retained, though it was to be resorted to only in special circumstances, such as fraction or disorder in the village.

But this Act was kept in abeyance while the Congress Ministry were thinking of introducing a thoroughly new Act.

At the time of the survey in 1947, the Panchayats were being governed by the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930. There had been no elections since 1939. Only the old Panchayats were continuing in power.

26 Rao. E-5 (1946-7) 1954 AWI India
Telugu AW17

Literacy: Literacy test to the members of the Panchayats was never seriously taken by the Madras Government. Only the Vice-president and the President were found to be invariably literate except in a few instances, and even there, local importance and weight of authority served as the best springs of administrative efficiency rather than the test of literacy. 212 623

The Election of the Panchayat President: This sometimes led to village disturbances and party factions, but, the remedy did not appear to get him elected by the villagers as a whole, instead of by the Panchayat. 666 578

Village Officials: The idea of associating the village officers: the Karanams and the Munsif, as the ex-officio members of the Panchayat attracted the attention of the framers of the Madras Panchayat Bill of 1941, "in order that their experience and influence may be at the disposal of the Panchayat," but, this was strongly opposed by the reformers of the Local Self Government who felt that these village officers were no longer the natural leaders, but salaried officials of the Government and hence unfit to participate in matters of village administration entrusted to a purely honorary body. Another reason that was often adduced against them was that both of them might generally be leaders of two opposing parties and their entrance into the Panchayat would simply wreck its working. 624

Executive of the Panchayat: Under the amendment of the Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government of Madras appointed executive officers to Panchayats. The executive authority had 1. to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, 2. to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers specifically imposed or conferred on the executive authority by the Act; in fact, whenever it was expressly so provided for the sanction of the Board and subject to all other restrictions, limitations and conditions hereinafter imposed, 3. to exercise the executive power, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act and 4. to be directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the Act. (Sec. 24-B of the amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act 1943 (a). He was to carry out all the resolutions passed by the Panchayat but this obligation was limited to legal 642 647

The executive officer was the custodian of all Government [illegible] had free access to them. All the [illegible] to the District Board, or the Provincial Government through the President. While

income of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 per annum, the 2nd grade with an income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 and 3rd grade with an income of upto Rs. 10,000. Panchayats with Rs. 5,000 income were classified as minor Panchayats. The first 3 were called the major Panchayats and they had executive officer, while minor Panchayats had no executive officers. 623 652

Grades of the Executive Officers: The grade of the executive officer in the 1st grade Panchayats was from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100, of 2nd grade Panchayats from Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 and of 3rd grade Panchayats from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. They were the servants of the Provincial Government working under the Local Boards. The Panchayats could not have any control over their executives. The executive officer was the chief executive of the Panchayat. He was to guide the Board in constitutional matters, put the resolutions before it for discussion and execute them according to its decision. He attended the meetings of the Panchayat, but was not allowed to vote. He was liable for transfer to any place in the Province. This meant a great hardship as the salary paid to him was too meagre to enable him to live in far off places from his native town. His pay, travelling allowance, dearness allowance and contributions to provident fund were all met by the Panchayat and the State Government paid nothing towards his maintenance. 647 [465] 623

Executive Officer and the Staff: The executive officer had under him a number of people like the sanitary inspector, the mistries, the supervisor for public works, vaccinators, compounders, midwives, bill collectors, not to speak of the clerical staff and menial staff like the scavengers, sweepers, lighters, peons, watchmen, etc. He was the appointing authority for staff beneath the clerical grade. The posts of the sanitary inspectors and overseers were advertised by him. They were to be appointed and paid by Panchayat with the approval and sanction of the District Health Officer and the District Engineer. But administratively they were subordinate to the executive officer and had to carry out the duties allotted to them by him. The sanitary inspector would have to look to matters of village sanitation, vaccination, administration of D. N. O. Licenses slaughter houses, clearance of sewage water, cleansing of gutters, cleansing of private and public latrines, etc. Similarly the overseer had to look to the execution of the public works all subject to the general supervision of the executive officer. 624 647

Executive Officers and Panchayat Boards: As a fact, the executive officers and the Panchayat Boards had a very strange relation. The executive officers were a much hated and an unhappy lot in the 647 623 578

by the Panchayat Board. This was intended to prevent nepotism and party politics in the matter of official appointments. But this change in the method of appointment alone would not attract better staff unless the existing poor salary scales of the Panchayat staff are revised for the better. 642 647

The Panchayat staff should also not be allowed to be stationary, but with a view to gaining experience, they should be transferred at least from one Panchayat to another in the same district, while the executive officer, supervisor, sanitary inspector, mistry could be made to move throughout the division which was equivalent to ¼th area of Province as the present scales of pay do not allow them to move with comfort to longer distances. The creation of a Local Board Civil Service and recruitment of staff through the Public Service Commission by examination may prove better than leaving the appointments to the discretion of the executive officer because even he could be accused of partiality as the village Panchayats are always full of party politics. Panchayats expect the executive officer to join one side or the other and if he does not do that make life impossible for him. His statutory position is such that he cannot steer clear of all such obligations and still be independent. While the Panchayats want them to be at their mercy, to appoint them and to dismiss them as they like; the executive officers prefer the total absence of any Panchayat control over them. They want to remain State servants, appointed, punished and dismissed only by the State. There was overwhelming evidence to support such a claim. There were instances where the executive officers had to run away when they were dastardly attacked by the Panchayat members because their vested interests were touched. Another executive officer was threatened with death by a Panchayat member who raided his house at midnight, because of the higher rates he charged to his favourite hotel keeper. The executive officer in another Panchayat had to literally run away from the Panchayat Board to the Railway Station to save his life from the dangerous fury of the Panchayat members for having converted the house tax valuation from capital to rental basis. Another Panchayat sent wires to the Inspector of Local Boards and the Local Government Minister stating that the Executive Officer had absconded with funds and a deadlock was created in the working of the Panchayat, when he was only in town and went there to see the District Collector. 623 [624] 578 647

None of the Panchayats either major or minor were able to undertake all the obligatory and optional functions. 623

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu 1.1

Education.—A day school has recently been started with 40 on the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the ability latterly. No one knows English.

There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

Village administration.—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

History and prospects.—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

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The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

Village administration.—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

Sanitary administration.—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

Crime.—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These also are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

History and prospects.—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

796 from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150, largely spent on drink. The priests of the goddess are low caste people, chiefly the washerman caste. They get new cloths as presents. The whole celebration is barbarous and repulsive.

The village administration.—There is no panchayat in the village. 624 The village officers consist of a karnam, a munsif, and three servants. The karnam keeps the village accounts, while the munsif collects the revenue and attends to small criminal cases. The munsif does not generally care to try civil cases even within his province; they all go to the District Munsif's court.

Nobody attends to the village sanitation, though the munsif is 364 expected to do so. The villagers too do not care to help him in his work. The Sanitary Inspector comes once in a year, and quietly goes away with satisfactory remarks from the easy chair in his note book. He being the one officer for two or three taluks, cannot pay much attention to one taluk in particular; besides he also has engineering work.

635 The police station is seven miles away. When crimes of extraordinary nature take place, the munsif reports the same to the police, who come and conduct enquiries. Most of the crimes are hushed up. Police enquiry is a sham. So is the night patrolling, which is the duty of the village servants.

692 The munsif is expected to hear petty crimes; but many cases 696 that might have been decided here go to the Magistrate's court. Many crimes have been left undetected, and the criminals unpunished, crimes which were horrible and plainly proved. As locally interpreted, the effect of the Evidence Act is such as to render the most proved case null and void for "want of proper evidence." When a murderer once escapes easily from punishment, another is at once encouraged. All the villagers know that it is these considerations that encouraged a man engaged in litigation to murder another who was about to give evidence against him. That case went unpunished. Such is the case with most murders. In fact, most men engaged in important litigation are afraid for their 674 lives in this village. In three years there have been four murders in the neighbourhood of the village, two killed in connection with litigation and two in connection with robbery from the person.

691 There is much litigation. About 45 cases are filed every year. Of these twenty to twenty-five will be for non-clearance of debts, and fifteen to twenty for land disputes. The villagers do not seem to show any hesitation or fear in resorting to the courts. The half educated Brahman in the village, acting as an agent for a vakil, with no other profession, tries to earn his livelihood by creating enmity and disputes among ignorant families and dragging them to the courts. Thus several families which were once considered very rich have been ruined. One family of Komatis, for example, with a property of about Rs. 20,000, was sued by some relations for a partition of the estate. The Vaisya refused all compromise in the earlier courts, pursued the case at enormous expense through the three courts, till he finally lost the whole estate in the High Court. In the end, the family of twelve children, with not an inch of land for support, and no means of liquidating the debts contracted for the court expenses, have sold their big-house and gone away to the Agency tracts as beggars to fill their bellies. There are many families in the village similarly ruined.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available.

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission.

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village.

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals.

The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; in return for the service, the government grants them the use of certain rent-free lands. 27

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

596 entitles him to maintain a controlling hand in domestic affairs. In the case of the head of the family also, much depends on the character and personality of the individual concerned. An irresponsible head who becomes a liability to the members of his family forfeits his claim to their obedience and respect, and in such cases the sympathy of the village people is generally given to the dissenting members of the family. Even after separation [527] it is good form to treat the elders with courtesy and respect. On the occasions of family reunions, such as those connected with the crises of life or with the annual offering of water to the spirits of the deceased, it is the eldest member of the family who occupies the dominant position. In general, even after separation his help is sought in cases of disease and difficulty, and in all matters involving priority of one or the other, preference is always given to the elder. The exact position of the head of the family would, however, vary according to the equations of different families, with which we propose to deal later.

622 The Deshmukh also figures at the head of the government or semi-government village officials, whose relative positions can be arranged in a tabular form as follows:

[625]

DESHMUKH
[Combining the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel]

Sub-Inspector of Police
Head Constables
Masters
Constables

Patwari

FOURTEEN VILLAGE MENIALS

i. Kawalkar	viii. Kammari
ii. Talari	ix. Kummari
iii. Majkuri	x. Sakali
iv. Neerudi	xi. Mangali
v. Begari	xii. Ausula
vi. Yetti	xiii. Dappu
vii. Wadla	xiv. Kommu

622 625 465 The Deshmukh is the recognized headman of the village. Two hundred and ten acres of rent-free land, the normal revenue of which would have been Rs. 556/6/-, have been granted to him by the State. He also formally holds the offices of Mali Patel and Police Patel; in the former capacity he assists the government officials in the collection of land revenue, in the latter he helps the police in the maintenance of law and order. The Deshmukh used to cultivate the rent-free land earmarked by the government for persons serving in these two capacities, but he had delegated his powers

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

and functions to agents who acted for him. Now he gets a certain percentage of the total revenue collected in the village in lieu of the rent-free land. Thus, theoretically, the Deshmukh is both Mali Patel and Police Patel; but in actual practice these duties are carried out by his agents. In his capacity as Mali Patel of the village the Deshmukh takes steps to ensure the speedy collection of land revenue after each harvest and remits it to the district treasury. The Patwari can seek his assistance in matters connected with the land records and revenue of the village. For this he gets annually 5% of the total land revenue collected in the village. As Police Patel the Deshmukh is entitled to receive another 5% of the revenue collected during the year. In this capacity he has to send regular reports to the police regarding the occurrence of any crime in the village, keep an eye on the 'bad characters' and watch the activities of suspicious strangers. He maintains records of births and deaths in the village. It is his duty to assist the police in all possible ways in their investigations regarding criminal offences in the village. The other officials, such as the sub-inspector of police, head constables, constables and schoolmasters, are not a permanent part of the local population, and as such they do not generally get mixed up in local politics and other affairs. The police officials enjoy both prestige and power and are, in general, greatly feared by the people.

The Patwari, in spite of the fact that he is a petty revenue and land records official, occupies a pivotal position in the village and plays a very significant part in local politics. Being in charge of the land records, he can manipulate things both to the advantage and disadvantage of landowners, who often consult him and ask his advice. Of Patwaris in general it is said, 'What will they not do for a consideration? Give them money and they will prove their own father a bastard.' The present Patwari of Shamirpet is, for one in his position, a man of more than average intelligence and is himself a careful and substantial cultivator who owns some 247 acres of land jointly with his brother. He receives no salary from the government, nor does he have any rent-free land, but a certain percentage of the total land revenue is fixed by the government as his remuneration for the work.

All villages in Hyderabad State, as do most of those of middle and peninsular India, have a number of village menials. Their functions in the internal organization of the village are of two

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu A.W.I.

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31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India Telugu AWI 7

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●635 The police station is seven miles away. When crimes of extraordinary nature take place, the munsif reports the same to the police, who come and conduct enquiries. Most of the crimes are hushed up. Police enquiry is a sham. So is the night patrolling, which is the duty of the village servants.

692 The munsif is expected to hear petty crimes; but many cases
696 that might have been decided here go to the Magistrate's court. Many crimes have been left undetected, and the criminals unpunished, crimes which were horrible and plainly proved. As locally interpreted, the effect of the Evidence Act is such as to render the most proved case null and void for "want of proper evidence." When a murderer once escapes easily from punishment, another is at once encouraged. All the villagers know that it is these considerations that encouraged a man engaged in litigation to murder another who was about to give evidence against him. That case went unpunished. Such is the case with most murders. In fact, most men engaged in important litigation are afraid for their
674 lives in this village. In three years there have been four murders in the neighbourhood of the village, two killed in connection with litigation and two in connection with robbery from the person.

691 There is much litigation. About 45 cases are filed every year. Of these twenty to twenty-five will be for non-clearance of debts, and fifteen to twenty for land disputes. The villagers do not seem to show any hesitation or fear in resorting to the courts. The half educated Brahman in the village, acting as an agent for a vakil, with no other profession, tries to earn his livelihood by creating enmity and disputes among ignorant families and dragging them to the courts. Thus several families which were once considered very rich have been ruined. One family of Komatis, for example, with a property of about Rs. 20,000, was sued by some relations for a partition of the estate. The Vaisya refused all compromise in the earlier courts, pursued the case at enormous expense through the three courts, till he finally lost the whole estate in the High Court. In the end, the family of twelve children, with not an inch of land for support, and no means of liquidating the debts contracted for the court expenses, have sold their big house and gone away to the Agency tracts as beggars to fill their bellies. There are many families in the village similarly ruined.

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of mutual and reciprocal obligations. Inter-personal and inter-group relations in several spheres of village affairs are governed by an established usage and social ethics. Breaches of the norms of the community and its established usage are dealt with either by the village elders or by a village council. The village council, speaking for the village, has the final authority of social ostracism through which it can effectively enforce its sanctions.

III

Modern community studies represent a very significant development in the field of social anthropology and sociology. The concepts and techniques formerly applied to the study and analysis of primitive and isolated tribal societies are now being adapted for the study of peasant communities, non-literate as well as literate, and also for the analysis of more complex and industrialized communities. This new direction in the focus of interest of an increasing number of social scientists and field-workers has inevitably led to important modifications in our conceptual framework and to a sharpening of our tools of research. The methodology of social sciences and techniques of field research have both gained very considerably from this new trend. The work of Robert Redfield, John Gillin, Sol Tax and Ralph Beals, among others, represents a substantial advance in this field, both in theory and in methodology. From Robert Redfield's *Tepotzlan: A Mexican Village* to Oscar Lewis's *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepotzlan Re-Studied* this branch of social anthropological enquiry has travelled far: the former inaugurated an epoch, which then appeared to be full of promise; the latter is a convincing proof of its maturity. On Middle America we now have a series of interesting and useful studies. In other parts of the world also important researches of this kind have been made. Studies of the great peasant societies of the East received encouragement and support from scholars both in Great Britain and in the United States. Malinowski's and Radcliffe-Brown's forewords to the works of Fei and Embree bear testimony to the interest evinced in community studies by the British social anthropologists. The work of Martin C. Yang and Francis L. K. Hsu received constructive support in the United States. A remarkable feature of some of these Far Eastern studies is that they were done not by Western scientists but by scholars

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623 564 castes; they are expected to do much more. In fact, a caste headman is the link between the residents of the village belonging to his own caste and, on the one hand, the common organization of the village as a unit, and, on the other, the wider caste organization of the entire neighbouring region. When the caste *panchayat* of the entire block constituting the regional community holds its meeting it is invariably the caste headman who participates in its deliberations on behalf of his village caste group. The office is hereditary, passing from father to son. But if the son has not attained maturity at the time of the death of his father, and is consequently not in a position to take over the responsibility, one of the brothers of the deceased may exercise the authority on behalf of the minor. In some cases even after attaining maturity the son remains only the nominal head, while his uncle continues to be the *de facto* chief. The general consensus of opinion regarding the function of the caste headman appears to be that 'he should keep his people under control' and 'not allow them to stray from the traditional ways of life'. 'If boys of my community do not behave themselves, the *panchayat* reprimands me for not keeping them under control The village headman says that I must check them, but what powers do I have?' remarked one caste headman. With regard to his functions there is a general unanimity. 'Under a good caste headman boys of the caste obey established authority, respect is shown to the elders and quarrels are not often heard from houses in his jurisdiction.' All this he must do by the sheer force of his personality, for the nature of his authority is not well defined. 'He must be strict and firm, and also considerate and helpful. If he is only strict he will not be able to get the willing co-operation of his people. If he is too lenient nobody will pay any heed to what he says.' It has been pointed out earlier that some of the caste headmen are only nominal members of the *panchayat* and that at its meetings others speak on behalf of the caste. With one exception, these caste headmen lack the above qualities, and in general their caste people do not have much regard for their views. At least two of the hereditary caste chiefs are regarded with scorn by their own people and with ridicule by the villagers. Among the successful caste headmen, E. D. R., the leader of the Kapu (agriculturist) group, may be mentioned. He is in his late thirties, but even older people listen to him. If a son does not show due regard to his parents or a husband and wife quarrel too often and too publicly;

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f one of his caste fellows fails to fulfil the terms of his obligations or in any other way brings dishonour to the caste; if boys get unmanageable or girls earn an evil reputation for easy virtue, he effectively enters the scene, gives suggestions and advice, admonishes people if they do not seem amenable to persuasion, and in the case of adolescents and young boys may even inflict light corporal punishment. In his dealings with people E. D. R. possesses some dramatic qualities which make him something of a hero to his people. With his great influence in the counsels of the village he commands obedience from his own caste fellows as well as from many others. V. P. R., in a sense E. D. R.'s rival, has also a strong personality, and although he is not the recognized head of the caste he exercises considerable control over 'his area of influence'. Because of his influence he is one of those who are invited to participate in the deliberations of the *panchayat*. However, the two men exercise considerable tact in dealing with each other, and so far there has been no effective challenge to the position of E. D. R. The position of the head in a caste is what its holder chooses to make it. Ambitious rivals can steal some of his light and authority. If he proves unsuitable he may for all practical purposes be superseded by someone who is abler or more ambitious and aggressive.

The structure of the family and part played by the 'head' in its affairs will be analysed in a subsequent chapter. It will suffice here to point out that the type of family organization in Shamirpet and the neighbouring rural areas is patrilineal and patrilocal. Joint families are regarded as ideal, although there is a tendency for sons to separate after marriage, and brothers almost always separate some time after the father's death. The eldest male is generally regarded as the chief of the household, and, according to tradition, he must benevolently dominate the scene. Younger members of the household must show respect to him and his wishes. In his turn the head of the family should treat his brothers or sons equally, 'as alike as his two eyes'. A serious socio-religious offence committed by one member of the family would result in the excommunication of the whole family. As such the head of the family must watch the actions of all the members of his household and advise, warn or admonish them according to the necessity of the situation. The head of the family is answerable to the caste and the village councils for the members of his household, and this

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476 discharge of their functions. Tradition approves of such an arrangement, and mutual trust and inter-dependence ensure its continuity. Where this arrangement is accepted, a system of attachment of some families to certain other families naturally [433] follows. Agriculture being the most important activity of the countryside, the number of agriculturists is naturally the largest in the village population. These constitute the bulk of those who require and accept the occupational services of small caste groups offering them. Even the occupational castes stand in need of one another's services, although the number of families from each caste offering them within a village community is of necessity small. Each family will, therefore, attach itself to a number of families in the village and offer them services both in agricultural pursuits and socio-religious rites and ceremonies. Among the occupational castes themselves also there is a system of family attachments in operation. In Shamirpet some family affiliations date back to the time of the foundation of the village. Later immigrants either secured the services of some of the established families of the occupational castes, or they made arrangements with some of the newcomers to the village belonging to those castes.

476 This system is both complex and delicate. It is not easy for an
623 agriculturist to remove a family attached to his household and
626 secure the services of another. For example, A, a barber, is attached to the family of B, an agriculturist. If for any reason B is greatly dissatisfied with the services of A and wants those of another, he cannot abruptly dismiss A. His difficulty will not be in dismissing him, but in finding a substitute. Each of these castes [467] has its own inter-village council. Occupational castes have a developed trade unionism, and their code of professional ethics and etiquette too is very rigid. The dismissed person will be protected by this professional etiquette. No one else would be willing to act as a substitute, for fear of being penalized by the caste *panchayat*. It may even be difficult for a number of families to join together and import a family belonging to that occupational caste from a different village. First, under these conditions of tension, an outside family would not come for fear of social pressure and ultimate ostracism for such an action. And if they do come, the caste fellows already in the village will make things very difficult, even unbearable, for them. In the course of our investigations,

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we recorded three cases of protracted antagonism between a group of employing families and the occupational caste families employed. In one of them the dissatisfied employer agreed to retain the family on its promise of doing better work in the future. In another the caste people arrived at an amicable settlement by attaching another family to the employer, and attaching the dismissed caste member to a newly-settled family in the village. The third one dragged on for a little less than four years, and, yielding to the pressure and persuasion of the village elders, the caste agreed to give a substitute. The employer in this case was a hot-headed farmer, but he was a man of some wealth and considerable influence, and as such he could secure the effective intervention of the village elders in his own favour.

According to our informants 'the system to-day is not what it was a decade or two ago'. Many attribute this change to the spirit of individualism which is now manifesting itself in several walks of life in the countryside, and is bringing about changes in the established patterns of life. 'In former times,' said an agriculturist, 'these low classes knew their position and behaved themselves well. If they worked satisfactorily they were treated by us very well. In fact, with the passage of time, our relations became more and more intimate. I remember those days when a barber's son would come into the courtyard, offer salutations to us and say "Uncle, the headman has called you" or "Mother, the ceremony in the neighbour's house is about to start and they are awaiting you." In many cases they were just like the members of our family, and although both parties maintained the traditional caste distance, we could always take each other into confidence even on matters of a delicate nature. But now things have changed. Those boys don't want to work here. They want to go to the city. They are not satisfied with the traditional arrangements of payment; and so there is difficulty.' However, the system still continues more or less in its established, traditional form. Urban contacts, education or attraction of something better or more lucrative, may distract a young man, causing him to refuse to replace his old or deceased father's services with a family to which they were attached, but one of his poorer and less ambitious brothers or cousins will always be willing to take up the work.

We shall now examine the main economic functions and activities of the major caste groups in the village.

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kin on the paternal side. The composition of the family differs in different cases. In many cases it consists only of the husband and wife, their sons and unmarried daughters. In others one or both of the parents, unmarried brothers and unmarried sisters may also belong to this unit. Brothers and sons often establish their independent houses after marriage. In the same way, old parents may come to live with their son who had separated from them a decade or two earlier.

The *peddamanshi* or literally the 'big man' is the head of several family units which together constitute this extended family or allied families. In a still wider sense, family may include another category of near-kin who are one degree removed from the cluster of allied families.

In the diagram (overleaf) lines show the relatives who constitute the allied families, and dotted lines show the near-kin. Only unmarried girls belong to the family. On marriage they become members of their husband's family.

Each elementary family can be regarded as an independent unit of the extended family or the allied families. In everyday life it is practically free from the control of the other units of the allied families. Ordinarily these branches meet only on ceremonial and ritual occasions. Importance of the solidarity within the allied families is emphasized, and it is expected that any major decision will not be taken by any branch without consultation with the senior members of these allied families. Selling or buying land, starting litigation, obtaining large loans from a money-lender, leaving the village permanently for settling down in a different locality, and fixing the date and time for socio-religious ceremonies are among the subjects on which prior consultation with the senior members of the allied families is regarded as necessary. In any case the *peddamanshi* or head of these allied families should not be ignored. Often it is not difficult to get his permission and blessings; but people ignoring him inevitably come in for social censure. If the elders find the arrogance of the younger members too great they generally express their dissatisfaction and disapproval in their talk with the other people in the village. Their refusal to participate in a socio-religious ceremony of one of the branches of their family will cause a minor sensation in the village, and the comment of the society will generally be against the junior member who ignored the elders. If the affairs of any branch are in a

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bad way, the elders of the allied families are expected to intervene. Scandals or dishonourable behaviour in one unit are likely to spoil the name of all the allied families, and as such tradition enjoins elders to advise, warn and even admonish the erring members. A young man given to excessive drinking, gambling or any similar vice would often be admonished by the elders of this extended family. If he cannot keep his wife under control, or if the quarrels of the two become very frequent and too public, the neighbours would convey the information to the elders of the extended family and expect them to use their initiative in putting things right. In all such cases they will be within their customary rights if they intervene. They can demand that their advice is heard and followed.

Within the family unit the eldest male is generally regarded as the head. His wife or the next senior male is given the second place. A respectful son very often describes his old widowed mother as the 'head' of the family. However, in many cases the *de facto* head of the family may be a son under whose guidance and supervision the land is cultivated or the craft or profession of the family is practised. Parents dominate the scene in their youth and early middle age. With approaching old age they gradually recede to the background. Nominally they remain the heads of the family, but their sons are left more or less free to conduct the management of the family property and profession as they like. As long as the father remains the real head of the family, the internal management of the family remains the charge of the mother. Sons are expected to obey her and the daughters-in-law are expected to carry out her instructions. Any failure or reluctance on the part of a daughter-in-law to carry out the wishes of her mother-in-law leads to constant quarrels and complications, and in many cases to ultimate separation. Between sons and daughters, as a rule, preference is shown to the former, but if the sisters have considerable seniority in age, their younger brothers are expected to respect and obey them.

In the village community of Shamirpet, which has considerable variations of caste and class, and significant differences in education and urban contacts, it is only natural to expect great variations in the family ideals and ethics of the different groups. In the themes of their idealizations, the different sections of the population show striking similarities; but in their attitudes and reactions

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live with them. They think that this ends their tutelage under their father and establishes them as independent members of the community. The parents do not necessarily share this view, and consequently in the period that follows there is considerable stress and need for understanding and accommodation on both sides. The son is divided between loyalty to his father and his new-found desire for independence on the one hand; his affection for the mother generated by close association from the day of birth and his attraction for the wife on the other. During this stage the parents cannot punish or chastise their sons; they can at best advise and warn. When repeated advice and warnings do not have the desired effect, methods of employing pressure or ridicule are resorted to. Pressure may be brought to bear on the son through village elders, other influential people and even through his friends. Stories about sons who forget their duties and responsibilities towards their parents because of their wives are legion. Socially it is bad form to be engrossed completely in the wife to the neglect of the parents; it is worse to deny them the respect and courtesy that is their due at the bidding of the wife. The traditional norms of respectful behaviour must be observed in dealing with parents. Intimate subjects, particularly those having a bearing on sex, should not be discussed in the presence of the parents. Opinion should not be proffered unless it is asked for. All forms of endearment must be avoided by the husband and wife in the presence of the elders. It is not very proper for a young father to fondle and kiss his child too often when his parents are present. Finally, parents should not be abused or beaten; as far as possible differences should be smoothed out by peaceful means. Nevertheless, when there are acute differences in the points of view of the parents and children, exchange of hot words and loud quarrels between them are not uncommon.

Tradition lays down fairly strict norms regarding the treatment of old dependent parents. A son failing in his duty of providing adequately for his old parents, and not caring sufficiently for their comforts, particularly during illness, invites strong social disapproval and comment. He is regarded as a bad example. Elders, well-wishers and friends are bound to remind him repeatedly about his obligations to his aged parents. At this stage the old people are expected not to interfere with the domestic management of the household, and as a price for this non-interference the

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still resident in the village. Tradition emphasizes the necessity of solidarity between brothers, even if they live separately. They should stand by and support one another in the hour of need. Indeed, there are considerable misunderstandings and consequent quarrels between families, but they do co-operate and support one another when serious situations arise and call for such assistance. Those who fail to rise to the occasion and do not behave in the expected way are criticized by the community and may even be admonished publicly by the village elders. However, regarding the general tone of inter-personal relations between brothers it may be said that it is not characterized by deep sentiments and affection. Understanding is desirable, but it is believed to be rather difficult to attain. However, ties of kinship inevitably bring them close to each other on ritual occasions and in moments of distress.

OTHER RELATIVES WITHIN THE FAMILY

Brief mention may be made here of certain other categories of relatives who live together in the same house within the joint family.

Grandparents are believed to be indulgent. It is said that they 'always spoil the grandchildren'. It is remarkable that persons who have had a reputation for being very 'strict fathers' behave in an altogether different way with their grandchildren. They are lenient and friendly towards them, and indeed take a lot of interest in them. Amusing grandchildren and being in turn amused by them is one of the favourite pastimes of the grandparents. Most of the time they can be seen fondling them or carrying them about. When their parents are angry with them, young children often take shelter with their grandparents. Very few grandparents ever complain about the behaviour of the little ones, and they would rarely spank them.

An uncle must be treated like the father and an aunt like the mother. But in this relationship much depends on the age and personality of the uncle. If he is nearer in age to the children than to the father, he is regarded as a superior kind of elder brother, but if he is nearer to the father in respect of age, he is feared and respected by the children. Often the children develop their pattern of relationship with an uncle on the basis of his character and personality. 'Some uncles are friendly. They allow us considerable

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the Erkalas, the men occupy themselves with hunting and trapping, while women weave mats and seek some additional income by fortune-telling. Among the Madigas males deal with dead animals; women come into the picture only when the meat has to be carried home and cooked. Both men and women may work at curing hides. Shoe-making and other leather-work is mainly done by men. On ritual and ceremonial occasions, musical instruments are played only by Madiga men.

Earlier it has been pointed out that men avoid tasks which are generally known as 'feminine'; and women in their turn are expected not to undertake pursuits which are traditionally regarded as 'masculine'. It is true that during the illness or absence of his wife, a man has to perform some of her domestic duties, but that is obviously a compromise with necessity. Any man taking undue interest in feminine tasks soon earns the unenviable epithet of 'half-woman', and is exposed to the ridicule of the community. Asking a man to do some feminine work would be almost tantamount to questioning his masculinity. 'Put bangles on your wrist, husk the paddy and cook the meals', is a remark often used in reproach to admonish those who lack manly qualities and courage. A woman going out of her way to do anything which is regarded as 'man's work' is noticed and adversely commented upon by the society. It is unthinkable that a woman can handle the plough. It should be pointed out here that sometimes a woman deliberately undertakes to do masculine work to 'bring home' to the husband the realization that he is not fulfilling his manly obligations and thus to awaken him to his proper responsibilities. Middle-aged women and widows can do some men's work without social censure.

Reference has been made to the six basic age divisions recognized in the community. Among the 'rich' and the 'well-to-do' families children do very little; but among the 'average' and the 'poor' they have to help the parents. Grazing the cattle, assisting parents in their work in the fields during the busy season, looking after younger siblings, and running errands are regarded as children's work. The girls have to help their mother in the kitchen. As they grow up their share in work gradually increases. Boys take more interest in 'outdoor' work, whilst girls are absorbed in the domestic routine. During this stage of life the 'grown-up boys and girls' even of rich and well-to-do families have to apply

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come forward very readily to help those who need it. It is common to suspect others' motives; and not unusual to be always on the alert to read hidden meanings into the seemingly innocent utterances of others. Analysis of their life-histories shows that the people are not given to introspection. They are always on the defensive; but their inter-personal relations are not characterized by detachment. In their thoughts, likes and dislikes they are quite open, and all persons having even casual contacts have a fair acquaintance with one anothers' ideas and attitudes

It is not uncommon for people to analyse and describe the personality-traits of other inhabitants of the village as well as of outsiders coming into the settlement. Positive qualities, having obvious approval, find expression in such epithets as: 'good person', 'hard-working', 'honest', 'respectable', 'well-behaved', 'intelligent', 'generous' or 'large-hearted' and 'faithful'. Epithets describing negative traits which do not meet with social approval are many and varied, and among others include: 'bad person', 'lazy', 'dishonest', 'shameless', 'mannerless', 'foolish', 'miserly', 'small-hearted', 'unfaithful', 'good-for-nothing', 'liar', 'all talk but no deeds', 'ill-tempered', etc. Analysis of such traits is firmly established in the culture-pattern, and occupies an important place in the conversation of the people when they meet in small groups. Although conformity to social norms is idealized and emphasized, when there is a breach of traditional ways the person responsible likes to confess it in confidence to someone else. Long conversations and the mutual sharing of secrets are quite frequent. However, when friendships break up the sanctity of earlier secrets is not protected by any code of honour. Within limits originality and innovation are admired; but excess and ostentation lead to social censure and ridicule.

Subjects coming under the critical eye of society are: i breaches of traditional norms, ii display and exhibitionism, iii [illegible] iv efforts to rise in the power hierarchy, v conspicuous [illegible] and vi originality and 'too many new ideas'. Carrying tales and 'whispering about the doings in others' houses' go on in the community on a wide scale. It is criticized by the aggrieved persons and their sympathizers, but no one regards it as inherently bad. 'Incidents' or breaches of established norms are discussed in small conversational groups at first, and the more important ones among them gradually filter through and reach the respon-

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sible village elders. Few such breaches escape the attention of society, although in many of them no action may be called for by the caste or village elders. Display and ostentation are severely criticized in the community. Individuals inviting social censure for this fact are frequently nicknamed and mimicked. The behaviour of persons who have just come into wealth or a position of authority is subjected to a particularly critical scrutiny. Sexuality, in all its different aspects, provides another popular theme for gossip. Although bragging about unusual potency and sexual adventures is very common, in general the community watches and comments upon all abnormalities, particularly excessive indulgence and lacking adequate sex vigour. The comments of the group in this sphere are merciless. Those who are on the higher rungs of the ladder of power hierarchy jealously watch their own position, and anyone casting a covetous eye on a position of influence at once becomes the target of the criticism of several pressure groups in the community. People attaining conspicuous success are invariably the subject of malicious criticism. Their actions and speech are closely watched, and later commented upon. Opportunities for criticizing them are eagerly sought, and indirect references to their humble origin are frequently made. Finally, persons having too many novel and original ideas also invite the criticism of others. While people are unsparing in their comments, they are very much reserved in their praise.

Anger is freely expressed. Loud shouting, use of foul language, and occasions of physical violence are the principal channels for the expression of aggressiveness. Sentiments of love and friendship are also publicly expressed; the only exception in this case being the suppression of all sentiments suggesting sexual intimacy.

Concepts of 'manliness' and 'defending the honour' play a significant part in governing inter-personal relations within the community. It is not manly to beat anyone who is too young, too aged, weak or infirm. On the contrary, a fight between equals is always considered fair, although it may necessitate action on the part of village elders. Notions of personal and family prestige differ in different castes, as well as at different income levels. Any challenge to personal prestige or family honour is bound to arouse a violent reaction.

Truth and straightforwardness are acclaimed as social ideals; but intelligent and ingenious ways of deception too receive

LIVING TOGETHER

keeps on repeating itself. Some young men introduce a note of [illegible] when they talk of their 'forcing-in' acts against unwilling partners. General comments about the goings on in the village are an important item in the activities of these groups. The latest scandals are discussed and spread to the rest of the community in one or other of these groups. Women are classified into [illegible] categories such as 'the easy' [illegible] 'invite you and later say [illegible] the [illegible] type [illegible]. Code words are [illegible] different [illegible]. [illegible] and weak- [illegible] upon. Domestic [illegible] Con- [illegible] but they too can [illegible] developments [illegible] in draw water or when [illegible]

[illegible] groups. [illegible] informal [illegible] While [illegible] community. [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] out [illegible] All [illegible] consist of [illegible] affiliations are shaky. [illegible] of curiosity or with a definite [illegible] a [illegible] part in managing the [illegible] the [illegible] circulating in the village [illegible] and direction for further action by [illegible] in [illegible] matters. It should be added here that these [illegible] comprise mostly the middle-aged people. While some [illegible] young men seek to attend them, the aged generally

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

2. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION: AUTHORITY AND MACHINERY OF JUSTICE

In the internal organization of Shamirpet two different units can be clearly delineated. The socio-religious organization of the village with its independent set of office-bearers and functionaries is quite distinct from the administrative organization of government and semi-government officials.

The following diagram will illustrate the internal organization of the village in socio-religious matters:

Deshmukh
(Headman of the village)

Panchayat
(Village council)

Ganadi
(Organizers of village ritual)

Kulam-pedda
(Headmen of the different castes)

Peddamanshi
or
Inti-pedda
(Head of the family)

The Deshmukh is the hereditary headman of the village. He is the richest person in the settlement and has very considerable landed property. His forefathers became the headmen of the village some three hundred years ago, and since then the family has retained the title and office. By virtue of his wealth, position and the contacts he maintains with powerful government officials, the Deshmukh is a pivotal figure in the village and enjoys a position of great influence. Although his word is no longer law, he still wields very great influence in the village and is always given a place of honour at all village ceremonies. Village disputes of any importance are always referred to him, and his decisions and wishes are seldom disregarded. However, the Deshmukh takes very few decisions on his own authority and initiative. He seeks the help of the *panchayat* which can be regarded as the central council for the village as a whole. Of course, the Deshmukh takes a prominent part in the deliberations and discussions of the *panchayat* and often guides it in such a way that his wishes in the matter are carried out.

The *panchayat* or village council consists of the headmen of

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earlier in this chapter, suggests that an extrovert and sensitive people who cannot conceal their approval or disapproval and who do not suppress their immediate reactions cannot have a very peaceful and quiet life. Indeed most of the tensions are short-lived, but quarrels and conflicts are numerous and frequent. As the community is partially autonomous in several spheres of life, it is necessary for it to have an effective mechanism for the control of these conflicts.

Sharanpur, however, is only partially autonomous, for it is a part of a wider social system. The extent of caste organization is regional, and covers a very large number of villages. In several spheres of life it is the caste rather than the village that has the upper hand in controlling the behaviour of its constituents. Details of ritual connected with the life-cycle, and observance of the norms and norms of the caste fall in this category. Further the village is but a small unit in the national political structure of a sub-continent. Its laws are made by the State Legislature and the Union Parliament and the law-enforcing arm of the State extends to it as effectively as it does to the rest of the country. This brings the State police and magistracy on the scene. All important breaches of law go to the civil and criminal courts. What remains of the autonomy of the village appears quite insignificant, but in actual practice relatively few cases go to caste councils, fewer to courts of law, and left to itself to control the inter-group and inter-personal relations of its members the machinery responsible for social control and justice within the village finds itself burdened with considerable work.

How is this mechanism set in motion? How does it work? Presently I shall give a few illustrative cases which will reveal the process in certain typical situations. At this stage it is necessary to point out that all cases of conflict do not go to the village council. In many cases the parties to the dispute boisterously quarrel over the issue and there the matter ends. For a few days they probably will not be on speaking terms, leave each other out of social functions and ceremonies, and continue to indulge in mutual recriminations and behind-the-back slander; but in course of time normal relations will be resumed. In other cases mediation or arbitration of the elders may be sought or may be volunteered by the elders themselves. When influential village elders notice disorderly or unbecoming behaviour on the part of someone

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repeatedly they intervene, and seek to set things right by the pressure of their personality. They ridicule, admonish and threaten the wrongdoer, and leave it at that. This intervention is often effective and succeeds in achieving the desired result. Disputes may be specially referred to influential and impartial elders, and thus a settlement is sought without the necessity of having to appear before the village council. When these efforts fail, or when the seriousness of the offence or dispute warrants it, it is taken to the headman or to one of the elders with a specific request that it be decided by the village council. On the other hand, elders may take cognizance of a serious matter and may themselves bring it to the notice of the village council. Of course all cases of murder, serious theft, and grievous bodily injury, as well as of default in payment of substantial loans are taken to the criminal and civil courts. Abduction and adultery can be referred to law courts; but generally they are taken either to the village council or to the caste council. Misconduct with a married or unmarried woman, running away with a married woman, default in fulfilling the terms and conditions of a marriage contract may similarly be referred to either or both the caste council and the village council. Of the two, whichever happens to be more powerful and effective attracts most of these marginal cases to itself. Personal disputes, minor property and land disputes, sex offences and conflicts arising out of breach of contract generally come up for hearing and decision before the village council.

The composition of the village council has been described earlier. When cases come up for hearing before it, the proceedings are carried on with considerable dignity. Available evidence and eye-witnesses are examined. The motive for the offence, and the situation in which it was committed—particularly its immediate cause, as well as presence or absence of provocation—are also taken into account. Outwardly an attitude of objectivity and impartiality is maintained by everyone; although in reality the rival factions within the council try to tip the scale their own way so that the evidence may later be construed in such a way that it may prove advantageous to the client to whom they have already promised their support. At the time of actual decision the parties to the dispute have to withdraw, allowing the council freedom to discuss and analyse the issues involved. Divergent and often contrary opinions may be expressed by the rival factions at this stage.

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But when the decision is announced, it is done so in a manner that indicates unanimity among the members. Besides attempting arbitration and mediation, the village council also administers punishment when a person's guilt is proved. The nature of punishment itself differs in different categories of cases, also on the basis of persons involved in the dispute. It ranges from a simple warning to a complete social boycott; the intermediate stages being stern admonition, firm demand for apology, compensation to the aggrieved, and fining.

Absence of internal unity within the council has undermined its authority considerably. The fact that some of its members allow and encourage their protégés to defy—fully or partially—its decisions, contributes further to its growing weakness. Dissatisfied with its judgement one can always take the case to a regular court of law where the decision of the council may be reversed.

With these preliminary observations we can now proceed to examine a few illustrative cases which represent typical situations met with in the life of the community:

1. V. R. R. and his brother B. live together. Their parents are dead, and being minor B. lives with his elder brother. V. R. R. has had elementary education. Being married into a respectable lower middle-class family in the city, and himself with some experience of urban life, V. R. R. regards himself as the leader of a band of city-influenced youth. As most of his time is spent in loafing, planning mischief, gambling, drinking and instigating people to quarrel, he cannot devote much time to the land, and consequently the financial position of the family is not satisfactory. V. R. R. adds to his income by extorting money from the villagers by offering his advice, help and support—often for unjust causes—but this money is spent almost wholly on himself. B. is now an adolescent, and is fast approaching a marriageable age. Noticing his elder brother's indifference towards him, B. approached some of the elders of his caste. His main complaints were: (*a*) V. R. R. does not spend his (B.'s) share of the land and its produce on him. (*b*) Nothing is being saved for his marriage. One day V. R. R. lost his temper over some trifling issue and scolded his younger brother. B. ran to E. D. R.—an influential man in the village, and the hereditary leader of his caste. Fearing that B. might be beaten by his elder brother, E. D. R. accompanied him to his house and asked V. R. R. to come out of the house and listen to

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him. Partly because of anger, and partly under the intoxication of his power and influence as the leader of a youth gang, he curtly remarked to E. D. R., 'Have you nothing else to do? What brings you here? Is it because of jealousy that you cannot see our welfare and prosperity and you are instigating my brother to separate from me?' This was too much even for the sedate, cool and level-headed E. D. R., who enjoys great reputation in the village for his sobriety. He lost his temper and said, 'You bastard, you seem to have developed great notions about yourself. After spending a few months in the city—and with the support of that band of rascals—you think that you can defy the authority of village elders. I shall show you what it means to be impertinent to me.' V. R. R. was still arrogant but less impolite. E. D. R. said, 'If you have the cheek to answer me back, I shall make life impossible for you in the village. You have a long tongue; but if you wag it against us we can pull it.' At this stage V. P. R.—a rival of E. D. R., who had also been approached by B. on an earlier occasion—entered the scene. He now left was on the side of E. D. R. and joined him in scolding the unrepentant V. R. R. Within a short time a small crowd gathered at the spot. Some other elders persuaded V. R. R. to apologize to the elders whom he had offended. This he did [illegible] E. D. R., V. P. R. and the other elders [illegible] decided that V. R. R. should give more attention [illegible] at least two hundred rupees every year for [illegible] younger brother's weddings, and after his [illegible] three years give him his share of land and [illegible] V. R. R. agreed to do this and the crowd dispersed.

E. R. is a middle-aged woman, and is counted among the [illegible] of the village. In her day she was regarded [illegible] beauty and was known for a degree of laxity in morals. [illegible] a secret romantic attachment with C. M.—a local [illegible] small-trader. Her husband is meek and docile, and her [illegible] report this affair. This particular case refers to her [illegible] with her son Y., who not only abused her but added to the gravity of the offence by striking her in public. Outwardly the quarrel appeared to be an ordinary, everyday affair, but careful investigation revealed to us that the roots of the trouble lay elsewhere else. The fact of the matter was that E. R. had got her son Y. married to a rather young and immature girl who happened to be her friend's daughter. Y. at this time was a grown-

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LIVING TOGETHER

This case is illustrative of some of the internal goings on in the village, and of some of the typical reactions manifested by the people.

K. was an average peasant. He had a son who lived separately in the village on account of his bad relations with his father. K.'s landholdings were modest in size, but some of his fields were quite first class. He was getting old and could not cultivate all the land by himself. Some of his relations came forward to help him, but he rejected their help. At this stage B. N.—an untouchable but influential cultivator—was ingratiating himself with K., and claiming to be his friend and well-wisher. It is said that B. N. persuaded a very influential figure in the village to lend him his helping hand in the pursuit of something which he had in mind. It is rumoured that the influential figure agreed to lend his support in consideration of a substantial monetary gift. After a few days it was known that K. had sold his best fields to B. N. Although the documents showed that B. N. had paid a reasonable price, it was generally believed that the amount which had actually changed hands was very small. K. had not consulted any of his relations about this deal. As if to add insult to injury, the old man had chosen an untouchable for this favour in utter disregard to the claims of his kinsfolk, and after the deal K.'s relations with them broke down completely. He went out to [illegible] some other relations, fell seriously ill and returned to Shamirpet in a very precarious condition. Everyone realized that he was at his end, but his relations did not do anything [illegible] B. N. arranged for him to stay in a room of the village [illegible] and attended with a shopkeeper and a young man of [illegible] care for the supply of rations and for the cooking of his [illegible] In a few days K. died.

[illegible] relations did not show any inclination to touch his corpse. When the headman sent word to them, they said 'We are not [illegible] Did he ever remember us during his lifetime so that [illegible] remember him now? He has his untouchable son who will [illegible] his property. Let him perform the last rites for him.' Hearing this, B. N. said, 'I am an untouchable. I cannot perform the rites. But I shall pay for them, and see that they are done in some style.' He sent for a band from the city, advanced money for necessary preparations, and with the support of the headman secured the co-operation of four clean caste unmarried youths to carry the bier. The relations took it as a challenge. They

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changed their attitude. One of their spokesmen said, 'The deceased was our seed; and not an untouchable. We may not have riches, but we shall perform his last rites.' They sent for another band, and the last rites were performed in a memorable style. K.'s son felt offended and kept himself away from the ceremonies.

4. Robust and sturdy C. R. has several remarkable traits. Because of his personality and a rather impressive way of speaking he has considerable influence over his community and is looked upon as its leader. He is an untouchable. Some of his acts now and then disgrace his family, and bring about a temporary eclipse of his reputation. Several times he was accused of petty thefts, and once or twice fined by the village council. But when he stole a blanket and some brassware from his employer, and ran away with the wife of a neighbour, the matter was viewed very seriously. People from the village had seen him at a nearby railway station with all the three stolen things—blanket, brassware and the neighbour's wife. The theft was reported to the village council; and after some preliminary consideration the local caste group referred the elopement also to it. In the meantime news was received that C. R. was working in a sugar factory, but was anxious to return to the village. The village council came to the decision that C. R. should compensate his employer to the full value of the articles stolen, return the woman to her husband with a certain sum of money by way of compensation, and pay a fine to the council for the two offences. C. R. returned to the village, accepted the verdict of the council, but asked for a reduction in the amount of the fine. This request was granted.

5. R. was a widow, and after the death of her husband had returned to Shamirpet to live with her mother. She was still young. In a few days she became the mistress of M. who belonged to her caste. They never lived openly as man and wife, but their relationship was well known. M. bought several expensive presents for her, and these included a silver necklace and bracelets. After about three years R. fell in love with an outsider who agreed to take her as his wife. M. did not object to this arrangement, but he insisted on having his presents back. R. was not prepared to part with them. One day when she was passing along the street in front of M.'s house, he ran towards her and started snatching the ornaments by force. R. shouted for help and people rushing to the spot separated them. The matter was reported to the headman,

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Introduction

I

India is predominantly an agricultural and rural country. An overwhelming majority of her people live in the countryside. In the 1951 census it was estimated that there were over [illegible] villages in the country. Since partition this number has diminished, but the rural-urban ratio in the population still remains more or less the same. According to various estimates, [illegible] per cent of India's population live in villages.

From time immemorial the village has been a basic and important unit in the organization of Indian social polity. It finds prominent mention in the classical texts of the land. For example, according to the *Rig-Veda*, generally dated in the latter half of the 2nd millennium B.C., society developed in a series of ascending formations, starting from the family (*griha* or *kula*) and gradually extending to the village (*grama*), the clan (*vis*), the people (*jana*) and the country (*rashtra*). The term *grama*, still largely used in India for village, denoted an aggregate of several families sharing the same habitation. Besides mentioning that the village was headed by the *gramani*, chief of the village, the *Rig-Veda* does not give us any details regarding its internal structure or organization or its external affiliations. In post-vedic literature, particularly the epics, we have somewhat more detailed glimpses of the then existing settlements. The *Mahabharata* (*c.* 2nd century B.C.–2nd century A.D.) mentions several types of habitations and settlements, such as cattle farm (*ghosh* or *vraja*), small barbarian hamlets (*palli*), forts to protect surrounding settlements (*durga*), villages developing around the forts (*grama*), town (*kharvata* or *pattana*) and city (*nagara*). Through the *Mahabharata* we get an

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621 outline of the system of village and inter-village organization.
631 According to the epic, the village was the fundamental unit of administration; and had as its head the *gramini*, who was its leader and chief spokesman; one of the major responsibilities of this headman was to protect the village and its boundaries in all directions within a radius of two miles. The administrative system was organized on the basis of grouping of villages, each group having its own recognized leader. Thus a group of ten villages was under a *das-gramani*, and this was the first unit of inter-village organization. Two such groups, that is twenty villages, used to be under a *vimsatipa*. A group of a hundred villages was headed by *satgramini* or *grami-satadhyaksha*. Finally, a group of a thousand villages was under an *adhipati*. Several later works touch upon this subject, but they do not add materially to our knowledge of the system of village and inter-village organization in ancient India. However, it will not be out of place to make a brief reference to the place of the village in the writings of Manu (*c.* 200 B.C.–2nd century A.D.), the Hindu law-giver, whose code still largely governs the structure of Hindu society. Manu distinguishes between three kinds of settlements: village *grama*, town *pura* and city *nagara*. According to him, the village was the fundamental unit of administration, with its own officers and organization. The *gramini* was the head of the village. Apart from the different spheres of socio-religious life in which the family, the clan, the caste and the village were all equally interested, the village as a unit had a number of responsibilities of its own. Thus the maintenance and management of several public utilities such as wells, tanks, ponds, reservoirs, embankments, cow-pens, groves, parks and pastures was under the village itself. Approximately a thousand villages constituted a country and were under a *sahasresa*; within this group were several divisions and subdivisions—a hundred villages under a *satesa*, twenty villages under a *vimsi*, ten villages under a *dasi* and finally a village itself under a *gramini*. Notwithstanding the passage of time, the village system in India still continues to have many of the characteristics described by Manu. Even to-day the village retains its semi-autonomous character. Invariably it has a recognized headman with a definite set of duties and functions. Groups of ten to twenty villages still join together to decide important cases and to discuss issues of common interest. A thousand villages or so constitute a culture-area, or at least a subculture-area, and the

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rural community within this region invariably has a number of common cultural characteristics and social forms and values.

Yet we cannot regard the Indian village community as static, timeless and changeless. Time and the interplay of historical and sociological factors and forces have influenced the structure, organization and ethos of these communities in many significant ways.

II

To-day it is common to speak of the 'Indian village' or of 'the Indian peasant'. While it is true that many problems are common to the entire Indian countryside, this practice tends to give one an impression that the village as a social and cultural unit possesses a basically uniform organization and structure of values all over the Indian sub-continent. This would obviously be an over-simplified presentation of a rather complex situation. For a proper understanding of their social structure as well as of their problems, it is necessary to classify them into clearly distinguishable types. For such classification several criteria could be employed, including, among others, the following:

i. Size, population and land-area.
ii. Ethnic composition and caste-constitution.
iii. Pattern of land ownership.
iv. Structure of authority and power hierarchy.
v. Degree of isolation.
vi. Local traditions.

Each culture-area of India has its own nomenclature to classify the villages within its territory in respect of their size and population. In the Hindi-speaking parts of north and middle India it is usual to distinguish between *kheda* (a hamlet), *gaon* (a small village and *kasba* (a large village). In Telangana, the Telugu-speaking part of the State of Hyderabad to which the village of Shamirpet described in this book belongs, a similar distinction is made between *gumpu*, *majra* and *grama*. The first of these denotes a tiny collection of huts, the second is a larger hamlet and the third is the village proper. The differences between these rural settlements are not confined only to their size and population. All three can be classified as belonging to the 'folk society', but they differ so greatly in their internal organization, economic self-sufficiency,

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it generally has a federal type of organization, in that each culture group within this settlement is semi-autonomous, and a common village authority drawn from all these groups has overriding powers for the community as a whole. In areas where there are intense or even pronounced inter-caste rivalries and tensions, the caste composition of the village will largely determine its patterns of inter-group adjustment.

It goes without saying that in a primarily agricultural country land must be greatly prized; and, with the great pressure of population and the conditions of private ownership, possession of land has not only an economic but a social and prestige value as well. Where all the land belongs to a landlord or is held by two or more landlords—as in the case of 'joint-villages'—the organization of the village is sure to be very different from that of a village inhabited by proprietary tenants. The general ratio of land distribution between two or more castes, between certain families or between one big landowner and the rest of the community may have a vital influence on the nature of village organization and problems.

No village in India is completely autonomous and independent, for it is always one unit in a wider social system and is a part of an organized political society. An individual is not the member of a village community alone; he also belongs to a caste, religious group or tribe which has a wider territorial spread and comprises several villages. These units have their own organization, authority and sanctions. Politically the villages are under the legislative, executive and judicial authority of the Indian Union and one of its constituent States. For administrative convenience these States are divided into districts, the latter being subdivided into *tehsils* or *talukas*. In day-to-day administration the villages come into contact with the authorities and officials of this subdivision and of the district, although the laws of the State and the Union are binding on them. The village thus has independence and autonomy only in its domestic affairs. But who exercises the authority in this field? Is there a petty feudal landlord who has some administrative and judicial powers as well? Is there a government-recognized landlord who has arrogated to himself administrative powers? Or, has the village a *panchayat* (village council) constituted on the basis of local tradition? All the feudal states have been abolished in Republican India; but petty feudal estates still continue in

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621 some parts of the country, and effective steps have been taken in
631 very few areas to abolish village landlordism. On the other hand,
184 with a view to reviving village self-government, some State governments are establishing village councils with recognized legal powers, the members of which are appointed by the government. Locus of power in the community is another criterion in respect of which Indian villages often present very different pictures.

369 Nearness to or isolation from large administrative or industrial
621 centres also has a bearing on the nature of the organization of a
184 village and of its view of the world. Availability of or nearness to modern means of transport and communications also modifies the setting and fabric of a village, and in its classification it is necessary to take into account these vital factors.

621 Lastly, village settlements are governed by certain traditions—
184 regional and local. The dress, speech and manners, as well as the lay-out of the village and construction of the houses, follow the prescribed patterns of the culture-area. Thus in the different areas we can naturally look forward to a certain degree of diversity in village organization. But apart from these regional variations villages have a corporate unity, and each one possesses an individuality of its own. Some villages are regarded as 'peaceful', others as 'difficult'. Some have a reputation for generosity and fair play, while others are notorious for their meanness. Some are known for being 'upright and strict'; others are criticized for their laxity. Love of litigation is a characteristic feature of some villages; ostentation and display of others; while still others may be very sensitive about their good name. Again, co-operativeness or its absence may characterize some villages. These attributes and qualities may have their roots in strong local traditions or in a combination of factors working at a particular time. But they do give a distinctive character to the village, and a study of the social ways, processes and motivations in such villages will not be without considerable sociological and psychological interest.

In view of the operation of factors delineated above, it is difficult to regard any one village as typical or representative of rural India as a whole. In fact, I would go a step further to say that such a village could hardly be regarded as representative even of its culture-area, except in a very general way. The problem before the social anthropologist and the sociologist is therefore a complex one, and what we need to-day is a series of studies of village com-

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137 Shamirpet and the neighbouring cluster of villages. However, villagers are able to collect some fuel as well as small quantities of edible and marketable minor forest produce from the local
136 scrub jungle. In this type of landscape little game is to be expected. Tigers from the forests fifteen or twenty miles away are occasionally seen, but panthers, in search of stray goats, calves and dogs, are more frequent visitors to the village. Wild pigs are plentiful and always do very considerable damage to the crops. Spotted deer make an occasional appearance in the surrounding areas, while hares which abound in the shrubs are very often shot or hunted with dogs trained for this purpose. Wild ducks come seasonally to the large tank near the village, and green pigeons and partridges are among the other feathered game found in the vicinity of Shamirpet.

131 It has been pointed out that Shamirpet is only some twenty-five miles from Hyderabad and Secundrabad, which rank fourth among the cities of India in respect of population and size. It is only fifteen miles from the Bolarum cantonment and twelve miles
[494] from the military aerodrome of Hakimpet. A regular bus service plying between Hyderabad and Karimnagar touches Shamirpet, and there are about twelve buses running in both directions on this road every day. From this it should not be assumed, however, that Shamirpet is just a suburban extension of Hyderabad. Although it is in regular and constant touch with the capital, it is an independent village with an organization of its own.

621 No village in India can be singled out as being typical of the
531 country as a whole, but Shamirpet possesses most of the characteristics which are common to the rural communities in middle and peninsular India. As an independent socio-economic and ritual unit it enjoys partial self-sufficiency in several aspects of community life. In the wider organization of the rural community it possesses partial autonomy. Its component units are mostly the occupational castes which are integrated into the structure of the village. Finally, it has a semi-judicial village council composed of caste elders and other influential persons. This council administers justice in socio-religious cases involving breaches of the traditional norms of society. The village as a unit of social organization performs several significant functions which form an important agency of social control.

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its past history 'as it was passed on to them by their forefathers'. The village of Shamirpet owes its present shape to the construction of the large and beautiful tank which lies some three furlongs north of the village site. Before the construction of this tank there was a tiny hamlet on the present site which consisted of a few households and was known as Shahpur. Some three hundred and fifty years ago Ibrahim Quli Qutub Shah, then ruler of Hyderabad, wishing to perpetuate his name, ordered the construction of a huge tank which, he expected, would be called after him. This tank is the hyphen linking the city of Hyderabad with Secundrabad. However, according to the legend, the people associated it with the name of the engineer Hussain Khan and called it 'Hussain Sagar'. So the ruler decided on the building of a second tank, and chose the site of Shamirpet. But the Shamirpet tank was his second disappointment. On the completion of the tank, he is believed to have come to the site and asked the people, 'Whose tank is this?' The people unwittingly answered, 'It is Shah Mir's tank.' The people's tribute to the man whose brain had created the project did not satisfy the Qutubshahi ruler. He ordered a third tank to be constructed at a different site some thirty-five miles away, and it is this tank which now commemorates his name and is known as Ibrahimpatan Sagar. The second of these tanks, constructed near the hamlet known as Shahpur, changed the fortunes of that small settlement. The people who had worked on the construction settled permanently in the vicinity of the hamlet and were joined by more settlers attracted by the irrigation facilities provided by the tank, so that the village gradually grew to a considerable size. Because of its association with Shah Mir's tank, the hamlet acquired the new name of Shah Mir Pet, which became gradually corrupted into Shamirpet.

In the year 1948 H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad (until 1948 the feudal ruler of Hyderabad) granted this village together with several others as Jagir (feudal estate) to one of his nobles, the late Fakhrul Mulk Khan Khanan. On his death the estate was inherited by his son Nawab Nizam Yar Jung, also known as Nawab Ehsan-ul-Mulk Khan Khanan. The last in the line of the Jagirdars of Shamirpet was Kemal Yar Jung. He constructed a beautiful summer house, which is now in ruins, adjoining the tank, as well as several office buildings in the village which house the post office, the school, the police station and the village granary. After

THE SETTING

175 [illegible] (Kem) Yar Jung the property came under the administration of the Court of Wards. In the meantime, vast changes were taking place in Hyderabad. After the Police Action of 1948, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Republic. With the inauguration of the democratic order the Nizam has become a constitutional ruler and the feudal system within the State has been abolished. In consequence Shamirpet now comes under the jurisdiction of the normal district administration.

[illegible] Shamirpet is situated at a distance of about a furlong from the [illegible] road which runs between Hyderabad and Karimnagar. [illegible] road [illegible] the village with the main road, [illegible] of the houses in the village are clearly visible. [illegible] and the village there is a flat and fairly level [illegible] and in the centre of this ground there is a tree [illegible] the Muslims bury their dead. At the junction of the [illegible] the diversion leading to the village there is a small [illegible] awaiting the buses, built of stone and lime. [illegible] to the north stands the Inspection Bungalow of the State Public Works Department. It is intended for the use of [illegible] officials, and can also be used by occasional [illegible] to make a small payment for its use. Further north at a distance of about two and a half furlongs, is the tank, [illegible] of barren rocks and tall trees provides a beautiful [illegible] between the tank and the road now lie the ruins of [illegible] which was built on the tank-bund by the last [illegible] the village. In his time it was provided with an [illegible] pipe lines and modern sanitary fittings, but [illegible] death it was deserted and is now a melancholy [illegible].

The [illegible] itself is not built according to a definite plan. A wide main street lies in the centre and runs almost parallel to and [illegible] furlong away from the main road. As we proceed north-[illegible] this street we find on the right a number of white-[illegible] stone buildings housing the various government offices, and on the left there are a number of small tea and betel shops. On the right there are also the residential quarters of the sub-inspector of police who is in charge of the police station, a government granary, living quarters of the police constables, the village [illegible], the school and the post office. Lanes branch off both [illegible] and left from the street, and on either side of these lanes are

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

in fact entered as parts of the village of Shamirpet in government records, and in a sense they are; nevertheless, on a restricted scale they enjoy considerable autonomy. The elders of the hamlets try, as far as possible, to decide the hamlet's minor disputes without referring them either to the headman or to the village council of Shamirpet. They say, 'We are poor inhabitants of a small hamlet. Our resources are limited. The people of Shamirpet are prosperous; they have adopted the ways of the city. If we refer our cases to them, they will impose such fines that our necks will break.' Yet there are many cases in which one of the disputing parties, dissatisfied with the judgement of the elders and possessing the necessary financial resources or influential support, will refer the case to the Shamirpet village council. In all such cases one or two elders and influential people from the hamlet in question are summoned to attend the proceedings of the village council at Shamirpet. Similarly, for all the ceremonies organized jointly by the people of Shamirpet as a whole it is customary to send invitations to Babugura and Upparpalli and it is expected that they will be represented by at least some of the village elders. When the people of the village as a whole are summoned on government business to the district or subdivisional headquarters, the residents of the two hamlets have also to accompany the people of Shamirpet, for all the three settlements are, according to government records, component units of one village. However, the distance between Shamirpet and the two hamlets is an effective barrier to the pursuance of a common social life. And from this point of view the two hamlets are as independent as two self-contained small villages.

The area surrounding Shamirpet is quite densely populated. It is not unusual to find a village or a small hamlet every three to six miles, and Shamirpet is surrounded by a number of villages, some large and others small. With most of these, Shamirpet, as a village, has very little to do. However, individual residents remain in constant touch with friends and relations in the surrounding villages. Ceremonies connected with the major crises of life, i.e. birth, marriage and death, often take people out of Shamirpet to the neighbouring villages, or bring people from there into Shamirpet. For a more or less well-defined block of villages the different castes have their respective caste councils, to which matters concerning the caste only are taken.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda), copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E. and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history — and legend — rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

Population densities are not high — **170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in Hyderabad. Villages are[a] essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.

Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an important railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial development is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins; old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness — a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

Telangana: Aspect and Prospect

Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own internal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

[a] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

6.Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

state of weight not inferior to that of many a sovereign member of UNO. 631
But large parts of it were still under practically feudal *jagirs*, and the tension [578]
between a Muslim aristocracy and bureaucracy, and the Maratha Telugu peasantry, was a fundamental weakness. As the only notable survivor of the Muslim Mogul succession-states, it was an Islamic cultural and political outlier fatally isolated from the Islamic bases in the NW and NE. These things were obvious to the casual traveller: as one passes from the lava mesas of Maharashtra the cultural landscape changes as much as the physical. At Gulbarga, on the lava edge, the tombs of the Muslim Bahmani Sultans dominate the gently rolling country, their domes rising like giant bubbles over the flat skyline; on the station platforms the local petty bourgeoisie and bureaucracy, gathered to meet the train and always easily recognisable, no longer wore the dhoti or completely anglicised office clothes, but were clad in the long tight-fitting Muslim *sherwani* coat. But the Muslim hold was thin, and they were a minority of 12·8%. Geographically the weakness of the state was of course its separation from the sea—doubtless not accidental on the EIC's part; hence its interest in Masulipatam on the Godavari delta, linked by rail and only 60 miles from Hyderabad territory by the easy gap where the Gondwana trough breaks the En Hills.

Today it seems possible that all the Telugu country may be united into an Andhra state, despite the great gap in economic development, and perhaps in economic interests, between the harsh and arid plateau and the paddy-plain of the Madras littoral. It would probably be difficult enough to weld together peoples of such divergent environment; but the major objection to Andhra Desa is not so much the thing in itself as the difficulty of stopping such particularisms from spreading. The detachment of Telangana from Hyderabad leaves Marathwara to be disposed of; presumably there would be a move to attach it to a Maharashtra state. This would involve in turn the creation of Karnataka for the Kanarese, and there is an important overlapping zone between the two [19], while, as we have seen, the Bombay Karnatak has important ties with Bombay. That city itself is the natural outlet for Maharashtra and is in historically Maratha country; but [192]
commercially it is also closely allied with Gujarat, and indeed Gujarati is probably the main business language of Bombay. Clearly to such separatisms there is no end territorially; they probably raise as many problems as they solve; and from an *Indian* point of view the result of creating linguistically homogeneous states might be a grave weakening of national unity. (Cf. below, 682,692).

In any case, the development of the essentially poor land of Telangana 312
will call for great capital expenditure without, perhaps, much prospect of cash returns. The future depends largely on the progress of the great

[19] Deshpande, *op. cit.*, Fig. 20 (p. 86).

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

135 The mineral wealth of the region is probably considerable in the aggregate, but scattered and not very accessible. It includes unworked copper and antimony; in asbestos and barytes the region produces practically all India's output, but the amounts are only *c.* 1200 cwt. and 1800 tons p.a. 369 respectively. Cuddapah, with a little industry, is the only town of any significance; or was until the selection in 1953 of Kurnool on the Tungabhadra for the capital of the new Andhra State, to consist of the Ceded Districts and the Northern Circars. This selection, against the claims of say Bezwada (below, 691) makes sense only if it is intended eventually to bring in the Telugu portions of Hyderabad. Kurnool has only about 43,000 people; it is perhaps significant that strong opposition came from the left-wing parties. The motivation was perhaps a desire to give the Ceded Districts some token that they would not be neglected.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
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Mercara in tiny Coorg, and it is in any case being superseded as the seat of government by a new town at Bhuvaneshwar, 20 miles S of Cuttack.

There may, however, be a brighter future for Orissa. The merger of the hill states increased the area by 85% (to 59,869 sq mls) and the population by 58% (to 14,645,946); these are the largest gains by merger in all *India*. The ending of the fantastic fragmentation of the State may facilitate co-ordinated development of the Mahanadi power projects and flood control (above, 678); it also gives some hope for the development of the forest resources of the excessively backward hills: timber (floated down the Mahanadi), lac, tussore silk.

The Northern Circars

This region, which corresponds to littoral Andhra Desa, is a transition zone in every respect. In the N we have the normal monsoon rainfall distribution; but the October-December proportion increases steadily in importance Swds, together with a decrease in total amount and in rainy days. Already in Kistna Dt a third of the rain comes in the last quarter of the year, but these rains are more uncertain than those of the more usual monsoon months. In Ganjam Oriya is still dominant, but where the coastal plain narrows beneath the abrupt peak of Mahendragiri (4923 ft) the Aryan tongue gives way to Dravidian Telugu, which holds sway as far as the Nagari Hills (Fig. 127). To the S Nellore represents a further stage in the transition.

Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari E and W, Kistna and Guntur Dts form the Northern Circars, brought under Muslim rule by the Golconda kings about 1575, ceded to the French in 1753; 12 years later the EIC obtained a grant of the whole from the Mogul Emperor, though of course his nominal subordinate the Nizam had exercised what government existed, apart from that of warring petty rajahs; this was the Company's first considerable territorial acquisition outside Bengal. Despite the Telugu culture and the modern historical identity, the region seems to lack unity. The proliferation of small ports and trading stations in the early European phase was perhaps a reflection of this; the Dutch factories at Bimlipatam and Coconada were not ceded to the EIC until 1825, and they had forced the early English settlement at Pulicat to move in 1625 to Armagaon, the parent of Madras. In Masulipatam the factory at French-pettah was not handed over to *India* until 1947, while English-palam and Volanda (Holland)-palam mark the settlements of those nations in the same town. Nizampatam was the first English station on the E coast (1611), and Yanaon (area 5 sq mls, poptn 5711) in the Godavari Delta survives as the last relic of the 18th century French holdings.

The total area is about 25,000 sq mls with a 1941 population of *c.*

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
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chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tirupatti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which nevertheless is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

● 632, 633 Telugu AW17

[Additional data on individual cities has been marked for either 361 or 369 or both. For reference to these cities see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

632, 633 Telugu AW17

[Additional data on individual cities has been marked for either 361 or 369 or both. For reference to these cities see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

referred to as 'the Kapu' or agricultural castes. As this name suggests, they derive the major part of their subsistence by tilling the land, although individuals from any of these groups may engage in trade and commerce or may take up urban occupations.

In the second group we can place the following: the Brahmin priests, the Komti (traders), the Kummari (potters) and the Golla (shepherds). The five sections of the Panch Bramha group of artisan castes, that is, the Wadla (carpenters), the Kammari (blacksmiths), the Ausula (goldsmiths), the Kase (workers in bell-metal) and the Kanchari (sculptors), also belong to this group —although they claim separate identity and are rather exclusive. The Sale (weavers), the Gaondha (toddy-tappers), the Sakali (washermen) and the Mangali (barbers) also follow their traditional occupations; and although in the hierarchy of caste organization their place is a little inferior to the castes mentioned above, they belong to the second group for the purpose of our classification. The position of the once-tribal but now largely assimilated Vaddar (stone-breakers) and the Erkala (hunters and basket-makers) is slightly different, for although they are not untouchables their position among the clean castes is the lowest.

There are only two untouchable or depressed castes in Shamirpet, the Mala and the Madiga. Of these two, the Malas consider themselves superior to the Madigas, by whose touch they are polluted. However, it should be pointed out that the Indian constitution has abolished untouchability. The untouchable castes can draw water from the public wells and can without discrimination share the public utilities with the clean castes. Their children now freely attend the common village school. But social conservatism dies hard and legislation alone cannot overnight change the deep-rooted complexes of thought and behaviour which are the heritage of many generations of a caste-ridden social system. Caste still retains its endogamous character, and traditional rules prevail in matters dealing with persons of lower castes. Thus in these two spheres at least the untouchable castes have still to confine themselves to their narrow circles. While in the cities the clean castes are no longer sensitive to the touch of a person belonging to these castes, in the countryside an untouchable still cannot approach too close to clean-caste people lest they be polluted by a chance physical contact. Some progressive-minded untouchables

Chelmsford Reforms in 1919, the Local Self-Government became a provincial subject. The Madras Village Panchayat Act was passed in 1920, with functions of 1. construction and maintenance of roads, villages and bridges, buildings; 2. lighting of streets; 3. construction of drains; 4. cleaning of streets, removing of prickly pear, construction of latrines, construction, maintenance and repair of burning and burial grounds; 5. sinking wells and making bathing ghats; 6. control of cattle stands, and thrashing floors; 7. Control of rest houses; 8. extension of village sites; 9 enforcement of vaccination; 10. registration of births and deaths; 11. maintenance of latrines; 12. construction of pounds; and 13. maintenance of other public utility services, delegated powers from Local Boards such as control over markets and cart-stands, control of fisheries, establishment and maintenance of village schools, provision of medical relief, etc. 642 623

As the legislation of 1920 was only an enabling one, and not a compulsory measure, village Panchayats could not make much headway. By the end of 1924-25, their number was only 579, But, later on they were able to make progress, because of the appointment of a Registrar-General of Panchayats. Mr. N. Gopalswami Iyengar was the first Registrar-General, and he was rightly regarded as the father of the modern Panchayat Movement in Madras. The development of Panchayats during this period had to depend mostly on the efforts of honorary organisers as there was no regular subordinate supervisory staff under the Ragistrar-General. This Act fixed the age limit of a voter at 25 and prescribed 7 to 15 members to a Panchayat. It did not provide for any reservation of seats to minorities or for ex-officio membership of the village officials. Even on the testimony of their administration reports there were no regular meetings in several Panchayats. Most of them had not even establishments of their own. Often, the President of the Panchayat used to do all the clerical work. But all the same the period from 1920 to 1930 was considered to be the Golden Age of Panchayats in Madras. The number of Panchayats increased from 579 in 1924-25 to 4,479 in 1931-32. 641

There were certain inherent defects in the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1920 which hindered their progress. Functions like the removal of noxious plants from village sites, performance of sanitary work, distribution of water, the maintenance of watch [illegible], sanitation and conservancy, repairs of drinking water services and provision of educational facilities, control over village [illegible] were entrusted to them (Sec. 12). But their 642 623 652

be created, 3. Panchayats should be created compulsorily in all villages in 5 years, 4 Village Officers should be precluded from Panchayats, though the headman might function as a temporary President for short periods in the absence of the President, 5. adult franchise for all men and women of 21 years of age and the system of ward division and voting by ballot should be introduced in all Panchayats, 6. only Panchayats with a normal income of Rs. 5000 and more should have whole-time paid executive officers, 7. the levy of house tax and vehicle tax should be made compulsory, but the proposed additional land cess of 3 pies should be optional, and 8. there should be no nominated Panchayats. [623] [642] [624] [641] [651]

The only effect of this bill was an amendment that was introduced to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920, by Act XIX of 1943, by which, whole-time executive officers had been appointed to all major Panchayats, and such of the minor Boards as had been notified by Government in this behalf. In April 1946, the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1946 was published along the lines of the bill of 1941, with some modifications.

The power of Collector in the matter of supervision and control of Panchayats in the District was retained, though he was to function, subject to the control of the Registrar-General, who was to be the provincial supervising authority in the place of the Board of Revenue, originally provided in the Bill of 1941. The ex-officio membership of the Village Headman and his eligibility to exercise the presidential functions in the absence of the President or Vice-President through the Karanam as Honorary executive authority of the minor Panchayats, assigned in the Bill of 1941 was dropped out. The clauses for the Amendment Act of 1943 providing for the appointment of whole-time executive officers for notified Panchayats, had been incorporated in the new Act also. The provision made in the Bill of 1941 for nomination of members had been retained, though it was to be resorted to only in special circumstances, such as fraction or disorder in the village. [623]

But this Act was kept in abeyance while the Congress Ministry were thinking of introducing a thoroughly new Act.

At the time of the survey in 1947, the Panchayats were being governed by the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930. There had been no elections since 1939. Only the old Panchayats were continuing in power.

PART II

Actual Conditions Revealed by the Survey :

A. Structure : Selection of the sample of the Forest Panchayats was made on the same basis as that of the Village Panchayats in four categories i.e. good, moderate unsatisfactorily and very unsatisfactorily working according to the connotation explained in the preface. (Table No. 22)

The Forest Panchayats were not constituted on one village one Panchayat basis, but they were constituted for a group of villages. Sometimes the Forest Panchayat was for 7 to 8 village hamlets e. g. Bayyavaram in Vizagapatam District, so with almost all the Forest Panchayats in every district.

The membership varied with the number of hamlets to be represented on the Panchayat. If number of hamlets was less and the area of the Forest Panchayat was meagre, naturally, the number of members of the Forest Panchayat was less.

The caste composition was usually cosmopolitan, i. e. 4 were Valamas, 4 were Kapus and one was Raju in Bayyavaram which was typical example. The other Forest Panchayats in other districts revealed a representation of all castes.

The method of election was always by show of hands. The electorate consisted of the cattle owners.

There was no ex-officio membership of the Village Officials.

The ability of the Forest Panchayat and its working depended mostly on the team work of the members and their sense of responsibility, not to speak of the resources at their disposal.

B. Finance : Generally the income of the Forest Panchayats was constituted of the proceeds of the grazing fee, the sale of dead wood, fuel and quarry's stone, income from minor forest produce, bark, leaves, Tangedu, Avaram, etc. Income from sandalwood trees was generally taken by the Forest Department of the Government. Similarly income from big fuel coups was also taken away by the Government except an insufficient share given to the Forest Panchayats for meeting the cost of cutting the wood. (Table No. 23).

The grazing permits of the Forest Panchayats were usually determined according to the extent of the acreage under command of the Panchayat. The incidence per cow came usually to 3 acres. But the rate of the grazing permits varied from one Panchayat to another Forest

26: Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1954 AW1 India
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[p. 104]

CHAPTER IV

Structure and Working of Panchayats in Madras

Section I: Village Panchayats in Madras

PART I

Administrative and Legislative Position of Village Panchayats on the Eve of the Enquiry

642
623 The idea of reviving the age old Panchayats in Madras got a momentum from the time of the Royal Commission on Decentralization. A Committee called the Local Self Government Committee, composed of officials and non-officials, was appointed in 1882. As a result of the recommendations of this Committee, the Local Boards Act of 1884 was passed recognizing the village as the unit of administration and authorising the formation of village unions in villages of more than 3000 population and Panchayats in villages with population of 3000 or less with permissive powers and limited authority for taxation. But, these unions could not be very popular as there was a division of loyalties and conflict of jurisdictions. The people were reluctant to pay taxes, without adequate returns, while the unions continued to be mere tax-collecting agencies without providing any amenities like village sanitation or education. Their inability to provide any facilities raised doubts as to the ability of Panchayats or unions to hold their own. This made the task of the succeeding legislators extremely difficult. No definite action was taken on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Decentralization for a long time. In 1915, the Government of India resolution was passed favouring formation of Panchayats in selected areas with permissible powers and limited authority in matters of taxation. Unions were formed in villages with more than 3000 population and informal Panchayats in villages with population of 3000 or less. Still, the number of unions did not increase very much. By 1916-17, the number was only 464 and went up to 527 in 1920-21. As the unions had no tax collecting authority they had to depend on their abilities to persuade the villagers to pay them some taxes for undertaking any works of public benefit. Neither the Provincial Government nor the Local Boards gave them any contributions. In the contest of such discouraging circumstances all round, the unions could not make much headway. After the Montague

Chelmsford Reforms in 1919, the Local Self-Government became a provincial subject. The Madras Village Panchayat Act was passed in 1920, with functions of 1. construction and maintenance of roads, villages and bridges, buildings; 2. lighting of streets; 3. construction of drains; 4. cleaning of streets, removing of prickly pear, construction of latrines, construction, maintenance and repair of burning and burial grounds; 5. sinking wells and making bathing ghats; 6. control of cattle stands, and thrashing floors; 7. Control of rest houses; 8. extension of village sites; 9 enforcement of vaccination; 10. registration of births and deaths; 11. maintenance of latrines; 12. construction of pounds; and 13. maintenance of other public utility services, delegated powers from Local Boards such as control over markets and cart-stands, control of fisheries, establishment and maintenance of village schools, provision of medical relief, etc.

As the legislation of 1920 was only an enabling one, and not a compulsory measure, village Panchayats could not make much headway. By the end of 1924-25, their number was only 579, but, later on they were able to make progress, because of the appointment of a Registrar-General of Panchayats. Mr. N. Gopalswami Iyengar was the first Registrar-General, and he was rightly regarded as the father of the modern Panchayat Movement in Madras. The development of Panchayats during this period had to depend mostly on the efforts of honorary organisers as there was no regular subordinate supervisory staff under the Ragistrar-General. This Act fixed the age limit of a voter at 25 and prescribed 7 to 15 members to a Panchayat. It did not provide for any reservation of seats to minorities or for ex-officio membership of the village officials. Even on the testimony of their administration reports there were no regular meetings in several Panchayats. Most of them had not even establishments of their own. Often, the President of the Panchayat used to do all the clerical work. But all the same, the period from 1920 to 1930 was considered to be the Golden Age of Panchayats, in Madras. The number of Panchayats increased from 579 in 1924-25 to 4,479 in 1931-32.

There were certain inherent defects in the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1920, which hindered their progress. Functions like the removal of noxious plants from village sites, performance of kudimaramat work, distribution of water, the maintenance of watch over-crops, sanitation and conservancy, repairs of drinking water services and provision of educational facilities, control over village artisans, etc. were entrusted to them (Sec. 12). But their

652 financial position was very precarious (Sec. 25). The Act did not
623 provide for any compulsory taxes, though many sources were
642 suggested. Most of the Panchayats depended on collections from marriages, kolagaram taxes, taxes on artisans and loans, oil-mills, factories, rice mills, market fees and collections from temporary stalls and festivals etc. No coercion in the matter of these collections was ever allowed. The Registrar-General of Panchayats was in charge of supervision and control of these bodies.

642 The position was changed in 1930 with the passing of the Madras
623 Local Boards Act. While the existing office of the Registrar-General of Panchayats was abolished, in its place the office of the Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils was created with four Deputy Commissioners under him. For every district, a District Panchayat Officer and under him one or two Assistant Panchayat Officers were usually sanctioned.

A. Structure: With regard to the functions of the village Panchayat, there was no change. Even the electoral qualifications were the same as for the District Boards and Legislatures. Only the number of members was changed from 8 to 16 instead of from 7 to 15. But, even this had nothing to do with the proportion of local population in the village. Another change was the provision of reserve seats for Christians, Muslims and Harijans in the Panchayats. By section 49, a provision was made to supersede a Panchayat for one year or so, if its working was not satisfactory.

652 **B. Finance**: There was some improvement with regard to the
651 resources of the Panchayat. From 1930, 1/6 of the land cess was granted to Panchayats and from 1934, the period of the abolition of the Taluka Boards, this was increased to 1/5. Besides this, there was provision for house tax, sales tax, profession tax, festival tax, Pilgrim tax, tax on cart-stands, bus stands, fishery rentals, grass sales proceeds, fees from public markets, slaughter houses, licences from D. N. O. trades, fairs and festivals, ferry rentals, warrant and destraint fees, magisterial fines, fines for encroachment, fees from Public Resort Act, Food Adulteration Act, Town Nuisance Act, as extended from the District Municipalities Act, etc. (Vide Schedule 4 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930). To these later on, were added the entertainment tax, stamp duties, registration surcharges, income from usufruct of avenues, scavenging fees, grants-in-aid of education, public health, medical help, libraries, water supply, and public works. For long time the land cess remained to

623 threshing floors, topes, and other poramboke used by the villagers in common, (d) the extension of village-sites and regulation of building, (f) the registration of births and deaths, (g) the control of pounds, (h) village protection, (i) improvement of agricultural stock and agriculture, (j) the promotion and encouragement of cottage industries, (k) the opening and maintenance of elementary schools, (l) the establishment and maintenance of Panchayat dispensaries, (m) gratuities to its officers and servants, (n) contribution to Joint Committee under Section 30 for any purpose in which the Panchayat is jointly interested and all other measures of public utility calculated to promote the safety, health, comfort or convenience of the inhabitants of the village, which are not included in any of the clauses relating to the District Board (vide Schedule 5 of the M. L. B. Act, 1930).

[652] **D. Supervision and Control:** The Panchayats were to submit copies of their budgets to the District Board, to the Collector and to the Inspector of Local Boards at Madras. The District Board and the District Panchayat Officer were expected to scrutinise the several items of income and expenditure.

The District and Assistant Panchayat Officers were to supervise the working and report on their progress to the Inspector of Local Boards. The reports of the minutes of the meetings would be recorded and reported to the District Board. Whenever a Panchayat was not working properly, and continued to be in an unsatisfactory condition for long, Section 45-A provided for the supersession of that body for an year and sometimes to another six months, when the administration would be entrusted to a special officer.

642 623 [622] [624] [651] In 1941, the advisory regime in Madras wanted to introduce some reform in the matter of Panchayats and as such prepared a bill with the following provisions:— 1. introduction of ex-officio membership of the village headman, who was also to be eligible for Presidentship, 2. creation of whole-time executive officers for major Panchayats and the appointment of Village Karanams as Honorary Executive Officers of minor Panchayats, 3. supervision and control of Panchayats by the District Collector, the Revenue Board being the co-ordinating body over the Collector, 4. compulsory levy of a house tax and an additional levy of 3 pies of land cess, and 5. provision for the appointment of a nominated Panchayat. A Committee was appointed to examine this bill. This advisory Committee reported that 1. the District Collector should be entirely divorced from Panchayat administration, 2. the Board of Revenue need have nothing to do with the Panchayats, and instead the post of a Registrar-General should

be created, 3. Panchayats should be created compulsorily in all villages in 5 years, 4. Village Officers should be precluded from Panchayats, though the headman might function as a temporary President for short periods in the absence of the President, 5. adult franchise for all men and women of 21 years of age and the system of ward division and voting by ballot should be introduced in all Panchayats, 6. only Panchayats with a normal income of Rs. 5000 and more should have whole-time paid executive officers, 7. the levy of house tax and vehicle tax should be made compulsory, but the proposed additional land cess of 3 pies should be optional, and 8. there should be no nominated Panchayats. 623 642 [624] [641] [651]

The only effect of this bill was an amendment that was introduced to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920, by Act XIX of 1943, by which, whole-time executive officers had been appointed to all major Panchayats, and such of the minor Boards as had been notified by Government in this behalf. In April 1946, the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1946 was published along the lines of the bill of 1941, with some modifications.

The power of Collector in the matter of supervision and control of Panchayats in the District was retained, though he was to function, subject to the control of the Registrar-General, who was to be the provincial supervising authority in the place of the Board of Revenue, originally provided in the Bill of 1941. The ex-officio membership of the Village Headman and his eligibility to exercise the presidential functions in the absence of the President or Vice-President through the Karanam as Honorary executive authority of the minor Panchayats, assigned in the Bill of 1941 was dropped out. The clauses for the Amendment Act of 1943 providing for the appointment of whole-time executive officers for notified Panchayats, had been incorporated in the new Act also. The provision made in the Bill of 1941 for nomination of members had been retained, though it was to be resorted to only in special circumstances, such as fraction or disorder in the village. [622]

But this Act was kept in abeyance while the Congress Ministry were thinking of introducing a thoroughly new Act.

At the time of the survey in 1947, the Panchayats were being governed by the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930. There had been no elections since 1939. Only the old Panchayats were continuing in power.

Literacy: Literacy test to the members of the Panchayats was never seriously taken by the Madras Government. Only the Vice-president and the President were found to be invariably literate except in a few instances, and even there, local importance and weight of authority served as the best springs of administrative efficiency rather than the test of literacy. 212 623

The Election of the Panchayat President: This sometimes led to village disturbances and party factions, but, the remedy did not appear to get him elected by the villagers as a whole, instead of by the Panchayat. 666 578

Village Officials: The idea of associating the village officers: the Karanams and the Munsif, as the ex-officio members of the Panchayat attracted the attention of the framers of the Madras Panchayat Bill of 1941, "in order that their experience and influence may be at the disposal of the Panchayat," but, this was strongly opposed by the reformers of the Local Self Government who felt that these village officers were no longer the natural leaders, but salaried officials of the Government and hence unfit to participate in matters of village administration entrusted to a purely honorary body. Another reason that was often adduced against them was that both of them might generally be leaders of two opposing parties and their entrance into the Panchayat would simply wreck its working. 624

Executive of the Panchayat: Under the amendment of the Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government of Madras appointed executive officers to Panchayats. The executive authority had 1. to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, 2. to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers specifically imposed or conferred on the executive authority by the Act; in fact, whenever it was expressly so provided for the sanction of the Board and subject to all other restrictions, limitations and conditions hereinafter imposed, 3. to exercise the executive power, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act and 4. to be directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the Act. (Sec. 24-B of the amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act 1943). He was to carry out all the resolutions passed by the Panchayat, but this obligation was limited to legal resolutions alone. 642 647

The executive officer was the custodian of all Government Records though the President had free access to them. All the official correspondence addressed to the District Board, or the Provincial Government had to pass through the President. While

647 the executive officer could participate and discuss in the meetings
642 of the Panchayats, he had no right of voting or moving any Resolution.

647 There were three grades in the pay scales of the executive
465 officers. The 1st grade Panchayats were those with an income of Rs. 20,000/- or above; they had executive officers on a pay of Rs. 80/- to Rs. 100/-. The 2nd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 10,000/- to 20,000/- had their executive officers on a scale of Rs. 65/- to Rs. 80/- whereas the 3rd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 5,000/- to Rs. 10,000/- paid Rs. 50/-to Rs. 65/- per mensum to their executive officers. These officers were directly recruited, trained and sent to the Panchayats by the Inspector of Local Boards except in a few cases where clerks from District Boards were also promoted as executive officers.

647 The executive officer and the Panchayat had an irreconcilable
623 hostility as a general rule. This had been the lot of most Panchayats, since legislation did not definitely describe their relative position and responsibilities.

The minor Panchayats had no executive officers. They had usually either part-time clerks or village teachers as their executives. In some places, the clerk of the cooperative society was also the executive of the Panchayat. There was no uniform practice in this regard among the minor Panchayats. In any contemplated reform the position of the executive with regard to the minor Panchayats too, must be finally decided.

Previous to the appointment of the executive officer, the appointment of the establishment personnel was entirely a concern of the President and the members of the Panchayat. But, since his appointment, the recruitment of the staff was handed over to him and he was to appoint the clerks, bill collectors, mistries, sanitary inspectors, and overseers, subject to the consent of the departmental heads concerned. This method had been devised to save the Panchayat staff, from being entirely at the mercy of the members of the Panchayat, who would have appointed them today and dismissed them tomorrow or forced them to become parties to village politics, supporting one party against the other. To keep up the integrity of the Panchayat, the services were now provincialised, and the staff members could also be transferred from one Panchayat to another.

692 The Village Panchayat Courts were for a group of villages with powers to try cases upto Rs. 200/- without legal practitioners. The Court Members were elected by all adult residents in the village. The number of members varied from 5 to 12 and each member held office for 3 years.

311 Forest Panchayats were elected by the cattle-owners of the village and then the Panchayat elected its President. The Forest Panchayats were allowed to levy fees for grazing and fuel collection, and then they were vested with certain statutory powers. They were under the control of the Revenue Department.

312 Besides these, there were Irrigation Panchayats elected by all landholders of the village who got water from the sluice. These were under the control of the Revenue Dapartment.

871 Then there were the Village Panchayat Schools. Each village with a population of 500 or more could, on application, have a grant of Rs. 180/- for a school-teacher and an initial grant of Rs. 80/- to start a school in the Panchayat area. There were about 800 Panchayat Schools in Madras by about 1928.

642 ● Last, but not the least, was the jurisdiction of the Panchayat in its present constitutional set up. The Statute in force did not allow the Village Panchayats any control over the Panchayat Court or Irrigation Panchayat or Forest Panchayat, wherever they existed, though Panchayat Schools alone were entrusted to Village Panchayats wherever they existed. These are discussed in latter sections of this chapter.

B. Finance: (Table No. 19)

651 **Local Fund Cess:** This was the main source of income to Panchayats in Madras as everywhere else. It was usually 1/6th of the total local fund cess of the Local Boards, soon after the abolition of the Taluk Boards in 1934, it was increased to 1/5th of the District Board Cess. But, the grant of the local fund cess to Panchayats was not based on any rational principle of local finance. In fact, the proportion, each Panchayat got, bore no relation to population, prosperity, poverty or administrative requirements. While a Panchayat situated in an irrigated area got local fund cess as its share, in proportion to the larger land revenue collected from the village. Panchayats existing in the dry areas got positively less local fund cess, in view of the lesser land revenue collected therein.

schemes of administration which were conducive to social welfare in the local areas and when once the Panchayat was rehabilitated, fresh elections were held and it was given over to the new Board. This suspersession of the working of the village body by its own elected representation was considered to be a punishment for the village which did not play fair with the functions entrusted to it. 623 [687]

Audit of the Panchayat Boards: The major Panchayats were audited once in a year by the lower grade sub-ordinate staff of the Accountant General's Office, while the minor Panchayats were audited by the District Panchayat Officers. But the inadequacy of audit staff left the position of acounts in a very unsatisfactory state.

D. Supervision and Control: The District Boards, the District and Assistant Panchayat Officers supervised the working of the village Panchayats. Usually there was one District Panchayat Officer with one or two assistants under him in each district. As they had to do in addition to supervision, inspection work regarding elections and propaganda also, the time left at their disposal for Panchayat supervision was not much with the result several Panchayats remained uninspected for a long time.

PART III

Observations

A. Structure: The classification with regard to the grades of Panchayats was not systematic. Panchayats which for long ceased to be in the 3rd grade and could be placed in the 2nd grade and the 2nd to 1st grade were not changed but were retained in their old grades. No attempt was ever made to regularise this procedure. There was also no proportion between the population of the Panchayats and their membership. The provision of the seats for the depressed classes, Harijans and Muslims was strictly in accordance with the proportion to their population. Women members were totally absent. Ex-officio membership of the Munsif was provided but later on was eliminated on the pretext that his co-option on the Panchayat might intensify village politics. This did not appear to be justifiable because his elimination from the Panchayat meant the loss of his useful services and those of his hereditary servants. Devoid of any share in Panchayat administration the village officials just did the revenue and police work entrusted to them and remained outside the current day to day administration of the village. The salaries paid to them and to their hereditary servants were very unattractive. Besides the Inams they 642 623

642 623 [666] had, they got usally no other remuneration. Still they continued to do the village watch and ward and police work too. In view of the declining importance given to them so far, they had to be properly readjusted in the new village set up. The method of election in the major Panchayats was by ballot, but in the minor Panchayats election by show of hands was the practice in the majority of cases. Representation by wards or hamlets was in existence only in some of the Panchayats, but to avoid village conflicts the system was highly desired by most of them. Panchayats were not found in all villages which were fit to be Panchayats as their formation was not compulsory according to the statute. Cast composition of the Panchayats was predominently Non-Brahmins. There appeared to be some difficulty in filling up the casual vacancies as no regular reports were sent to the Panchayat Officer. One Panchayat in one village seems to be a better practice though no difficulty was seen even in the working of Joint Panchayats. Election versus nomination of members in the matter of superseded Panchayats was for long a matter of controversy; some like Mr. K. Jayaraman (in A study of Madras Panchayats) upholding a nominated Panchayat and others holding a fresh election to the Panchayat to be a better solution. Instead of these two, the best thing appears to be to leave the matter in the hands of an administrator for sometime. As the nominated bodies would not be expected to look to the daily administrative work of the Panchayats, it is a relief that executive officers are appointed to these Panchayats.

The different village authorities like the Village Panchayat, the Panchayat Court, the Panchayat School, the Irrigation and Forest Panchayats worked with separate constitutions under the control of separate authorities. It is a matter for earnest consideration whether all functions cannot be entrusted to a single Panchayat with expanded membership and more sub-committees to look after these different functions.

Again as there is no statutory obligation for the creation of Panchayats for a village of a fixed population as in Bombay, their progress stands to be slow.

651 **B. Finance**: The revenues at the disposal of the Madras Panchayats were more in comparison to those at the disposal of Panchayats in other States.

The share of the local fund cess distribution to the Panchayats was not based on any scientific basis; a Village Panchayat situated in an irrigated area got more, while a Panchayat in a dry

651 Sometimes a good deal of income was also lost by Panchayats due to non-imposition of cart and bus stand fees. Though 90 per cent of the entertainment tax proceeds were given to the Panchayats after deducting 10 per cent by the Commercial sales tax department towards collection expenses, still some of them demanded the right of collection too, as they expected to collect it at lesser cost. Again revised rates of profession tax only meant an unnecssary sacrifice of useful local revenue to Panchayats and these could be revived with profit. Registration surcharges need to be collected more rigorously by the Panchayats. Vehicle tax and animal tax ought to be made obligatory, instead of being optional.

A good deal of disparity existed in the case of license fees too, both in the number of articles on which they were imposed as well as the rates at which they were collected. They differed between wide extremes from Panchayat to Panchayat. Panchayats were not properly surveyed before encroachments were booked. Proper care was always not taken before enforcing Food Adulteration Act with the result, the benefits were not commensurate with the expenditure incurred for the examination of the samples of adulterated food stuffs. Money was also lost by Panchayats because of the non-imposition of octroi duties, sales tax in fairs and festivals, pilgrim tax, forfeiture of income from bull fights and similar other local entertainments.

642 647 **C Functions**: Due to an amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government had appointed executive officers to all the major Panchayats, to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers entrusted to them. But the legislation was not clear cut in regard to the position of the executive officer's powers, his status vis-a-vis the Panchayat. Whether he was superior or sub-ordinate to the Panchayat or independent of its control was also never made clear. While his pay and allowances were met with by the Panchayat, he was appointed, transferred, punished or removed only by the Provincial Government. While the Panchayats felt that the executive officers were sub-ordinate to them, some executive officers felt that they were independent of Panchayats, while some others thought themselves to be superior to Panchayats. To add to the curious ambiguity of their position, the pay and emoluments of these officials were also very low, with the result, that it was very difficult to attract the best young men for this service. They had a few powers like making appointments of the staff instead of allowing this to be done

by the Panchayat Board. This was intended to prevent nepotism and party politics in the matter of official appointments. But this change in the method of appointment alone would not attract better staff unless the existing poor salary scales of the Panchayat staff are revised for the better. 642 647

The Panchayat staff should also not be allowed to be stationary, but with a view to gaining experience, they should be transferred at least from one Panchayat to another in the same district, while the executive officer, supervisor, sanitary inspector, mistry could be made to move throughout the division which was equivalent to ¼th area of Province as the present scales of pay do not allow them to move with comfort to longer distances. The creation of a Local Board Civil Service and recruitment of staff through the Public Service Commission by examination may prove better than leaving the appointments to the discretion of the executive officer because even he could be accused of partiality as the village Panchayats are always full of party politics. Panchayats expect the executive officer to join one side or the other and if he does not do that, make life impossible for him. His statutary position is such that he cannot stear clear of all such obligations and still be independent. While the Panchayats want them to be at their mercy, to appoint them and to dismiss them as they like; the executive officers prefer the total absence of any Panchayat control over them. They want to remain State servants, appointed, punished and dismissed only by the State. There was overwhelming evidence to support such a claim. There were instances where the executive officers had run away when they were dastardly attacked by the Panchayat members because their vested interests were touched. Another executive officer was threatened with death by a Panchayat member who raided his house at midnight, because of the higher rates he charged to his favourite hotel keeper. The executive officer in another Panchayat had to literally run away from the Panchayat Board to the Railway Station to save his life from the dangerous fury of the Panchayat members for having converted the house tax valuation from capital to rental basis. Another Panchayat sent wires to the Inspector of Local Boards and the Local Government Minister, stating that the Executive Officer had absconded with funds and a dead-lock was created in the working of the Panchayat, when he was only in a town and went there to see the District Collector. 623 [624] 578 647

None of the Panchayats either major or minor were able to undertake all the obligatory and optional functions. 623

Table No. 18—Constitutional Aspects of the Village Panchayats in Madras

Serial No.	Name of the Village	District	Date of Starting	Grade	Population	Number of Members	Reserve Seats: Muslims	Reserve Seats: Christians	Reserve Seats: Harijans	Reserve Seats: Women	Ex-officio Members †	Method of Voting ‡	Brahmins	Kshatriyas	Kapus	Kammas	Telagas	Lingayats	Weavers	Komatis	Kamsalas	Artisans	Reddis	Adi-Andhras	Muslims	Christians	Hamlets	Wards
1	Amalapuram	E. Godavari	1890	I	30000	16	2	...	1	...	...	B	2	...	6	...	2	...	...	3	...	...	...	1	2	...	2	14
2	Tuni	,,	1883	I	13053	15	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	13
3	Bhimavaram	W. Godavari	1892	I	32000	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	9
4	Narsapur	,,	1894	I	30000	14	1	1	1	...	...	B	8	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	11
5	Guntakal	Anantapur	1916	I	36000	16	1	...	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	13
6	Mandapeta	E. Godavari	1891	II	13010	16	1	...	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	11
7	Rameshandrapuram	,,	1894	II	12868	14	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	11
8	Tadepalligudam	W. Godavari	1932	II	13000	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	12
9	Tanuku	,,	1894	II	15000	15	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	...	2	5	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	12
10	Nidadavol	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Vuyyuru	Kistna	1894	II	10000	8	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	3	...	2	9
12	Nuzvid	,,	...	II	14000	15	2	1	...	...	...	B	...	...	...	3	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	13
13	Jaggayapeta	,,	1896	II	12000	16	1	1	...	...	...	B	2	1	3	5	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	14
14	Kovvur	W. Godavari	1869	II	9933	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	8
15	Velpur	,,	1918	III	10046	13	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	2	11
16	Attili	,,	1894	,,	9811	10	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	8
17	Undi	,,	1919	,,	6385	9	...	...	...	...	...	B	...	2	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	8
18	Akividu	,,	1895	,,	9872	12	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	3	...	2	8
19	Achanta	,,	1884	,,	15000	10	...	1	1	...	...	B	...	1	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	10
20	Penukonda	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21	Peatapadu	,,	1894	,,	7931	9	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	3	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	2	8
22	Ganapavaram	,,	...	,,	8000	11	1	1	1	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11
23	Razole	E. Godavari	1914	,,	5897	11	1	...	1	...	...	B	4	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	7
24	Gudur	Kistna	1917	,,	4810	10	...	...	...	...	...	B	1	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	8
25	Pedana	,,	1890	,,	10000	16	1	1	1	...	...	B	1	1	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	14
26	Kantaram	,,	1917	,,	4600	11	...	...	...	...	S O	B	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	9
27	Pamaru	,,	1894	,,	10000	14	1	...	...	...	...	B	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	1	3	...	...	...	2	6

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(*Table No. 18—Contd.*)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	District	Date of Starting	Grade	Population	Number of Members	Reserve Seats				Ex-officio Members †	Method of Voting ‡	Brahmins	Kshatriyas	Kapus	Kammas	Telugas	Lingayats	Weavers	Kamatis	Kamsalas	Artisans	Reddis	Adi-Andhras	Muslims	Christians	Hamlets	Wards
							Muslims	Christians	Harijans	Women																		
28	Parvatipuram	Vizagapatam	1887	III	20000	13	1	1	1	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	13
29	Bobbili	,,	1886	,,	21670	16	1	1	1	...	...	E	1	3	3	...	3	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
30	Salur	,,	,,	,,	20580	16	1	...	...	...	...	E	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	14
31	Madugula	,,	,,	,,	8364	11	...	...	...	...	...	E	4	3	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	9
32	Chodavaram	,,	,,	,,	11341	13	...	...	1	...	...	E	4	3	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	12
33	Kasimkot	,,	1867	,,	8000	13	1	1	1	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	13
34	Yellamanchili	,,	,,	,,	14075	13	1	1	1	...	...	E	2	2	1	2	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	4	11
35	Dharmavaram	Anantapur	1886	,,	16000	13	1	1	...	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	9
36	Kadiri	,,	...	,,	16033	14	1	1	1	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	13
37	Gooty	,,	1838	,,	15000	16	1	1	2	...	S.O.	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	13
38	Penu Konda	,,	1886	,,	5906	13	1	...	1	...	...	E	4	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	5	5	11
39	Dhone	Kurnool	1886	,,	15000	11	1	1	...	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	9
40	Nandikotkur	,,	1894	,,	10000	11	1	...	1	...	...	E	...	...	1	1	...	2	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
41	Pattikonda	,,	1894	,,	10000	13	1	...	1	...	...	E	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
42	Maddikera	,,	1892	,,	10600	14	1	...	1	...	...	E	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
43	Kampli	Bellary	1896	,,	7891	15	1	1	1	...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	10
44	Bayadrug	,,	1896	,,	13580	15	1	1	1	...	...	E	1	2	...	1	1	2	4	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45	Valluru	E. Godavari	1939	Minor	3000	11	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
46	Alamuru	,,	1924	,,	5000	11	...	1	1	...	...	S	3	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...
47	Yeditha	,,	1933	,,	8000	16	...	...	1	...	...	S	...	...	...	7	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
48	Kapileswarapuram	,,	1827	,,	8000	15	1	1	1	...	...	S	3	...	7	3	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	14
49	Palivela	,,	1940	,,	1500	11	1	...	1	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
50	Addi	,,	1929	,,	2000	13	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
51	Bodasakurru	,,	...	,,	4800	15	...	...	3	...	...	S	3	...	3	4	4	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
52	Kotapeta	,,	1894	,,	12000	9	...	...	1	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
53	Pullelikurru	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54	Balantram	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

55	Venkatayapalem	E. Godavari	...	Minor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56	Isaparru	W. Godavari	1936	,,	2700	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
57	Itempudi	,,	1929	,,	1000	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
58	Vasadi	,,	1931	,,	3500	9	...	...	...	...	...	S	1	3	1	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
59	Pittala-Vemavaram	,,	1922	,,	2800	11	1	...	...	...	...	S	...	2	1	1	5	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
60	Gogoti	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
61	Mukkamala	,,	1917	,,	3298	15	...	...	...	...	...	S	1	...	...	5	1	...	1	3	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
62	Palakoderu	,,	...	,,	4400	11	...	1	1	...	...	S	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
63	Kandavilli	,,	1932	,,	7000	16	...	1	1	...	...	S	2	4	5	...	1	...	...	...	4	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
64	Aravalli	,,	1927	,,	3600	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	9	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
65	Kothavalasa	Vizagapatam	1929	,,	5000	15	1	1	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
66	Bhogapuram	,,	1929	,,	4800	13	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
67	K. Jagannadhapur	,,	1935	,,	5800	13	1	...	1	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	6	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
68	Vadada	,,	1938	,,	4000	15	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
69	Pedabogila	,,	1939	,,	5000	12	1	1	1	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
70	Sitanagaram	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...
71	Choudavada	,,	1934	,,	4000	14	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
72	Gokavaram	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
73	Bayyavaram	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
74	Govada	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
75	Bukkapatnam	Anantpur	1891	,,	1000	8	...	...	...	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
76	Bukkarayasamudram	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
77	Brahmanayeleru	,,	1920	,,	1400	9	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	2	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
78	Konakondla	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
79	Lepakshi	,,	1927	,,	3123	8	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5
80	Gorantala	,,	1926	,,	3000	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
81	Kallur	Kurnool	1933	,,	1400	9	...	...	...	...	...	S	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
82	Jobsrapuram	,,	...	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
83	Veldurti	,,	1929	,,	4500	12	...	...	...	...	...	S	2	2	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
84	Betamcherla	,,	1884	,,	8000	13	1	1	...	...	...	B	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	1	1	...	4	12	...	...	...	...
85	Gudur	,,	...	,,	6000	14	1	1	...	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	11	...	...	...	...
86	Muddapur	Bellary	1940	,,	1000	8	...	...	...	...	...	B	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Note: Total of members by caste-wise composition differed from the number of members on the Board as the difference was due to unfilled in vacancies.

† S. O. — Special Officer.

‡ B.—Ballot and S.—Show of Hand.

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Section IV: Irrigation Panchayats in Madras

PART I

Administrative and Legislative Position on the Eve of Enquiry

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A. Structure: Irrigation was looked after not by the usual Village Panchayat Boards, but by separate Panchayats called the Irrigation Panchayats with separate constitution, finance and powers, working under the supervision and control of the Revenue Department and the Board of Revenue.

It was difficult to trace the regular historical evolution of these Irrigation Panchayats. The brief back-ground given here was based on the available information in the several Collectorates. It was found that the Irrigation Panchayats as such were very few in number, in the whole Presidency and even those few were to be found only in the Andhra Districts of Nellore, East and West Godavari, Kistna, Anantapur and Bellary. In 1913, there were about 8 Irrigation Boards in Nellore, Sarvepalli, Kovvur, Kavali, Ponnalur, Ravur, Kandukur, Karedu, Gudur and Kota. The constitution of the Irrigation [642] Board was given in G. O. No. 2311 dated 14th October, 1915 as below, as in the case of Sarvepalli. The Irrigation Board, consisted of village elders, was: 1. to manage irrigation under the reservoir; 2. to see that no field suffers for want of water at the cost of another; 3. to get all their difficulties removed by correspondence with the P. W. D. and Revenue; 4. to see that the rules were properly enforced; and 5. to exercise a general supervision over the work of the Panchayat and to guard specially that richer ryots were not benefitted at the expense of the poorer ryots and to supply labour to the P. W. D. on requisition.

The Board should meet at least once a year. Anybody feeling the necessity for a meeting was to inform the head Karnam about it, who would intimate to the delegates.

The members of the Board would elect among themselves a President and Secretary. Their duties were: 1. to discuss in the meetings all topics relating to irrigation of the locality; 2. to convey the decisions by the delegates to be signed by them; 3. to

312 communicate the decisions to all the ryots as well as to Tahsildars; 4. to inspect all the lands; 5. to inform the P. W. D. whenever action is to be taken; 6. to publicize the decision to all parts of the village; 7. to make one among the Board for presiding at the time of the meetings; 8. to treat the decision of the majority as the decision of the Board; 9. in case of equal voting to see that the President shall have the casting vote; and 10. if even on the requisition of the Collector, the Panchayat did not serve water, it would be fined.

The functions of the Karnam were: 1. to maintain a register of delegates; 2. to convene a meeting of the delegates with a notice; and 3. to maintain the attendance of the Board.

The electorate for the Irrigation Panchayat consisted of the Pattadars who would enjoy the water from the sluices and they elected 3 delegates for each sluice.

But when the opinion of the several District Collectors was invited for the advisability of adopting such a system, most of them were not in favour of it.

312 642 The Irrigation Panchayat Act was ultimately passed in 1928. According to G. O. 109, the constitution, powers and functions of these informal Panchayats were: 1. ryots owning cultivation lands and tenants or their nominees were the electorate; 2. Revenue Divisional Officer to convene a meeting of the electorate for the election of the Panchayatdars who would be not more than 5, such that at least one Panchayatdar from each village, served by irrigation source, should be on the Panchayat; 3. the working period was 3 years, but at the annual meeting under the presidentship of the Revenue Divisional Officer any one member can be removed on complaint; 4. the President of the Panchayat was to be elected by them; 5. the, meetings of the Panchayat should be held at least once a month presence of 3 members being treated as quorum; 6. the date of meeting to be intimated 3 days in advance in a public place and copies of the minutes of meetings were to be sent to the Collector and Executive Engineer; 7. the District Collector could dissolve any Irrigation Panchayat without offering any reasons; 8. the Irrigation Panchayat would regulate the manner and order in which the wet-lands under the channel should be irrigated, the time at which the supply of water should commence, the period during which the supply of water should continue and the quantity of water to be supplied, the supply let into the channel would be determined by the officers of the P. W. D.;

9. the Irrigation Panchayats should not effect any alterations to sluices or masonary works or make any alterations in the channels or interfere with any headworks; 10. the Panchayat shall be responsible for keeping water over the bund during the rainy seasons; 11. the Panchayat should make good any damage to the bund sluice, head-work etc., resulting from their mismanagement; 12. the Government may sanction a grant for the up-keep of the channels and masonry works; and 13. the Panchayat should maintain an account of expenditure and receipts.

B. Finance: The Government gave them small annual grants. As these were usually very meagre, the Irrigation Panchayats depended to a great extent on the funds they collected by way of subscriptions from the local ryots for the improvement and repairs of irrigation sources.

C. Functions: The functions of the Irrigation Panchayat were to see that richer ryots did not get more water at the expense of the poorer ryots, to keep the water sluices in order, to send intimations to the Public Works Department in time and to make representations in the matter of any difficulty.

D. Supervision and Control: Irrigation Panchayat supervision was entrusted to the Revenue and the Public Works Departments. They had to submit periodical reports of work to the Tahsildar or the Revenue Divisional Officer who was supposed to be their immediate superior authority.

PART II

Actual Conditions Revealed by the Survey

Irrigation Panchayats were at Brahmanayeleru in Anantpur, Bhimavaram and Cherukumilli in West Godavari, Jaggayapeta in Kistna, Kampli and five informal Irrigation Panchayats at Chinatam. balem, Avinamadugu, Daroji, Haganuru and Sirigupa in Bellary. Palem River Irrigation Scheme, a registered cooperatived society since 1927, would deserve special mention as it was first of its type in the Presidency.

A. Structure: The membership of these Irrigation Panchayats varied from Panchayat to Panchayat. For instance, while Bhimavaram Irrigation Panchayat consisted of 5 members, Cherukumilli Irrigation Panchayat in the same district consisted of 10 members; while Kampli Irrigation Panchayat in Bellary consisted of 7 members, the Irrigation Panchayat of Brahmanayeleru in Anantapur consisted of 4 members,

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Section V: Forest Panchayats in Madras

PART I

Administrative and Legislative Position on the Eve of Enquiry

311 Forest Panchayats in Madras can be traced back to 1912 when the Forest Committee recommended the formation of Forest Panchayats in the interest of economy and of bringing together the villagers and the Government. Establishment of Forest Panchayat was announced by a Gazette Notification to the villagers. It was considered good to choose single village as the area of a Forest Panchayat, but sometimes it was considered more advantageous to club together more villages with their grazing areas and to place these under a single Forest Panchayat elected by the conference of the villagers.

The Revenue Divisional Officer or his deputies went to the village for conducting elections. The number of seats was determined by the number of cattle owners in the village. Efforts were to be made as far as possible to represent members of all the communities. In the case of Forest Panchayats in South Canara, where the forest was used for leaf cutting alone, the body of the electors consisted of permit holders only.

[642] B. S. O. 195 of Madras gave all the details regarding the elections, finances, functions and supervision of the Forest Panchayats. The position of the Forest Panchayats during 1930–40 was as given in Table No. 21.

A. Structure: The resident cattle owners of the village were to form the electorate to elect the members of the Forest Panchayat and the Panchayat, its President. The Government transferred to these Forest Panchayats the management of forests with a view to create interest in the ryots for the preservation of areas entrusted to them. Usually an agreement was entered into between the Government and the management whereby the Panchayat was authorised to issue a specified number of grazing permits, to collect grazing fees at stipulated rates, and to enjoy minor forest produce. In return the Panchayat agreed to protect the forest from illegal grazing and goat browsing, fire accidents by employing sufficient number of watchers and also to pay to the Government a fixed rent every year for the forest

Literacy: Literacy test to the members of the Panchayats was never seriously taken by the Madras Government. Only the Vice-president and the President were found to be invariably literate except in a few instances, and even there, local importance and weight of authority served as the best springs of administrative efficiency rather than the test of literacy. 212 623

The Election of the Panchayat President: This sometimes led to village disturbances and party factions, but, the remedy did not appear to get him elected by the villagers as a whole, instead of by the Panchayat. 666 578

Village Officials: The idea of associating the village officers: the Karanams and the Munsif, as the ex-officio members of the Panchayat attracted the attention of the framers of the Madras Panchayat Bill of 1941, "in order that their experience and influence may be at the disposal of the Panchayat," but, this was strongly opposed by the reformers of the Local Self Government who felt that these village officers were no longer the natural leaders, but salaried officials of the Government and hence unfit to participate in matters of village administration entrusted to a purely honorary body. Another reason that was often adduced against them was that both of them might generally be leaders of two opposing parties and their entrance into the Panchayat would simply wreck its working. 624

Executive of the Panchayat: Under the amendment of the Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government of Madras appointed executive officers to Panchayats. The executive authority had 1. to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, 2. to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers specifically imposed or conferred on the executive authority by the Act; in fact, whenever it was expressly so provided for the sanction of the Board and subject to all other restrictions, limitations and conditions hereinafter imposed, 3. to exercise the executive power, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act and 4. to be directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the Act. (Sec. 24-B of the amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act 1943). He was to carry out all the resolutions passed by the Panchayat, but this obligation was limited to legal resolutions alone. 642 647

The executive officer was the custodian of all Government Records though the President had free access to them. All the official correspondence addressed to the District Board, or the Provincial Government had to pass through the President. While

647 the executive officer could participate and discuss in the meetings
642 of the Panchayats, he had no right of voting or moving any Resolution.

647 There were three grades in the pay scales of the executive
465 officers. The 1st grade Panchayats were those with an income of Rs. 20,000/- or above; they had executive officers on a pay of Rs. 80/- to Rs. 100/-. The 2nd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 10,000/- to 20,000/- had their executive officers on a scale of Rs. 65/- to Rs. 80/- whereas the 3rd grade Panchayats with income of Rs. 5,000/- to Rs. 10,000/- paid Rs. 50/-to Rs. 65/- per mensum to their executive officers. These officers were directly recruited, trained and sent to the Panchayats by the Inspector of Local Boards except in a few cases where clerks from District Boards were also promoted as executive officers.

647 The executive officer and the Panchayat had an irreconcilable
623 hostility as a general rule. This had been the lot of most Panchayats, since legislation did not definitely describe their relative position and responsibilities.

The minor Panchayats had no executive officers. They had usually either part-time clerks or village teachers as their executives. In some places, the clerk of the cooperative society was also the executive of the Panchayat. There was no uniform practice in this regard among the minor Panchayats. In any contemplated reform the position of the executive with regard to the minor Panchayats too, must be finally decided.

Previous to the appointment of the executive officer, the appointment of the establishment personnel was entirely a concern of the President and the members of the Panchayat. But, since his appointment, the recruitment of the staff was handed over to him and he was to appoint the clerks, bill collectors, mistries, sanitary inspectors, and overseers, subject to the consent of the departmental heads concerned. This method had been devised to save the Panchayat staff, from being entirely at the mercy of the members of the Panchayat, who would have appointed them today and dismissed them tomorrow or forced them to become parties to village politics, supporting one party against the other. To keep up the integrity of the Panchayat, the services were now provincialised, and the staff members could also be transferred from one Panchayat to another.

income of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 per annum, the 2nd grade with an income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 and 3rd grade with an income of upto Rs. 10,000. Panchayats with Rs. 5,000 income were classified as minor Panchayats. The first 3 were called the major Panchayats and they had executive officer, while minor Panchayats had no executive officers. 623 652

Grades of the Executive Officers: The grade of the executive officer in the 1st grade Panchayats was from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100, of 2nd grade Panchayats from Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 and of 3rd grade Panchayats from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. They were the servants of the Provincial Government working under the Local Boards. The Panchayats could not have any control over their executives. The executive officer was the chief executive of the Panchayat. He was to guide the Board in constitutional matters, put the resolutions before it for discussion and execute them according to its decision. He attended the meetings of the Panchayat, but was not allowed to vote. He was liable for transfer to any place in the Province. This meant a great hardship as the salary paid to him was too meagre to enable him to live in far off places from his native town. His pay, travelling allowance, dearness allowance and contributions to provident fund were all met by the Panchayat and the State Government paid nothing towards his maintenance. 647 [465] 623

Executive Officer and the Staff: The executive officer had under him a number of people like the sanitary inspector, the mistries, the supervisor for public works, vaccinators, compounders, midwives, bill collectors, not to speak of the clerical staff and menial staff like the scavengers, thotties, sweepers, lighters, peons, watchmen, etc. He was the appointing authority for staff beneath the clerical grade. The posts of the sanitary inspectors and overseers were advertised by him. They were to be appointed and paid by Panchayat with the approval and sanction of the District Health Officer and the District Engineer. But administratively they were subordinate to the executive officer and had to carry out the duties allotted to them by him. The sanitary inspector would have to look to matters of village sanitation, vaccination, administration of D. N. O. Licenses slaughter houses, clearance of sewage water, cleansing of gutters, cleansing of private and public latrines, etc. Similarly the overseer had to look to the execution of the public works all subject to the general supervision of the executive officer. 624 647

Executive Officers and Panchayat Boards: As a fact, the executive officers and the Panchayat Boards had a very strange relation. The executive officers were a much hated and an unhappy lot in the 647 623 578

647 623 578 Panchayat : while the Panchayat wanted to dominate them the executive officers placed themselves too high above the Panchayat and regarded themselves sometimes as fallen angels. There were several instances, where the Boards tried to harass the executive officers and the executive officers tried in return to take vengeance on them.

623 **Obligatory and Optional Functions of the Panchayats:** The administrative functions of the Panchayats were divided into two types: obligatory and optional. The obligatory functions included: public works, maintenance and construction of culverts, bridges and roads, burning and burial grounds, provision of water supply, parks, library and newspapers, lighting, public health and conservancy, slaughter houses, managements of fairs and festivals. While the optional functions were plantation of trees, provision of radio, arrangements with regard to infectious diseases, medical relief and donation, etc. Very often the funds of the Panchayats were spent to a large extent on salaries, office contingencies, dearness allowance, and travelling allowance, with little left over for discharging duties either obligatory or optional. (vide Table No. 20)

663 **Public Works :** The arrangements made by the village Panchayats for the construction and maintenance of roads, water tanks, sluices, channels and buildings constituted some of the important items of public works. In most of the villages in South India, provision of water supply and systematic arrangements with regard to maintenance of tanks and distribution of water to fields and settling of disputes arising out of it, were considered to be the functions of the village Panchayats. This was done by the contribution of communal labour according to which every resident of the community was to contribute his share to the maintenance of local public works. Employment of compulsory forced labour for execution of public works like tanks, canals, buildings and roads was a time-honoured custom in South India which continued even today.

Construction of roads and tanks was done by the employment of paid labour alone. But the Panchayats were not at liberty to undertake any work they liked. The Panchayats were generally authorised to undertake public works upto Rs. 250 without the necessity of the sanction of the higher authorities.

Some of the major Panchayats in the Circars and Nellore District had their own overseers and staff like the mistry on their establishment, paid them from their funds and got their works exe-

651 Sometimes a good deal of income was also lost by Panchayats due to non-imposition of cart and bus stand fees. Though 90 per cent of the entertainment tax proceeds were given to the Panchayats after deducting 10 per cent by the Commercial sales tax department towards collection expenses, still some of them demanded the right of collection too, as they expected to collect it at lesser cost. Again revised rates of profession tax only meant an unnecessary sacrifice of useful local revenue to Panchayats and these could be revived with profit. Registration surcharges need to be collected more rigorously by the Panchayats. Vehicle tax and animal tax ought to be made obligatory, instead of being optional.

A good deal of disparity existed in the case of license fees too, both in the number of articles on which they were imposed as well as the rates at which they were collected. They differed between wide extremes from Panchayat to Panchayat. Panchayats were not properly surveyed before encroachments were booked. Proper care was always not taken before enforcing Food Adulteration Act with the result, the benefits were not commensurate with the expenditure incurred for the examination of the samples of adulterated food stuffs. Money was also lost by Panchayats because of the non-imposition of octroi duties, sales tax in fairs and festivals, pilgrim tax, forfeiture of income from bull fights and similar other local entertainments.

642 647 **C Functions**: Due to an amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government had appointed executive officers to all the major Panchayats, to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers entrusted to them. But the legislation was not clear cut in regard to the position of the executive officer's powers, his status vis-a-vis the Panchayat. Whether he was superior or sub-ordinate to the Panchayat or independent of its control was also never made clear. While his pay and allowances were met with by the Panchayat, he was appointed, transferred, punished or removed only by the Provincial Government. While the Panchayats felt that the executive officers were sub-ordinate to them, some executive officers felt that they were independent of Panchayats, while some others thought themselves to be superior to Panchayats. To add to the curious ambiguity of their position, the pay and emoluments of these officials were also very low, with the result, that it was very difficult to attract the best young men for this service. They had a few powers like making appointments of the staff instead of allowing this to be done

by the Panchayat Board. This was intended to prevent nepotism and party politics in the matter of official appointments. But this change in the method of appointment alone would not attract better staff unless the existing poor salary scales of the Panchayat staff are revised for the better. 642 647

The Panchayat staff should also not be allowed to be stationary, but with a view to gaining experience, they should be transferred at least from one Panchayat to another in the same district, while the executive officer, supervisor, sanitary inspector, mistry could be made to move throughout the division which was equivalent to ¼th area of Province as the present scales of pay do not allow them to move with comfort to longer distances. The creation of a Local Board Civil Service and recruitment of staff through the Public Service Commission by examination may prove better than leaving the appointments to the discretion of the executive officer because even he could be accused of partiality as the village Panchayats are always full of party politics. Panchayats expect the executive officer to join one side or the other and if he does not do that, make life impossible for him. His statutary position is such that he cannot stear clear of all such obligations and still be independent. While the Panchayats want them to be at their mercy, to appoint them and to dismiss them as they like; the executive officers prefer the total absence of any Panchayat control over them. They want to remain State servants, appointed, punished and dismissed only by the State. There was overwhelming evidence to support such a claim. There were instancer where the executive officers had run away when they were dastardly attacked by the Panchayat members because their vested interests were touched. Another executive officer was threatened with death by a Panchayat member who raided his house at midnight, because of the higher rates he charged to his favourite hotel keeper. The executive officer in another Panchayat had to literally run away from the Panchayat Board to the Railway Station to save his life from the dangerous fury of the Panchayat members for having converted the house tax valuation from capital to rental basis. Another Panchayat sent wires to the Inspector of Local Boards and the Local Government Minister, stating that the Executive Officer had absconded with funds and a dead-lock was created in the working of the Panchayat, when he was only in a town and went there to see the District Collector. 623 [624] 578 647

None of the Panchayats either major or minor were able to undertake all the obligatory and optional functions. 623

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

and functions to agents who acted for him. Now he gets a certain percentage of the total revenue collected in the village in lieu of the rent-free land. Thus, theoretically, the Deshmukh is both Mali Patel and Police Patel; but in actual practice these duties are carried out by his agents. In his capacity as Mali Patel of the village the Deshmukh takes steps to ensure the speedy collection of land revenue after each harvest and remits it to the district treasury. The Patwari can seek his assistance in matters connected with the land records and revenue of the village. For this he gets annually 5% of the total land revenue collected in the village. As Police Patel the Deshmukh is entitled to receive another 5% of the revenue collected during the year. In this capacity he has to send regular reports to the police regarding the occurrence of any crime in the village, keep an eye on the 'bad characters' and watch the activities of suspicious strangers. He maintains records of births and deaths in the village. It is his duty to assist the police in all possible ways in their investigations regarding criminal offences in the village. The other officials, such as the sub-inspector of police, head constables, constables and schoolmasters, are not a permanent part of the local population, and as such they do not generally get mixed up in local politics and other affairs. The police officials enjoy both prestige and power and are, in general, greatly feared by the people.

The Patwari, in spite of the fact that he is a petty revenue and land records official, occupies a pivotal position in the village and plays a very significant part in local politics. Being in charge of the land records, he can manipulate things both to the advantage and disadvantage of landowners, who often consult him and ask his advice. Of Patwaris in general it is said, 'What will they not do for a consideration? Give them money and they will prove their own father a bastard.' The present Patwari of Shamirpet is, for one in his position, a man of more than average intelligence and is himself a careful and substantial cultivator who owns some 247 acres of land jointly with his brother. He receives no salary from the government, nor does he have any rent-free land, but a certain percentage of the total land revenue is fixed by the government as his remuneration for the work.

All villages in Hyderabad State, as do most of those of middle and peninsular India, have a number of village menials. Their functions in the internal organization of the village are of two

THE CHANGING SCENE

000 well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

178 621 The Police Action undertaken by the Indian Union in 1948 changed the fortune and status of the State of Hyderabad. The most significant outcome was that political power changed hands —from an extremist communal party to the people of the State. It had a profound effect on the rural areas. However, sufficient time must elapse before we can evaluate its total influence on the life of the community. But it has set in motion certain trends which are not without interest to the student of social change in peasant communities.

178 578 621 The first definite change is that Muslims who occupied a privileged position during the former régime now no longer do so. On account of some of their un-neighbourly acts of terrorism during the last phase of extremist Muslim rule in the State some of them had become very unpopular. Fearing retaliation by the Hindus they ran away from the village temporarily. Now they have all returned. For some time they were jeered at and ridiculed, but at the time of our study cordiality had returned to the Hindu and Muslim sections of the population.

178 651 661 The second noticeable change is that under the administrative reforms initiated by the new administration forced labour and forced extraction of hospitality by government officials have been prohibited. In practice they still continue on a restricted scale. Government's decision to take determined steps against bribery and corruption has been announced; but firm action still remains to be taken in this direction.

423 178 Thirdly, the abolition of feudal estates has been a big step in the direction of land reform. With the end of the Jagirdari system Shamirpet has once again come under normal district administration. Further reforms ensuring a more equitable distribution of land, fixing a maximum limit on land holding and ending the evils of absentee landlordism are under contemplation. When these plans materialize substantial changes can be expected.

178 704 654 Fourthly, the government has intensified its welfare and nation-building activities. The village is to have a better school in the near future. The Public Health Department is already more active. The Agriculture and Veterinary departments are making a better planned and organized effort towards the introduction

of more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

652 financial position was very precarious (Sec. 25). The Act did not
623 provide for any compulsory taxes, though many sources were
642 suggested. Most of the Panchayats depended on collections from marriages, kolagaram taxes, taxes on artisans and loans, oil-mills, factories, rice mills, market fees and collections from temporary stalls and festivals etc. No coercion in the matter of these collections was ever allowed. The Registrar-General of Panchayats was in charge of supervision and control of these bodies.

642 The position was changed in 1930 with the passing of the Madras
623 Local Boards Act. While the existing office of the Registrar-General of Panchayats was abolished, in its place the office of the Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils was created with four Deputy Commissioners under him. For every district, a District Panchayat Officer and under him one or two Assistant Panchayat Officers were usually sanctioned.

A. Structure: With regard to the functions of the village Panchayat, there was no change. Even the electoral qualifications were the same as for the District Boards and Legislatures. Only the number of members was changed from 8 to 16 instead of from 7 to 15. But, even this had nothing to do with the proportion of local population in the village. Another change was the provision of reserve seats for Christians, Muslims and Harijans in the Panchayats. By section 49, a provision was made to supersede a Panchayat for one year or so, if its working was not satisfactory.

652 **B. Finance**: There was some improvement with regard to the
651 resources of the Panchayat. From 1930, 1/6 of the land cess was granted to Panchayats and from 1934, the period of the abolition of the Taluka Boards, this was increased to 1/5. Besides this, there was provision for house tax, sales tax, profession tax, festival tax, Pilgrim tax, tax on cart-stands, bus stands, fishery rentals, grass sales proceeds, fees from public markets, slaughter houses, licences from D. N. O. trades, fairs and festivals, ferry rentals, warrant and destraint fees, magisterial fines, fines for encroachment, fees from Public Resort Act, Food Adulteration Act, Town Nuisance Act, as extended from the District Municipalities Act, etc. (Vide Schedule 4 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930). To these later on, were added the entertainment tax, stamp duties, registration surcharges, income from usufruct of avenues, scavenging fees, grants-in-aid of education, public health, medical help, libraries, water supply, and public works. For long time the land cess remained to

be the main source of income to Local Boards, mainly the District Boards and Panchayats. 652 651

Besides these, there were other non-tax receipts like fees for choultries, scavenging rates, rates on threshing floors, sale proceeds of rubbish, sweeping, manure, grass on tank beds, and vezel, duties on harvested fields, fisheries, silt in the river bed, etc. The village annual fund called "Samudayam" existed in the Tamil Villages. Then there were special taxes like Kolagram or Mahimai for measurement, Kudi maramat for irrigation purposes, octroi and sales tax of 5½% on commodities, brought and sold in the village.

C. Functions: These were: 1. obligatory and 2. optional. 623 (Sections 112, 115 and 121).

Obligatory: The obligatory functions of the Panchayats were mentioned in Schedule 5 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930. They were: (a) the construction and maintenance of public roads within the limits of the village other than the portion of the district, (a') the establishment and maintenance of choultries within the limits of the village, (b) the lighting of all public roads and public places, (c) the opening and maintenance of libraries, (d) the construction of drains and disposal of drainage water and sewage, (e) the cleansing of streets, the removal of rubbish heaps, jungle growth and prickly-pear, the filling in of unused wells, insanitary ponds, pools, ditches, pits or hollows and other improvements of the sanitary condition of the village, (f) the provision of public latrines and arrangements to cleanse latrines whether public or private, (g) the opening and maintenance of burial and burning grounds, (h) the sinking and repairing of wells, the excavation, repair and maintenance of ponds or tanks for supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing purposes and the construction of bathing ghats, (i) the opening and maintenance of public slaughter house, (j) the opening and maintenance of public markets, other than classified as District Board markets, (k) the control of fairs and festivals other than fairs and festivals of the District Boards, serving the needs of an area wider than the village, which were classified as fairs and festivals, (l) the opening and maintenance of centres of physical culture, and (m) the opening and maintenance of parks.

Optional Duties. These were: (a) the planting and preservation of avenues on all public roads in the village not being district roads, (b) the opening and maintenance of public landing places, halting places and cart-stands, (c) the control of

623 threshing floors, topes, and other porambokes used by the villagers in common, (d) the extension of village-sites and regulation of building, (f) the registration of births and deaths, (g) the control of pounds, (h) village protection, (i) improvement of agricultural stock and agriculture, (j) the promotion and encouragement of cottage industries, (k) the opening and maintenance of elementary schools, (l) the establishment and maintenance of Panchayat dispensaries, (m) gratuities to its officers and servants, (n) contribution to Joint Committee under Section 30 for any purpose in which the Panchayat is jointly interested and all other measures of public utility calculated to promote the safety, health, comfort or convenience of the inhabitants of the village, which are not included in any of the clauses relating to the District Board (vide Schedule 5 of the M. L. B. Act, 1930).

[652] **D. Supervision and Control:** The Panchayats were to submit copies of their budgets to the District Board, to the Collector and to the Inspector of Local Boards at Madras. The District Board and the District Panchayat Officer were expected to scrutinise the several items of income and expenditure.

The District and Assistant Panchayat Officers were to supervise the working and report on their progress to the Inspector of Local Boards. The reports of the minutes of the meetings would be recorded and reported to the District Board. Whenever a Panchayat was not working properly, and continued to be in an unsatisfactory condition for long, Section 45-A provided for the supersession of that body for an year and sometimes to another six months, when the administration would be entrusted to a special officer.

642 623 [622] [624] [651] In 1941, the advisory regime in Madras wanted to introduce some reform in the matter of Panchayats and as such prepared a bill with the following provisions:— 1. introduction of ex-officio membership of the village headman, who was also to be eligible for Presidentship, 2. creation of whole-time executive officers for major Panchayats and the appointment of Village Karanams as Honorary Executive Officers of minor Panchayats, 3. supervision and control of Panchayats by the District Collector, the Revenue Board being the co-ordinating body over the Collector, 4. compulsory levy of a house tax and an additional levy of 3 pies of land cess, and 5. provision for the appointment of a nominated Panchayat. A Committee was appointed to examine this bill. This advisory Committee reported that 1. the District Collector should be entirely divorced from Panchayat administration, 2. the Board of Revenue need have nothing to do with the Panchayats, and instead the post of a Registrar-General should

be created, 3. Panchayats should be created compulsorily in all villages in 5 years, 4. Village Officers should be precluded from Panchayats, though the headman might function as a temporary President for short periods in the absence of the President, 5. adult franchise for all men and women of 21 years of age and the system of ward division and voting by ballot should be introduced in all Panchayats, 6. only Panchayats with a normal income of Rs. 5000 and more should have whole-time paid executive officers, 7. the levy of house tax and vehicle tax should be made compulsory, but the proposed additional land cess of 3 pies should be optional, and 8. there should be no nominated Panchayats. 623 642 [624] [641] [651]

The only effect of this bill was an amendment that was introduced to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920, by Act XIX of 1943, by which, whole-time executive officers had been appointed to all major Panchayats, and such of the minor Boards as had been notified by Government in this behalf. In April 1946, the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1946 was published along the lines of the Bill of 1941, with some modifications.

The power of Collector in the matter of supervision and control of Panchayats in the District was retained, though he was to function, subject to the control of the Registrar-General, who was to be the provincial supervising authority in the place of the Board of Revenue, originally provided in the Bill of 1941. The ex-officio membership of the Village Headman and his eligibility to exercise the presidential functions in the absence of the President or Vice-President through the Karanam as Honorary executive authority of the minor Panchayats, assigned in the Bill of 1941 was dropped out. The clauses for the Amendment Act of 1943 providing for the appointment of whole-time executive officers for notified Panchayats, had been incorporated in the new Act also. The provision made in the Bill of 1941 for nomination of members had been retained, though it was to be resorted to only in special circumstances, such as fraction or disorder in the village. [622]

But this Act was kept in abeyance while the Congress Ministry were thinking of introducing a thoroughly new Act.

At the time of the survey in 1947, the Panchayats were being governed by the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930. There had been no elections since 1939. Only the old Panchayats were continuing in power.

The Village Panchayat Courts were for a group of villages with powers to try cases upto Rs. 200/- without legal practitioners. The Court Members were elected by all adult residents in the village. The number of members varied from 5 to 12 and each member held office for 3 years. 692

Forest Panchayats were elected by the cattle-owners of the village and then the Panchayat elected its President. The Forest Panchayats were allowed to levy fees for grazing and fuel collection, and then they were vested with certain statutory powers. They were under the control of the Revenue Department. 311

Besides these, there were Irrigation Panchayats elected by all landholders of the village who got water from the sluice. These were under the control of the Revenue Dapartment. 312

Then there were the Village Panchayat Schools. Each village with a population of 500 or more could, on application, have a grant of Rs. 180/- for a school-teacher and an initial grant of Rs. 80/- to start a school in the Panchayat area. There were about 800 Panchayat Schools in Madras by about 1928. 871

Last, but not the least, was the jurisdiction of the Panchayat in its present constitutional set up. The Statute in force did not allow the Village Panchayats any control over the Panchayat Court or Irrigation Panchayat or Forest Panchayat, wherever they existed, though Panchayat Schools alone were entrusted to Village Panchayats wherever they existed. These are discussed in latter sections of this chapter. 642

B. **Finance**: (Table No, 19)

Local Fund Cess: This was the main source of income to Panchayats in Madras as everywhere else. It was usually 1/6th of the total local fund cess of the Local Boards, soon after the abolition of the Taluk Boards in 1934, it was increased to 1/5th of the District Board Cess. But, the grant of the local fund cess to Panchayats was not based on any rational principle of local finance. In fact, the proportion, each Panchayat got, bore no relation to population, prosperity, poverty or administrative requirements. While a Panchayat situated in an irrigated area got local fund cess as its share, in proportion to the larger land revenue collected from the village. Panchayats existing in the dry areas got positively less local fund cess, in view of the lesser land revenue collected therein. 651 ●

651 A glance at column 4 would show these glaring dissimilarities too well. To illustrate a few instances, Tuni a 1st grade Panchayat in East Godavari got a local fund cess of Rs. 100 while Kapileswarapuram, a minor Panchayat and Amalapuram, a 2nd grade Panchayat in the same district got Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,300 respectively.

In West Godavari, Bhimavaram, a 1st grade Panchayat got from this source Rs. 1,250/-. Similarly in Kistna District, while Nuzvid Panchayat got a local fund cess of Rs. 500, Pamaru, a 3rd grade Panchayat got Rs. 1,018 from this source. So in Vizagapatam, while Parvatipuram Panchayat got a local fund cess of Rs. 550, Bobbili got Rs. 1,254.

The position in the Ceded Districts was also the same. In Anantpur, while Dharmavaram Panchayat got Rs. 650 by way of local fund cess, Kadiri a bigger Panchayat got Rs. 300. In Kurnool, while Dhone Panchayat got Rs. 140 by way of local fund cess, Nandikotkur a smaller Panchayat got Rs. 220. In Bellary, while the share of the local fund cess for Kampli was Rs. 683, for Rayadrug, a taluk headquarters, it was only Rs. 80.

The survey thus sufficiently brought to light the wide disparities in the yield of local fund cess between the Panchayats of the same grade, Panchayats of several grades in the same district, and all Panchayats in all districts.

House Tax: House tax was a very fruitful source of income to Panchayats, but as this was not made compulsory in the Madras Panchayats as in Bombay, much income was being lost due to either very low rates of taxation in force in the major Panchayats or the entire absence of this tax in almost all the minor Panchayats. Besides these defects, the survey revealed several other serious defects like gross under-valuation of houses, lack of revision of capital values, cancelling of enhanced rates by the special committees of the Panchayats and various other abuses in existence. (Column 2.)

The 1st grade Panchayats which were potential municipalities were the foremost to oppose any sort of higher taxation. For example, Panchayats like Tuni and Amalapuram in East Godavari, Narsapur and Bhimavaram in West Godavari, and Guntakal in Anantpur, were opposed to raising of the rate of house tax from Re. 0-2-0 to

Re. 0-4-0 per Rs. 100 capital value in spite of these Boards being manned by highly educated and respected persons. Same was the case in Kistna, Vizagapatam and the Ceded Districts. In Vizagapatam even the biggest Panchayats refused to levy more than Re. 0-4-0 per Rs. 100 capital value of the house. In stray instances like Madugula, the highest rate of house tax was Re. 0-8-0 per Rs. 100 capital value. In Kurnool, the house tax of Panchayats usually ranged between Re. 0-2-0 and Re. 0-3-0 per Rs. 100 capital value. In Bellary, it was 1/6 per cent the capital value. Some other Panchayats in the Ceded Districts were also found to be following a method of collecting an additional water and privy rate along with the house tax as in Dhone and Maddikera Panchayats in Kurnool, where 45% of the house tax was collected towards supply of protected water supply and drainage. 651

The tendency in most of the major Panchayats was either to pay the lowest rate possible and to pay the lowest possible amount by all conceivable means like undervaluation of the capital value of houses, under assessment of certain houses by all possible discrimination and exemptions of the houses of those who were dear and near to the members. If the executive officers came in the way of such undesirable practices, Panchayat members sought to get them transferred on some false pretext or harassed them in every way. 661

In the minor Panchayats, as imposition of house tax was optional, very few imposed any house tax at all. According to the provisions of the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930, if a Panchayat did not impose house tax prior to 1930, it need not impose it even after 1930. This gave the minor Panchayats an excuse to bypass this obligation. Except a few Panchayats like Kothapeta and Palivela among the minor Panchayats in East Godavari, which collected house tax at the rate of Re. 0-4-0 and Re. 0-2-0 respectively per Rs. 100 capital value of the house, most of the other minor Panchayats like Yaditha, Alamuru, Kapileswarapuram and a host of others were leaving this source of income totally untapped. In West Godavari, it was almost non-existent, while there were stray instances of house tax collection in the minor Panchayats in Kistna, Vizagapatam, Kurnool, Anantpur, etc. districts. In Kistna, Gudur Panchayat collected at the rate of 1/3% capital value of the house. In Vizagapatam, the majority of those like Bhogapuram, Govada, Chodavada, Bayyavaram did not impose any house tax and only Kothavalasa appeared to be collecting house tax at the following rates :— 651

651

Capital Value of House	Rate of Taxation	Per Rs. 100
Rs.	Rs. as. ps.	as.
200—300	0—6-0	2
300—400	0-10-0	2½
400—600	1—2-0	3
600—800	1-12-0	3½
800—1200	3—0-0	4
1200—1600	4—8 0	4½
1601—2400	7—8-0	5
2401—3200	11—0-0	5½
3201—4800	18—0-0	6
4801—6400	26—0-0	6½
6401—8000	35—0-0	7
8001—9600	45—0-0	7½
9601-12800	64—0-0	8
12801-16000	85—0-0	8½
16001-24000	135—0-0	9
24001-32000	200—0-0	10

N. B. The first two categories were exempted, i. e. all thatched houses.

In Anantpur, only Gorantala was collecting house tax at the rate of Re. 0-4-0. In Kurnool, Veldurti imposed house tax at the rate of Re. 0-2-0, while Betamcherla collected at the rates shown below :—

Capital Value of House	Net Tax
Rs.	Rs. as. p.
3000-5000	12-0-0
2500-3000	10-0-0
2000-2500	8-0-0
1500-2000	6-0-0
1000-1900	4-0-0
750-1000	3-0-0
500-750	2-0-0
250-500	1-0-0
100-250	0-8-0
Less than 100.	0-4-0

Thus while most of the major Panchayats did not collect at the highest rates possible, but struggled to devise ways and means of either escaping it or levying it at the lowest rates possible, the majority of the minor Panchayats evaded it altogether. 651 661

Scavenging Fees: Public health and conservancy were the obligatory duties of the Panchayats. They provided public latrines for males and females in almost all the major Panchayats, and got them cleansed by the Panchayat scavengers. They also extended their service to private latrines and charged the house-holders at particular rates except in cases of Panchayats where scavengers were independent of Panchayats as in Vizagapatam District. (column 5.) 514 651

This amenity was provided mostly by major Panchayats, while the minor Panchayats lagged behind. But the fees that were being collected by Panchayats varied from one to the other in several respects, such as the base, the rate, the period for which they were collected, and the institutional discrimination they showed.

There was no uniformity in the rates of scavanging fees collected in several Panchayats. But the fees collected varied from Panchayat to Panchayat of the same and different grades in each and every district. Again the fixation of rate was not based on any rational basis, except according to the fancy of the individual Panchayat Board concerned. Sometimes the fees were charged per latrine, sometimes on the number of members in the family, sometimes according to an arbitrary distinction of big and small families, in some instances the rates were per mensem, and in others they were charged on a quarterly basis. Some Panchayats distinguished between different categories of institutions like office, police lines, schools, union areas and private families and charged separate rates for separate institutions. In some cases the scavenging rates were made a part of the assessment on house tax as in the Ceded Districts.

In the Ceded Districts of Anantpur and Kurnool, scavenging fees were also collected on the basis of rates of house tax: as Re. 1, Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 2 per quarter per latrine. In Bellary, the Kampli Panchayat collected only Re. 0-3-0 per latrine, while Rayadrug had arranged a regular scale related with the capital valuation of the house at Re. 0-6-0, Re. 0-12-0 and Re. 1 per quarter per latrine, according to the capital value of the house Rs. 800, Rs. 800 to Rs. 3000, and Rs. 3000 and over respectively. In West Godavari, the basis of collection was still different in the 3rd grade Panchayats as in Ganapavaram and Undi. In Ganapavaram, the rates

651 were Re. 0-12-0 and Re. 1 per mensem for a latrine for cleaning
514 once and twice separately. In Undi the scavenging fees were in a gradation to the members of the family as Re. 0-8-0 for fous members, Re. 0-10-0 for four to eight members, Re. 0-12-0 to Re. 1 for eight to twelve members per mensem and Rs. 1-8-0 per rice mill. In Akividu, the rates were based on the individual ability of the families and institutions, i. e. Rs. 9 for all factories, Rs. 6 for latrines of all big families; Rs. 3 for latrines of moderate families, and Rs. 2-4-0 for latrines of ordinary families, and Rs. 1-2-0 for other families. Even here, the division was purely arbitrary and there was no clear cut basis on which these differentiations were made.

In Kistna District, the Panchayats like Kantaram had altogether dispensed with the idea of scavenging service as they had provided bore-hole latrines, while in other Panchayats the same variations in scavenging fees continued.

In Vizagapatam, there was always the difficulty of procuring the services of the scavengers by the Panchayat. In Bobbili and Salur, people had to depend upon the services of the private scavengers. Here the rates were observed to be varying according to the bargaining power of the parties from Re. 0-6-0 to Rs. 1-8-0 per latrine per mensem. In other Panchayats, where the scavenging services were provided through them, the rates were based either on capital valuation of the house or number of persons in the family.

In the Ceded Districts, there was no problem of scarcity or non-availability of scavengers for the Panchayat service. In Kurnool, some of the Panchayats like Dhone and Maddikera made it a habit to relate public scavenging fees to the house tax, with variations ranging from Re. 0-4-0 to Rs. 1-8-0 per mensem.

The question of variations of rates did not arise in the case of minor Panchayats, as most of them did not utilize private scavenging services at all, except in a few instances. Most of the minor Panchayats investigated in East and West Godavari Districts, Kistna, Vizagapatam and the Ceded Districts had not got any private scavenging amenities provided by the Panchayat. Even when it was provided, as in Palivela and Kothapeta in East Godavari, the rates were Re. 0-12-0 per latrine per month in the former while in the latter they started from Re. 0-12-0 Rs. 2-4-0 and Rs. 9 per quarter per latrine.

231 **Slaughter House Fees:** Slaughter house fees constituted
651 another important source of income to all major Panchayats, and

26: Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1964 AWI India
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in some cases for minor Panchayats too as the provision of slaughter houses was an obligatory duty of the Panchayat. 231 651

Government desired slaughter houses to be departmentally managed and their collection of fees to be done by the Panchayat staff. In practice, however, the right of collection was auctioned to the highest bidder who paid the amount in one lump sum or by instalments to the Panchayats. He would collect the fees at the rates fixed by the Panchayat through his own agents. In some places there were two or three slaughter houses in the same Panchayat area, separately for pigs, sheep and goats, cows, bullocks and buffaloes, but the supervision of the Panchayats over the slaughter houses was very often most unsatisfactory. Neither [744] the sanitary inspector of the Panchayat nor the veterinary surgeon visited the mutton houses to inspect the type of mutton that was offered for sale, to examine whether it was fit for consumption and to regulate the sanitary conditions in those places. The supervisory staff of Panchayats and the Department of Public Health were too complacent to better the existing state of affairs.

Of the 13 villages for which information was available almost all had uniform rates fixed for goats and sheep which varied between two and four annas each. Slaughter of cows, bullocks and buffaloes and pigs was less common, more than half the number of villages having no rates for these. Rates for cows and bullocks varied between Re. 1 and Rs. 2½ whereas that for the pigs about 5 annas in most cases. Only Guntakal had a uniform rate of one rupee for all the three.

Again the fixation of the slaughter house fees was a matter left to the individual discretion of each Panchayat. The first grade Panchayats like Tuni, Guntakal and Narsapur in East Godavari, Anantpur and West Godavari Districts respectively had fixed up the rates, but, left them to be collected by the auction bidders, instead of collecting through their employees. The practice of letting the right of collecting slaughter house fees to the highest bidder in an auction, was prevalent even among the 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats, except in places where Departmental collection and uniform rates existed as in Ramchandrapuram and Mandapeta in East Godavari and Tanuku in West Godavari. In Kistna and Vizagapatam Districts, auctioning of the right of collection of slaughter house fees was more in practice than their Departmental management, but the rates were more or less uniform. Even amongst

281 651 the Ceded Districts, most of the Panchayats followed the practice of auctioning and that too on a very long term basis like 10 years or 5-10 years as in the case of Panchayats like Dharmavaram and Kadiri in Anantpuram District.

Several Panchayats besides these did not trouble themselves to create the facility of a slaughter house at all. Only a few minor Panchayats provided slaughter houses. (column 14.)

[443] 651 **Market Fees:** Public markets held in the Panchayat areas were usually of three types: daily, bi-weekly and weekly. The rates and the goods on which they should be imposed and collected were to be decided by the Panchayats while the process and actual collection was left to auction bidders who did the work of collecting these fees by issuing licence chits at the rates prescribed by the Panchayat Boards. Instances where Panchayats themselves did the job of collection of these were hardly observable anywhere. Market collections were usually auctioned once a year to the highest bidder and he paid the amount in lump sum to the Panchayat.

The market fees and the variety of goods on which they were imposed varied from Panchayat to Panchayat, irrespective of differences and similarities in grade or place.

In Anantapur, the Guntakal and Kadiri Panchayats charged at a rate of 2 annas to dealers of necessities like salt, tamarind, chillies, tobacco, oil, fuel and potatoes, whereas rates varied between 2 and 4 annas in respect of other commodities like fruits, sweetmeat, vegetable, fish and even retail and grain shops. Truck loads were charged at 6 to 8 annas.

These differences were common not only to all major Panchayats, either in the Circars or the Ceded Districts, but, the same was the case even in the markets of minor Panchayats which had public markets as in Valluru, Yeditha, Kapileswarapuram, etc. in East Godavari District, Aravalli and Vasadi in West Godavari District, Gudur in Kistna District and Kothavalasa in Vizagapatam District. (colomn 10.)

Again, the collection of the market fees from cattle, vegetable, grain and fruit markets were not always left for the use of the Panchayats, but the District Boards shared these proceeds and very often took the lion's share without any corresponding return to the Panchayat area in which these collections were earned. The share

of the District Boards varied from 50 per cent to higher proportion even to an appropriation of the whole amount giving whatever sum the District Boards might be pleased to give back to Panchayat from which the sum was collected. Tuni Panchayat in East Godavari got Rs. 30,000 by way of public market fees out of which 50 per cent was taken out by the District Board. Similarly the District Board took 50 per cent of the cattle market proceeds amounting to about Rs. 500 per annum. Similarly, Narsapur Panchayat gave all its income from public markets to the District Board. In Tadepalligudam Panchayat, the District Board took Rs. 29,000/- leaving only Rs. 1,000 to Panchayat out of its annual income of Rs. 30,000 from public markets. In Kistna, Vizagapatam, Anantpur and Kurnool Districts, the inroads on Panchayat funds were not so many as in the two Godavari Districts. The District Boards had nothing in return to offer to the Panchayat by way of public amenities in lieu of the moneys they earned from them. Unless the whole scheme of Local Government is reorganised and reformed, such serious inroads into the finances of Panchayats cannot be averted. The District Boards whose existence appears to be superfluous in view of the developed Panchayats and Municipalities can at least be reduced to advisory councils without powers to utilize on such a large scale the moneys they are not really entitled to grab We shall discuss this in detail later. 651

Cart and Bus Stand Fees and Cycle Licenses: Collection of fees from cart stands and bus stands was a good source of income to the major Panchayats in Madras. The rates of fees even in this matter varied from Panchayat to Panchayat of the same grade in the same district, from one grade to another and from district to district. Again, very few Panchayats really looked after the amenities that were to be provided in these bus and cart stands, such as rest-shelters, canteens or fresh water pots. The Panchayats were only interested in auctioning these to the highest bidder who would pay the amount to the Panchayat in lump sum and take upon himself the responsibility of collecting the fees at the rates fixed by the Panchayats. These rates were to be collected only from carts which would halt at the stands and not on carts which merely passed by them and were not halting. Breach of this rule had led to the filing of suits in Law Courts, on reasons of prestige, where Panchayats had to be admonished. 485

Bus and cart stand fees varied from place to place. Information available for a few Panchayats showed that the fees for taxies, buses and lorries were more uniform than that for, say, jatkas. The former

651 in most cases, varied from 2 to 3 annas a day and Rs. 3/8/- a month, whereas the latter varied from 9 pies to 8 annas. The cart rates also varied between 6 pies and two annas.

One distinctive feature of this source of income was that it was more extensively and profitably exploited by the Panchayats in the Ceded Districts than in the Circars. For instance in the Vizagapatam District, some of the Panchayats had 8 to 9 public conveyance stands, i. e. cart stands, bus stands, jatka stands, etc., but these Panchayats collected no fees. On the other hand, the tendency in the Ceded Districts was to have more or less uniform rates, specially in the 3rd grade Panchayats, regarding this source. There appeared to be some uniformity in the rates of fees in Panchayats of Kurnool, Bellary, Anantpur and Cuddapah. (columns 12 & 13.)

There were some minor Panchayats too which were having cart and bus stands and collecting the fees as Yeditha, Kapileswarapuram and Alamuru in East Godavari, Gorantala in Anantpur, Veldurti in Kurnool but such examples were rare. Even here anomalies with regard to the different rates existed.

Entertainment Tax : This was mostly an income available to major urban Panachayats where there were cinema houses and where dramas and circus performances took place. The Commercial Sales Tax Officer and his staff used to collect the entertainment tax on the tickets sold for these entertainment performances and after deducting 10 per cent towards the collection charges, handed over the balance to the Panchayat. This was by no means exclusively the privilege of major Panchayats alone, and wherever there were cinema houses or other entertainments available, as even in minor Panchayats, this income was available to the Panchayats. (Column 26.)

Most of the Panchayats visited expressed a desire that even the collection of this source of income might be left to them, so that they might manage the collection with lesser cost than the 10 per cent charged.

Profession Tax : Profession tax was one of the chief sources of income to all the major Panchayats in every District. (Column 42.)

Schedule of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1930 laid down the rates of Profession Tax. "The classes into which companies and persons shall for the purposes of assessment to the profession tax be divided and the maximum half-yearly tax leviable on each class shall be as follows :

Class	Half-yearly income				Maximum half-yearly tax.
		Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
1.	more than	21000	but not		275
2.	"	18000	more than	21000	225
3.	"	12000	"	18000	150
4.	"	9000	"	12000	85
5.	"	6000	"	9000	55
6.	"	4200	"	6000	28
7.	"	3000	"	4200	20
8.	"	1800	"	3000	10
9.	"	1200	"	1800	6
10.	"	600	"	1200	3
11.	"	300	"	600	1½
12.	"	150	"	300	¾

The profession tax rates were revised and the maximum and the minimum rates for half year were fixed at Rs. 25/- and As. 8/- respectively. Whatever loss the Panchayats were sustaining, under this new provision, was being met with from the Government grants. This was considered to be an unnecessary sacrifice of a fruitful source of income which could wisely be revived by bringing into force the old rates.

Among the major Panchayats this was a regular source of income. Most of the minor Panchayats were not enforcing its collection on one pretext or another. It was high time that collection of such an excellent source of income should be made obligatory in all the Panchayats with a view to improve their finances.

Management Receipts: Managemet receipts were a regular source of income of the Panchayats, both major and minor. (Column 41.)

Deposits: Deposits were generally demanded from auction bidders of weekly markets, daily markets, cart stands, bus stands, etc. by the Panchayat Board. These deposits were kept with the Panchayats and the interest that accrued on them was one of the sources of income to some Panchayats. Wherever it was available, it was spent for public purposes. (Column 37.)

In West Godavari, among the minor Panchayats only Aravalli was getting Rs. 100 from this source. In Kistna District, Gudur Panchayat

651 was getting about Rs. 130, while Panchayats in Vizagapatam were not getting much out of this source. Minor Panchayats like Bukkapatnam, Brahmanayeleru and Gorantala in Anantpur were getting Rs. 320/-, Rs. 15/- and Rs. 200/- respectively.

Warrant and Destraint Fees: According to Appendix (e) of Schedule IV of the Madras Local Boards Act, the table of maximum fees payable on destraints was as below :—

Sum Destrained for				Fees.	
				Rs.	a.
Under one rupee	...	...		0	4
Over Rs. 1	But under Rs.	5		0	8
" 5	"	10		1	0
" 10	"	15		1	8
" 15	"	20		2	0
" 20	"	25		2	8
" 25	"	30		3	0
" 30	"	35		3	8
" 35	"	40		4	0
" 40	"	45		4	8
" 45	"	50		5	0
" 50	"	60		6	0
" 60	"	80		7	8
" 80	"	100		9	0
Over Rs. 100	@ Rs. 100			10	0

The above charge included all expenses, except for three peons who were kept in charge of property destrained, in which case, the peons were to be paid 3 annas per day each.

This was a source of income amongst all the major Panchayats. (Column 32.)

Registration Surcharges: This was a new item of Panchayat finance. According to a subsequent rule, the Panchayats were to get half the amount of registration fees from the adjoining or local sub-registrar's office. But these amounts were not yet claimed by most of the Panchayats and still their claims were pending with the sub-registrar's offices everywhere. Every Panchayat irrespective of its grade could claim this income, but very few Panchayats had so far got it. This was what was usually called the surcharge on stamp duty levied within the Panchayat area on

transfer of immovable property, collected and credited by the Registration Department after deducting the collection charge. But the Panchayats had to agitate as yet a lot before they could get this income. Data reveals a few stray cases like Bhimavaram in West Godavari in the 1st grade Panchayats, Vuyyuru and Jaggayapeta in Kistna getting Rs. 25,000, Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 2,000, respectively. In West Godavari Velpur got Rs. 1,200. Peatapadu got Rs. 2,000, in Vizagapatam, Parvatipuram got Rs. 2,000, etc. (Column 25.) 651

The complete advantage of this source of income was not taken and when completely enforced this would do much to improve the financial side of the Panchayats.

Magisterial Fines: Magisterial fines were not a big source of income. The fines imposed for offences committed against the Madras Local Boards Act were credited to the Panchayats, after deducting about 10% for collection expenses. (Column 51.)

Vehicle Tax: Vehicle Tax, if properly imposed and collected is capable of yielding a good revenue for most of the Panchayats. However, neither the major nor the minor Panchayats were collecting this with any regularity. In fact, the Panchayats which were actually imposing tax were only a few here and there scattered throughout the State. The income of some of them from this source ranged from Rs. 16,000 to Rs. 24,000 per annum, but others got negligible amounts not exceeding a thousand rupees.

Even though the inspector of Local Boards and the District and Assistant Panchayat Officers who supervised the working of Panchayats had often suggested that this source of income should be more thoroughly exploited, the response of the Panchayats remained to be most unsatisfactory. When the major Panchayats themselvas did not try to exploit this source, the minor Panchayats which usually looked to the lead of the major Panchayats could by no means be encouraged to tap this source of income.

This however could only be made up by declaring the imposition of this tax as obligatory on the part of the Panchayats instead of leaving it to their discretion.

Bore-hole Machine Rentals: Bore-hole latrines were found on a large scale in a few Panchayats in Kistna District, and there alone the Panchayat got some income by lending the machine to the local people. (Column 39.) 651 514

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[514] The sanitary agency in the Panchayats should encourage bore-hole latrines, where there are no Pucca Latrines, and if they buy the machine and lend it to the people, it would be a worthy encouragement.

Animal Tax : Tax on animals was a source of income again not very often tapped by most of the Panchayats except in rare instances.

Though the Panchayat in Madras were authorised to collect this tax according to sec. 154 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930, none of them were courageous enough to impose this tax for fear of popular disaffection.

Income from Grass Sales : The sale proceeds of grass on river banks were generally obtained by Panchayats by paying a lump sum to the Public Works Department, as lease amount. This was an income which was usually obtained by the minor Panchayats, as most of the major Panchayats had no grass growing areas within their local limits. On account of the disparity between the lease value paid to the P. W. Department, and the actual return from sale of grass, the minor Panchayats were able to make some profit, which, however varied from Rs. 50 to Rs. 4000. (Column 20.)

[312] As the irrigation facilities and fresh water canals and rivers are in abundance in the Delta Districts of the two Godavaries and Kistna, grass grew in abundance on the banks of rivers and canals. This was a source of income available mostly in the minor Panchayats of these areas. In other districts like Vizagapatam or the Ceded Districts, where the land was dry and water facilities were scarce, and where grass was rarely grown, this source of income was not available to Panchayats.

Fishery Rentals : Income from fishery rentals was usually derived by the Panchayats by leasing out or auctioning the right of fishing in the fresh water tanks, pounds or canals in the Panchayat areas. As such, this income was conditioned by the existence of such amenities and could be derived only by such of the Panchayats which had amidst them water sources in case they decided to exploit this income source.

This was a source of income mostly available in the minor Panchayats and rarely in the major Panchayats in Godavari, Kistna and the Ceded Districts, except in places where there were huge tanks or canals. (Column 21.)

One difficulty about this source of income was of diverting this income to Panchayat funds from the private individuals, as happened in Gudur in Kistna. The usual method was to pay some money to the Revenue Authority for taking the lease of the water resources on their auctioning for the public use. But it was found in some cases, that somebody used to make huge profits by a second lease to the Panchayat. But since the executive officers were appointed, this type of frauds were eliminated to a great extent. The executive officers were found to be trying their best to get the highest bid possible to the Panchayat, but there were several instances, where they did not succeed. 651

Ferry Boat Income: Income from ferries was a good source wherever it existed. In most of the minor Panchayats which were on the borders of the Godavari it was continuing to be a good source still, but, it was taken away by the District Board, as it was being done in the case of several prominent ferries, as at Kotipalli, Mukteshwaram, Razole, Bobbarlanka in East Godavari District. In Bhimavaram, Achanta, Koderu, Kovvur, and Narsapur in West Godavari, the proceeds were either not being exploited or being remitted to the District Boards concerned, though the ferries were actually in the jurisdiction of the Panchayats. Thus Narsapur, Razole, Kovvur, Koderu, Kotipalli, Mukteswaram and Bobbarlanka Panchayats were losing every year income to the tune of Rs. 20,000 and more from auctioning the leasing of collecting fees on the tickets sold for flying the ferry boats from one side of the Godavari to the other.

Only a few minor Panchayats among those investigated, showed some earnings from this source. Bodasakurru Ferry in East Godavari was the richest of all ferries within the jurisdiction of the Panchayat. It was leased out by the District Board to the Panchayat on a lease amount of Rs. 16,000/- per year. After all the contingencies and the establishment charges were met, which came to about Rs. 6,000/- per mensem, the remaining income remained to the Panchayat. Upto 1945, the method of fixing the base value was by taking the average rental of the last five years. But, from 1945 onwards, when the lease amount was doubled, the profit that was remaining to the Panchayat was considerably lessened even though the rates had been increased from Re. 0-0-6 per passenger to anna one and nine pies for some time.

Kotipalli had the biggest ferry income of between Rs. 20,000/- and Rs. 25,000/- per year, but, this was always appropriated by the District Board. Koderu and Narsapur in West Godavari District were similarly losing a heavy revenue. Just as in the case of public

651 markets, ferry incomes, both very fruitful sources, were usually taken away by the District Boards without allowing their natural heirs to enjoy this fruitful source of income. This unwarranted inroads of District Boards into the domain of Panchayats would have to be curtailed and the right of leasing should be given over to the District Collector in case of the District Board being abolished on account of its obvious superfluity in the existing scheme of Local Government with the privilege of enjoying the income left to the Panchayats. (Column 24.)

Fees in Fairs and Festivals : This was a source of income that was collected as fees for the pendals and stalls erected at the time of fairs and festivals in Panchayat area. By its very nature, this source of income was limited in its extent and peculiarity to those Panchayats which happened to be also places of some religious importance where these annual fairs and festivals were celebrated. However, the rates were not always the same and the information regarding rates could not be readily obtained even amongst those Panchayats which were visited and which were found to be having this source of income. (Column 45.)

It was not that all Panchayats which had this natural advantage were utilising it to earn this income. In fact, many Panchayats left this source untapped thus leaving out a very fruitful source of income and Local Government authorities would have to devise ways and means of improving this source of income.

Each Panchayat which could tap this source of income might frame such schedule as in the case of Bhimavaram in West Godavari.

Rates for Temporary Erection of Stalls and Pendals in Fairs and Festivals in Bhimavaram Panchayat in West Godavari District.

Duration	Fees per sq. yard	
	Applicant	Non-applicant
	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.
Per day	0- 0-6	0-1-6
For a month	0-12-0	1-8-0
For a year	6- 0-0	12-0-0
For Banks 3 yds. x 2 yds. per annum	9- 0-0	18-0-0
For all general purposes per annum	12- 0-0	24-0-0

If this example was followed in several other Panchayats the prospects of improving the Panchayat finances were bound to be encouraging. 651

Dearness Allowance Grants: This was not a source of income of the Panchayats from taxation. The Government began to give contributions to the several Panchayats for giving dearness allowance to their staff during the time of war, whenever, they complained that they had not got the funds to meet the extra expenditure. (Column 46.) 652

As a matter of fact, a lot of confusion was revealed in the method of giving these grants. Whenever a Panchayat was intelligent enough to show its funds as completely utilised for welfare activities and a nil balance resulting in lack of funds to meet this additional expenditure and demands, Government Grant was coming forth, while actually, most Panchayats which really could not afford to meet this additional burden were silently bearing it by cutting short their own expenditure on administrative functions, because they did not know how to present the matter.

Ground and Godown Rents: This was a source of income to the Panchayats from the sites leased or for the stalls rented out in the Bazar Area, but, as usual, even this was a source which only very few Panchayats were tapping. It was capable of extension if encouraged, since by voluntary adoption, only a few Panchayats were deriving an income from this source. (Column 30.) 651

Income from Rent and Produce of Lands: This was the income of the usufruct of fruits and trees in the Panchayat area. All these, by right were the legitimate sources of the Panchayat. (Column 34.)

Avenue Receipts: This was a source of income of many Panchyats irrespective of the grade of the Panchayat. (Column 49.)

This, however, appeared to be a more common source of revenue in the Panchayats of the northern Circars than in the Ceded Districts.

Sale of Old Stores: It was not a source of tax revenue to the Panchayats. This was a sort of income realised by sale or auction of old furniture and goods of the Panchayats. (Column 50.)

Sale of Manure: Sale of manure was another similar source of income available in almost all of the major as well as minor Panchayats of East Godavari District. Even, in the Ceded Districts, the minor Panchayats did not seem to be negligent about this source

651 of income. Thus both in the Circars and the Ceded Districts this came to be a usual source of Panchayat finances. (Column 23.)

Lapsed Deposits: Lapsed deposits constituted another source on the income side, but it did not come under the regular tax source. (Column 47).

Interest on Postal Savings, Securities, etc: It was another minor source of income for money deposited. (Column 40.)

651 744 **Income from Fines under Food Adulteration Act:** It was a regular source of income for most of the major Panchayats, wherever samples of oils, ghee, milk, food stuffs, meat and fruits were taken by the Sanitary Inspector, and were sent for examination to Madras, and if these samples were found to have been adulterated, then the sellers were fined and these fines constituted a source of income to the Panchayat.

Irrespective of their grade, Panchayats used to send such samples to Madras Food Institute for examination and paid from Rs. 240/- to Rs. 500/- per year for examination and report. The income from fines varied from Panchayat to Panchayat. (Column 8.)

Again this was not at all a compulsory source of income avilable in all the Panchayats, even if they were major ones. There were several instances, where the Panchayats were not able to enforce this, as for example, Ganapavaram in West Godavari District, Pamaru, Pedana, and Kantaram Panchayats in Kistna District, and there were such examples in other districts too.

There were some instances, where the enforcement of Food Adulteration Act did not result in any advantage to the Panchayat, as the charges paid for examining the adulterated foodstuffs were not commensurate with the income from fines collected under the Act. For inatance, Penu Konda Panchayat in Anantpur had introduced the Food Adulteration Act, but while the expenditure for getting the samples examined came to Rs.240/-, the income from fines came to Rs. 9. In Gooty Panchayat, where the Food Adulteration Act was introduced, the income from fines was Rs. 400/- while the examination fees for the samples came to Rs. 240/-. Kurnool was backward in this respect, as Panchayats like Dhone, Gudur, Nandikotkur, Pattikonda and Maddikera did not enforce the Food Adulteration Act due to the want of sanitary inspectors. In Bellary, Rayadrug Panchayat alone had enforced Food Adulteration Act, while other Panchayats could not do so, as they were not as yet in a position to appoint sanitary inspectors for administering the Act.

As regards the minor Panchayats, they were not in a position to undertake this work at all. If the Food Adulteration Act was enforced in all the major Panchayats, it would no doubt prove to be a good source of income to the Panchayats. 651 744

Fines on Encroachments: Most of the Panchayat areas were not surveyed and as such they had only the right of fining the encroachments and not of removing them altogether. However, this system of penalysing them yielded a good source of income to the Panchayats, where-ever it existed. (Column 29.) 651 423

Among the major Panchayats, some of the 1st grade Panchayats like Tuni, Bhimavaram, Guntakal were punishing encroachments. Out of the 1052 encroachments booked in Tuni, about 213 were District Board encroachments. Amalapuram had not the courage to take up the problem of encroachments though there were many. In the West Godavari, Bhimavaram was booking offences of encroachments and the scale of fines was as follows :—

Licence Fees on Encroachments in Bhimavaram Panchayat

Type of Encroachment	Rate	Area	Period
	Rs. as. p.	Per sq.	Per
1. Sunshades.	0-2-0	yard.	half-year
2. Balcony.	0-8-0	do.	do.
3. Verandah or part of house.	1-0-0	do.	do.
4. All kinds of pendals.	0-0-6	do.	day.
5. Box shops and the like.	0-0-6	do.	day

For the grounds to be let temporarily for the purposes which came under the Public Resort Act, 1888, and under Section 160 (i), (ii) (iii) of the Madras Local Boards Act as amended for protection of public roads vested in Bhimavaram Panchayat Board, the rates were as below :—

Area	Rate
	Rs. as. p.
Upto an extent of 3000 sq. ft.	0-0-6 per sq. yard per day
For every 1000 sq. ft. or part thereof over 3000 sq. ft.	0-0-3 do.

651 423 In Kistna District the rates for encroachments in Vuyyuru Panchayat area were as follows :—

Type of Encroachment	Rate	Per
	Rs. as. p.	
1. Steps	0-1-0	sq. yard per day.
2. For drain coverings on public streets	0-1-0	do.
3. For culverts	0-1-0	do.
4. For erection of temporary pendals	0-0-3	do. per 7 days
5. Sun shades with zinc sheets	0-0-6	do. per 7 days

There were only some instances of Panchayats where fines for encroachments were being collected. In Vizagapatam, as in other districts, the Panchayat could not take effective action against encroachments as the villages were not surveyed. In several Panchayats like Salur, Bobbili, Yellamanchili and Parvatipuram, where some of the glaring instances of public encroachments were noticed no action appeared to have been taken by the Panchayats. They excused themselves on the ground that the villages were not surveyed. The same was the case of Panchayats in West Godavari, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur Districts.

651 **Fees under Public Resort Act:** This again was a rare source of income which only a few Panchayats were collecting at present, and which many more could collect. The rates were found to vary from Panchayat to Panchayat, but it was not possible to obtain schedule of rates in many Panchayats except in 1 or 2 instances as Bhimavaram.

Rate of Fees Under Public Resort Act in Bhimavaram Panchayat in 1946-47.

Details	with application	without application
	Rs. as. ps.	Rs. as. p.
1. Erection of Pendals per sq. yard per day	0—0—6	0—1—6
" " " " " " per month	0—12—0	1—8—0
" " " " " " per annum	6—0—0	12—0—0
2. Bunks of 3 yds. × 2 yds. per annum	9—0—0	18—0—0
3. General purpose per sq. yard per annum	12—0—0	24—0—0

In other sample Panchayats it was not possible to ascertain the rates. 651

Even when the majority of the major Panchayats were not collecting this source of income, the minor Panchayats could not be naturally expected to do better. This was also one of the sources of income of Panchayats which deserved greater attention from the inspecting authorities for its proper enforcement. (Column 22.)

Choultry Fees: These were fees which could be collected from travellers who stayed in the public rest places for temporary sojourn now and then. Here also the buildings were of the District Board or of the Panchayat and the rate per diem varied from annas eight to Rs. 2/- per person as in Guntakal where every room in the Panchayat choultry was let out to travellers at the rates of Re. 1/-, Rs. 1/8/- and Rs. 2/- per day, and this fetched on the whole quite a good amount i. e. Rs. 400/-. (Column 16.) 651 485

This was a source of income which could only be collected if there were good choultries in the Panchayat area which could accommodate passengers. There were in some Panchayats choultries which were in a dilapidated condition. They would have to be reconditioned so as to make them habitable and useful sources of revenue.

Grants-in-aid: These were of four categories: 1. grants-in-aid to schools, 2. grants-in-aid to libraries, 3. grants-in-aid for water supply, and 4. grants-in-aid for roads. 652

Grants-in-aid to schools were received by Panchayat schools in East Godavari, West Godavari, Kistna and Anantapur. But this topic is fully discussed in the Sectian on School Panchayats. But grants-in-aid for roads, grants-in-aid for water-supply and grants-in-aid to libraries formed a negligible part.

Here they were mentioned to indicate that they formed a special part of the Panchayat finance. The chief feature of these grants was that they were not based on any rational basis, like the proportion of the Panchayat income, or population, or other needs, but they were granted on an ad-hoc basis from time to time.

License Fees on Dangerous and Offensive Trades: These license fees were imposed in several Panchayats both major and minor on a variety of trades and callings like boiling camphor, melting tallow or sulphur, storing or otherwise dealing in ophal, blood, bones, hides and skins, storing, selling or curing fish, making fish oil, storing or selling horses, tanning of hides and skins, mustering or drying wool or hair, making soap, manufacturing of distilled sago, 651

● 661 artificial manure, refining sugar, sugar candy, jaggery, syrup, making of gun powder and fire works, burning bricks and tiles, lime kilns, manufacturing or selling of charcoal, meals or coffee or tea hotels, or flour and oil mills, sweetmeats offered for sale, bakeries and biscuit making concerns, manufacture and sale of aerated water, selling timber or storing it for sale, storing and selling mango, Neredu, plants, fire wood, samplings and jungle wood rafters, palmyra rafters, bamboos, beams, wood and charcoal, hay, grass thatching materials, cumbustible materials, mobil oil, engine oil, lubricating oils, kerosene oil, gingely oil, groundnut oil, castor oil, broomsticks, cotton, cotton seeds, fibre or jute, paddy, groundnuts, oil cakes, grams of all types, beedi, cigars and cigarettes, chillies, ghee, butter, meat or flesh of cattle, sheep or goat or pigs, agricultural products which were likely to be destroyed by rats, agricultural products in pucca godowns which were rat proof, construction and installation of electrical power for factory, shop or workplace, oil expellers, cotton gins, films in cinema halls, mythilated spirits, bangles and a host of other items numbering about a hundred or more.

In East Godavari the fees were on all articles throughout the district. But, in West Godavari, there were variations from Panchayat to Panchayat in the both number of items and rates. In Anantpur again, they were said to be uniform in all the Panchayats, but, in Vizagapatam and Kurnool again they varied between wide extremes as would be clear from the ensuing discussion. (Column 9.)

Some of these Panchayats had prepared a list of items for which they wanted to collect license fees and in some places the items and rates fixed were printed and made available to all. But, the details of these items, and the rates varied very widely from Panchayat to Panchayat. The basis of collecting license fees also differed widely according to the practice prevailing in each Panchayat, e. g. the brick and tile kilns were assessed at different rates in different Panchayats; sometimes the rates were arranged in a block system, i. e. as Rs. 10 for 25,000 to 50,000; Rs. 15 for 50,000 to 75,000 etc. in Dhone and Veldurti in Kurnool District, while the rate for 25,000 brick kiln was only Rs. 3 in Kovvur, Rs. 6 in Bhimavaram and Rs. 5 in Velpur, all in West Godavari District. The license fee for burning of pot kilns per year was Rs. 5 in Dhone and Veldurti and Rs. 2 in Pattikonda all in Kurnool, while it was Rs. 3 in Bhimavaram of West Godavari. Boiling of camphor was charged at Rs. 5 in Dhone and Re. 1 in Pattikonda (Kurnool), while it was Rs. 3 in Bhimavaram, Rs. 50 in Narsapur, Rs. 10 in Akividu, Rs. 5 in Ganapavaram, Rs. 10 in Kovvur, Rs. 2 in Velpur, all

26: Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1954 AWI India Telugu AWI7

in West Godavari District. It was Rs. 4 in Maduglua, Re. 1 in Parvatipuram and Yelamanchili in Vizagapatam District. Fees for selling and manufacturing of charcoal were Rs. 20 in Dhone and Veldurti while it was Rs. 5 in Kovvur and Rs. 6 in Yelamanchili. Selling of hides and skins was charged at Rs. 15 in Dhone and Veldurti, Rs. 12 in Pattikonda, Rs. 15 in Narsapur, Rs. 5 in Akividu, Rs. 4 in Kovvur. While license fees for storing and curing of fish were Rs. 2 in Dhone and Veldurti, it was Rs. 8 in Pattikonda. The license fee for making of fish oil was Rs. 3 in Bhimavaram, Rs. 10 in Narsapur, and Rs. 5 in Kovvur, different from Panchayat to Panchayat in West Godavari district. License fees on lime kilns were Rs. 6 in Dhone and Veldurti, Rs. 5 and Rs. 6 in Salur and Yelamanchili. Coffee hotels were charged at the rate of Rs. 20, Rs. 15, Rs. 5, and Rs. 3 as the case may be in Narsapur while in other Panchayats like Dhone and Veldurti they were charged Rs. 8, in Pattikonda Rs. 5, in Bhimavaram Rs. 9 (West Godavari), Rs. 6 in Kovvur, Rs 3 in Velpur, Rs. 15 in Kasimkot, Rs. 8 in Yelamanchili, and in Parvacipuram Rs. 10. Similarly the license fees on sweetmeats varied from Rs. 3 in Dhone to Re. 0-8-0 in Pattikonda Panchayat in Kurnool District. The license fees on storing and selling of timber varied from Rs. 4 to Rs. 10; on wood and charcoal, from Rs. 2 to Rs. 20; on rice mills, flour mills and cinema projectors, Rs. 5 to Rs. 15; on oils from Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 7; on tobacco, from Rs. 2 to Rs. 10; on selling jaggery, from Rs. 19 to Rs. 25; on groundnuts, from Re. 1 to Rs. 10; on electrical power, from Re. 1 to Rs. 150 according to horse power and the installation; and on cotton gins and presses from Rs. 8 to Rs. 16. 651

The difference in rates of licence fees was sometimes due to the difference in the variety of goods sold as for instance, the rate on sale of sandalwood was Rs. 24 while for ordinary wood it was Rs. 12. In Tanuku (West Godavari District) the license fee on kerosene oil tins was according to their number stored, i. e. from 3 to 25 tins Rs. 3, from 26 to 50 Rs. 5, from 51 to 100 Rs. 8 from 101 to 200 Rs. 15, from 201 to 500 Rs. 20, and above 500 Rs. 25. In Yelamanchili separate rates were charged for gingely, castor or mobile oils. The rates for gingeley or castor oil were for tins, from 3 to 25 Rs. 2, from 26 to 50 Rs. 4, from 51 to 125 Rs. 8, from 126 to 500 Rs. 10 and above 500 tins Rs. 15. For mobile oil, the rate upto 50 gallons was Rs. 2, from 50 to 500 gallons Rs. 5 and above 500 gallons Rs. 10. In Kovvur (West Godavari) separate rates were charged as per quantities, e. g. below 1 gross of match boxes stored for sale Re. 1, above 5 but below 10 gross Rs. 2, above 10 but below 50 gross Rs. 3, and above

651 50 gross Rs. 4. In Narsapur Panchayat (West Godavari), the rates of license fees were according to each type of process, e. g. for boiling paddy Rs. 20, storing paddy Rs. 10, and for storing and selling rice Rs. 10. In some Panchayats the articles stored and sold were charged licensc fees according to the number of bags or the floor area occupied in the godown, e. g. in Madugula Panchayat the rates for storing of grain bags were for bags from 1 to 10 Rs. 3, from 10 to 50 bags Rs. 5, 50 to 100 bags Rs. 7-8-0, from 100 to 1000 bags, Rs. 10, from 1000 to 2000 bags Rs. 12-8-0, and above 2000 bags Rs. 15. In Parvatipuram Panchayat in the same district, the rate was Re. 0-2-0 for 5 sq. feet. Again in Bhimavaram and Kovvur Panchayats in West Godavari, a license fee of Rs. 5 was charged for crushing seeds or making vegetable oils. In Bhimavaram separate fees were charged for street coffee vendors at Rs. 2-8-0 per annum and street sweetmeats vendors at Rs. 2 per annum. Narsapur Panchayat was found to be charging a license fee of Rs. 15 for refining gold. Tanuku Panchayat was charging a license fee of Rs. 10 for storing mango plants. In Attili Panchayat rice shops were charged on classwise basis i. e. 1st class Rs. 5 and 2nd class Rs. 4 but no clear indication was available as to the basis of this distinction. License fees were collected from wholesale shops, retail shops and ration shops too and they were also subject to the same variation as in the case of other instances. Ganapavaram Panchayat in West Godavari District was charging a license fee of Rs. 10 per ration shop, Alagadde Rs. 12 for a retail shop and Rs. 25 for a wholesale shop. Kasba Jagganadhapuram in Vizagapatam was charging Rs. 12 for a wholesale shop and Rs. 3 for a retail shop. The rates for electrical power installation and steam engines too varied between wide extremes from Panchayat to Panchayat, e. g. in Parvatipuram the license fee for steam engine per horse power installation was Rs. 6 while in Akividu the rate was Rs. 60 per annum for oil engine of 24 horse power.

Thus, though the license fees were a veritable goldmine to the Madras Panchayats a lot of spade work was essential by way of framing an exhaustive list of trades and callings on which they were to be collected and fixation of uniform rates and basis on which they were to be fixed up, if the present evils of wide disparities in items and dissimilarities in their rates were to be eliminated.

C. Functions

623 652 **Grades of Panchayats:** From 1944 all the Panchayats were classified into 3 grades as the 1st grade Panchayats were those with an

653 cost of Rs. 5,000 were made, but nothing was practically done nor even a supervisor was appointed to look after the local public works.

These defects were not the monopoly of the 1st grade Panchayats alone. If check measurements were not made, estimates were not actually executed, plans that were put forward were allowed to lag, slackness continued, funds went on accumulating, while condition of roads gradually deteriorated due to the gross negligence even in major Panchayats in the 1st grade, the position in 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats could not have been better.

Often the plans of public works in the 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats made no progress far from the resolutions of the Panchayat Board. For instance Ramchandrapuram and Mandapeta, Panchayats in the 2nd grade, were repairing their public roads once in 5 years or [651] whenever they needed repairs. Schemes for construction of drainage and gutters were still under consideration and a drainage tax was introduced at the rate of 25 per cent of the house tax, but it was never utilised. Ramchandrapuram Panchayat had jurisdiction of over 100 roads which were to be maintained and repaired, but they were left in a helpless and unsatisfactory condition. The amount that was allotted for repairs of roads was very inadequate. Panchayats in other districts had nothing better to report. The same indifferernce, inadequate allottment of funds, irregular enforcement of even these assignments, and unsatisfactory conditions unchecked by Local Government Officials were the usual themes. In spite of their good financial position, Panchayats of the calibre of Tanuku and Tadepalligudam in West Godaveri, Vuyyuru and Jaggayapeta in Kistna, Salur and Yelamanchili in Vizagapatam displayed deplorable indifference to this obligation. Some better examples of constructive Panchayats as Kampli and Rayadrug in Bellary, where better attention was being paid to communication were seen, but such instances were very few.

Even among the 3rd grade Panchayats, there were some instances where the picture was not totally bleak. Razole in East Godavari, Kovvur, Ganapavaram, Peatapadu, Undi, Akividu, Achanta and Attili in West Godavari, Gudur and Pedana in Kistna, Madugula and Chodavaram in Vizagapatam, Penu Konda and Gooty in Anantpur, were some of the Panchayats amongst those visited that showed some real signs of interest towards this important obligation. [735] In these places, in addition to regular attention to roads, alms houses for beggars as in Razole were proposed; registers of length of roads and needs for periodic repairs were maintained and attended to; drains, culverts and platforms were constructed, the towns

The supersession period was normally one year and sometimes one and a half years. Many of the irregular Panchayats were superseded more than once.

A few samples taken in the survey would illustrate the circumstances under which Panchayats were usually superseded. We shall review only a few cases as Tuni in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Kantaram in Kistna, Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Gooty, Dharmavaram and Gorantala in Anantapur, as instances of superseded Boards.

Tuni Panchayat in East Godavari was once superseded for its wanton neglect of taxation and collection of arrears in 1939.

	Current Demand	Arrears
	Rs.	Rs.
License Fees	...	103—0—0
House Tax	3587—4—0	138—0—0
Profession Tax	226-14-0	75-12—8
Public Scavenging Fees	302—1-0	...
Markets	38—4-0	3944-14—3
Cart Stands	1119-10-0	2224—5—0
Slaughter House	92—0-0	247—6—8
Sale of Rubbish	...	76—0—0
Total.	5266—1-0	8809—5-11

No coercive steps were ever taken by the Panchayat to collect this money. On the other hand these dues were written off without the consent the District Board. The Panchayat had also executed works of gravelling 7 roads in undue haste. Sanitation was neglected awfully. As a result the Board was superseded.

One Panchayat in West Godavari proved to be a notorious example of village factions. When the previous President of the Panchayat died, another came in his place, but the party of the dead President began to oppose every resolution. When the new one was thrown out and a member of the opposition party was elected, they in turn repeated the same thing in vengeance, and consequently no work could be done. Roads which were said to have been executed were proved as never laid down. Some of the lands acquired in the name of the Panchayat were misappropriated. Inspite of all the instructions from the Inspector of Local Boards and the District Panchayat Officer, the Panchayat refused to carry out their orders. Influential majority of population of the village exerted much pressure to see that the

642 623 had, they got usally no other remuneration. Still they continued to do the village watch and ward and police work too. In view of the declining importance given to them so far, they had to be properly [666] readjusted in the new village set up. The method of election in the major Panchayats was by ballot, but in the minor Panchayats election by show of hands was the practice in the majority of cases. Representation by wards or hamlets was in existence only in some of the Panchayats, but to avoid village conflicts the system was highly desired by most of them. Panchayats were not found in all villages which were fit to be Panchayats as their formation was not compulsory according to the statute. Cast composition of the Panchayats was predominently Non-Brahmins. There appeared to be some difficulty in filling up the casual vacancies as no regular reports were sent to the Panchayat Officer. One Panchayat in one village seems to be a better practice though no difficulty was seen even in the working of Joint Panchayats. Election versus nomination of members in the matter of superseded Panchayats was for long a matter of controversy; some like Mr. K. Jayaraman (in A study of Madras Panchayats) upholding a nominated Panchayat and others holding a fresh election to the Panchayat to be a better solution. Instead of these two, the best thing appears to be to leave the matter in the hands of an administrator for sometime. As the nominated bodies would not be expected to look to the daily administrative work of the Panchayats, it is a relief that executive officers are appointed to these Panchayats.

The different village authorities like the Village Panchayat, the Panchayat Court, the Panchayat School, the Irrigation and Forest Panchayats worked with separate constitutions under the control of separate authorities. It is a matter for earnest consideration whether all functions cannot be entrusted to a single Panchayat with expanded membership and more sub-committees to look after these different functions.

Again as there is no statutory obligation for the creation of Panchayats for a village of a fixed population as in Bombay, their progress stands to be slow.

651 **B. Finance**: The revenues at the disposal of the Madras Panchayats were more in comparison to those at the disposal of Panchayats in other States.

The share of the local fund cess distribution to the Panchayats was not based on any scientific basis; a Village Panchayat situated in an irrigated area got more, while a Panchayat in a dry

26: Rao E-6 (1946-7) 1954 AW1 India
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area got less, in accordance with the proportion of land revenue collected in each place. The allocation of this cess was not based on needs or population of the locality. Even an increase of the grant of the land revenue or share of local fund cess on the existing basis would only accentuate the prevalent disparities in the incomes of the Panchayats. Hence a readjustment of the distribution of local fund cess according to the needs and population of the Panchayats appears to be a long-felt need. 651

House tax was another fruitful source of income and was not also properly tapped. Most of the minor Panchayats did not impose it because its imposition was not obligatory. The major Panchayats favoured either the lowest rates possible or the lowest amounts in certain cases by undervaluing a few of the houses of the privileged and by granting exemptions to some, under one pretext or the other. In many Panchayats, house values and rates continued to be the same without revision for years. The method of assessment was also not scientific. Without changing the basis of assessment of house tax from capital to rental valuation, without revision of house values at frequent intervals by impartial observers or assessors and compulsory imposition at the maximum rates and without rigorous efforts of collection, the situation cannot be expected to improve much.

Similarly in the matter of scavenging fees collected. There was no uniformity either in the rates or the base or the period for which they were collected in any Panchayat. Some times the rates were fixed according to the number of the family members; sometimes according to the number of seats, sometimes according to the status of the family holder, and sometimes the rates were different for Institutions and private families. In some places, they were collected together with house tax.

Slaughter house rates too varied for every animal slaughtered from one Panchayat to another. Though departmental management was preferred, auctioning of the right of collecting the fees continued in several Panchayats. There were also instances where slaughter fees were collected without slaughter houses existing there. Meat, offered for sale, was not regularly checked by the executive officer or Sanitary Inspector or the Veterinary Doctor. [744]

Panchayat finance had not only suffered from lack of uniformity in the rates of public market fees and those from ferry boats but had also to loose a major share of the income from these sources as it was being taken by the District Boards without any corresponding benefit to the Panchayats in return.

651 Sometimes a good deal of income was also lost by Panchayats due to non-imposition of cart and bus stand fees. Though 90 per cent of the entertainment tax proceeds were given to the Panchayats after deducting 10 per cent by the Commercial sales tax department towards collection expenses, still some of them demanded the right of collection too, as they expected to collect it at lesser cost. Again revised rates of profession tax only meant an unnecessary sacrifice of useful local revenue to Panchayats and these could be revived with profit. Registration surcharges need to be collected more rigorously by the Panchayats. Vehicle tax and animal tax ought to be made obligatory, instead of being optional.

A good deal of disparity existed in the case of license fees too, both in the number of articles on which they were imposed as well as the rates at which they were collected. They differed between wide extremes from Panchayat to Panchayat. Panchayats were not properly surveyed before encroachments were booked. Proper care was always not taken before enforcing Food Adulteration Act with the result, the benefits were not commensurate with the expenditure incurred for the examination of the samples of adulterated food stuffs. Money was also lost by Panchayats because of the non-imposition of octroi duties, sales tax in fairs and festivals, pilgrim tax, forfeiture of income from bull fights and similar other local entertainments.

642 647 **C Functions**: Due to an amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government had appointed executive officers to all the major Panchayats, to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers entrusted to them. But the legislation was not clear cut in regard to the position of the executive officer's powers, his status vis-a-vis the Panchayat. Whether he was superior or sub-ordinate to the Panchayat or independent of its control was also never made clear. While his pay and allowances were met with by the Panchayat, he was appointed, transferred, punished or removed only by the Provincial Government. While the Panchayats felt that the executive officers were sub-ordinate to them, some executive officers felt that they were independent of Panchayats, while some others thought themselves to be superior to Panchayats. To add to the curious ambiguity of their position, the pay and emoluments of these officials were also very low, with the result, that it was very difficult to attract the best young men for this service. They had a few powers like making appointments of the staff instead of allowing this to be done

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Table No. 19—Income of Village Panchayats in Madras (1946)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	Opening Balance	House Tax	Rate for House Tax per Rs. 100 Capital Value	Land Cess	Private Scavenging	Licenses Fees	Public Markets	Contribution for Markets	Cart Stands	Bus Stands	Slaughter Houses	Grass Sales	Fishery Rentals	Fines under Public Resort Act	Sale of Manures	Registration Surcharges
(i)	(ii)	1	2	3	4	5	9	10	11	12	13	14	20	21	22	23	25
				As.													
1	Amalapuram	9321	11000	2	1300	5000	2000	3400	...	8500	...	800	...	1000	...	10	...
2	Bhimavaram	24810	24899	8	1250	6050	5200	8500	...	2500	...	2140	...	500	...	600	25000
3	Tuni	78891	11150	...	100	5500	2000	13000	...	5500	...	1280	...	40	...	400	...
4	Gunsakal	16662	15000	4	250	2000	4000	2700	...	2000	2000	1900	...	...	...	1000	...
5	Mandapeta	...	7000	2	1900	2460	1300	1400	2800	2000	...	210	...	1775	...	500	1000
6	Ramachandrapuram	10501	9542	2	1117	974	8327	990	...	1979	...	2182	...	125	...	...	...
7	Tadepalligudem	1850	18000	...	400	2000	5500	1000	30000	2000	...	210	100	...	...	100	...
8	Tanuku	10134	12000	8	1800	4200	2000	4530	...	2500	...	400	10	50	100	100	...
9	Vuyyuru	2258	6000	8	992	1000	2000	1000	...	200	...	200	300	...	...	100	4000
10	Nuzvid	13450	15000	...	500	1200	650	1200	...	300	1000	1200	...	...	50	500	...
11	Jaggayapeta	11674	10000	8	180	400	3000	1000	...	500	800	400	...	...	...	300	2000
12	Kovvur	1000	8000	5	780	2750	1000	800	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	25	...
13	Velpur	2882	5050	...	470	240	500	2600	...	580	...	...	...	200	...	100	1200
14	Attili	1886	7400	...	1700	400	2500	4000	...	1200	...	...	...	600	...	...	...
15	Undi	6358	2000	8	1000	1200	500	5000	...	300	...	50	...	50	...	250	...
16	Akividu	6029	5000	...	900	1000	1530	5000	...	500	...	200	...	45	...	100	...
17	Achanta	3128	10000	...	2500	3000	1000	2000	...	200	...	250	...	...	500	25	...
18	Peatapadu	568	3000	4	225	...	500	350	...	200	...	...	...	200	...	50	2000
19	Ganapavaram	2961	10000	...	700	300	800	3200	...	500	...	...	...	500	...	...	...
20	Razole	488	3200	3	516	1200	400	2500	...	2500	...	100	...	...	...	10	1000
21	Gudur (Kistna)	480	400	5	488	...	120	400	...	...	...	...	55	...	...	5	...
22	Pedana	...	5889	8	840	463	747	2047	...	...	...	120	800	150	...	152	...

23	Kantaram	7443	3000	8	760	...	203	...	...	...	...	...	4000	200	...	...	...	
24	Pamaru	350	6000	4	1018	250	800	120	...	...	...	150	4000	100	...	20	...	
25	Parvatipuram	25473	12500	4	550	100	5500	3000	...	3000	...	700	...	...	...	100	3000	
26	Bobbili	5768	1000	...	1254	1500	4500	3500	...	...	...	1000	...	...	...	500	1000	
27	Salur	7859	10000	...	300	50	3500	2000	...	350	225	550	...	...	...	100	...	
28	Madugula	420	1500	...	780	120	3500	1400	...	300	200	500	...	...	...	...	...	
29	Chodavaram	69328	4638	4	982	420	17	840	...	2935	...	500	...	10	...	...	...	
30	Kasimkot	766	2800	...	446	...	1200	2500	...	2500	...	130	...	...	...	...	...	
31	Yellamanchili	2031	5300	...	543	80	1000	1100	800	...	...	500	...	250	...	230	200	
32	Dharmavaram	1852	8000	...	650	800	1500	2200	100	1200	...	300	...	150	350	400	...	
33	Kasiri	6710	9000	...	300	11000	1350	1400	350	1600	350	200	...	500	...	200	...	
34	Gooty	863	11000	...	300	500	2500	100	...	2000	...	1200	...	...	...	...	...	
35	Dhone	11675	50 00	...	140	30	1600	1300	...	1250	...	500	...	...	...	...	...	
36	Nandikotkur	129	6000	...	220	500	...	1300	...	600	...	1000	...	...	...	250	...	
37	Pattikonda	7113	3600	...	250	300	1000	1300	...	900	250	1150	...	...	...	750	...	
38	Maddikera	2373	4000	...	150	500	950	700	100	...	580	100	...	...	...	400	300	
39	Kampli	...	3190	3	683	305	634	2000	...	1050	...	58	...	...	...	185	...	
40	Rayadrug	7762	10500	...	80	1000	1500	1500	...	3000	...	1500	...	...	100	200	...	
41	Valluru	1744	...	...	700	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1400	...	...	20	...	
42	Yeditha	1500	...	...	1800	...	98	150	...	200	...	...	3200	800	...	20	...	
43	Kapileswarapuram	...	...	...	1000	...	130	...	...	200	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
44	Palivela	3936	600	2	1000	120	...	150	165	...	365	...	50	...	...	...	...	
45	Alamuru	3715	...	...	1000	...	150	...	250	3000	...	...	1000	400	...	...	...	
46	Avidi	36	...	...	2029	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	323	40	...	...	...	
47	Bodasakurru	4673	...	...	632	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	
48	Kothapeta	7008	1400	4	1000	870	...	740	...	640	...	150	...	...	...	5	...	
49	Inaparru	508	...	...	650	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	...	
50	Itampudi	3	...	...	60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	108	...	...	...	...	
51	Vasadi	...	...	...	600	...	...	150	...	...	...	...	100	100	...	...	...	
52	Pittala-Vomavaram	...	...	...	500	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	600	25	...	...	...	
53	Mukkamala	127	...	...	550	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
54	Palakoderu	679	...	...	320	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...	...	
55	Kandavilli	10	...	...	1400	...	50	...	...	...	...	...	400	25	...	...	...	
56	Aravalli	3	...	...	300	...	...	600	...	...	...	...	...	145	...	5	...	
57	Gudur (Kurnool)	50	2500	...	310	330	60	1000	...	...	...	400	...	220	...	...	...	
58	Kothavalasa	472	600	...	318	...	...	1000	...	...	...	...	...	130	...	...	...	

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(*Table No. 19:—Contd.*)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	Opening Balance	House Tax	Rate for House Tax per Rs. 100 Capital Value	Land Cess	Private Scavenging	Licenses Fees	Public Markets	Contribution for Markets	Cart Stands	Bus Stands	Slaughter Houses	Grass Sales	Fishery Rentals	Fines under Public Resort Act.	Sale of Manures	Registration Surcharges
(i)	(ii)	1	2	3	4	5	9	10	11	12	13	14	20	21	22	23	25
				as.													
59	K. Jagannadhapuram	...	1466	2	455	...	271	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
60	Vadada	...	...	...	360	...	350	900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
61	Bukkapatnam	528	3300	...	1000	40	600	1000	...	...	...	100	...	2300	...	50	...
62	Gorantala	3022	1000	...	116	10	350	2000	...	...	200	...	...	20	...	40	80
63	Lepakshi	...	...	...	200	...	250	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
64	Veldurti	3394	1055	...	184	151	888	790	...	...	380	100	...	...	...	9	...
65	Betamcherla	979	2000	...	250	...	1024	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...

N. B.—Columns omitted are supplied hereunder according to place, etc.

Col. 6.–Rate of Private Scavenging:

	Rs.
6. Ramachandrapuram	0-8-0
12. Kovvur	2-0-0

Col. 7.–Drain Tax:

5. Mandapeta	1750
12. Kovvur	500
41. Valluru	164

Col. 8.–Food Adulteration:

7. Tadepalligudem	10000
16. Aktivide	1000
31. Yellamanchili	800
33. Dharmavaram	500

	Rs.
40. Rayadurg.	500
48. Kothapeta	500
58. Kothavalasa	575

Col. 16.–Choultries:

4. Guntakal	400
6. Ramachandrapuram	2
19. Ganapavaram	150
24. Pamaru	80

Col. 17.–Burial Grounds:
No statistics available

Col. 18.–Aid to Village Panchayat Courts:

	Rs.
46. Avidi	768

Col. 19.–Aid to Elementary Schools:

46. Avidi	25
57. Gudur (Kurnool)	1000
62. Gorantala	336

Col. 24.–Ferries:

39. Kampli	3100
43. Kapileswarapuram	4000
45. Alamuru	300
47. Bodasakurru	14660
57. Gudur (Kurnool)	70

(Table No. 19—Contd.)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	Entertainment Tax	Local Fund Cess Fines	Warrant and Destraint Fees	Rent and Produce of Lands	Deposits	Advances	Postal Interest	Management Receipts	Profession Tax	Miscellaneous	Aid to Library and Radio	Fairs and Festivals Fees	Decrease Allowance Grants	Lapsed Deposits	Avenues
(i)	(ii)	26	31	32	34	37	38	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	49
1	Amalapuram	10000	...	100	2000	6000	150	...	50	2500	5000	300	300	...	...	35
2	Bhimavaram	17000	2000	10	2000	1008	100	...	1600	3754	250	...	50	...	...	100
3	Tuni	4000	500	10	600	5000	200	...	...	2200	...	...	...	...	...	20
4	Guntakal	5000	1500	...	1750	3000	100	...	100	5000	...	...	300	...	700	.....
5	Kandepeta	5000	305	...	600	3000	10	...	50	1330	50	200	...	...	500	2600
6	Ramachandrapuram	2709	...	...	389	1698	23761	...	48	1739	23	...	...	...	6	73
7	Tadepalligudem	8000	...	30	...	24130	...	...	...	3000	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	Tenali	6000	950	...	50	...	...	...	300	1600	...	...	50	...	...	...
9	Vuyyuru	4000	100	100	500	...	...	...	2700	1000	...	150	200	...	...	...
10	Bezwid	4000	20	70	...	1000	...	200	50	1500	100	...	...	...	...	...
11	Jaggayyapeta	6000	1000	20	...	100	...	300	500	2400	100	...	...	...	...	70
12	Kovvur	100	800	...	200	800	20	20	200	800	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	Velpur	...	20	...	...	1000	1425	...	60	400	...	...	...	...	...	600
14	Attili	400	600	...	1000	100	...	...	...	1000	...	...	50	7000	...	100
15	Undi	...	50	...	50	...	200	100	400	...	...	...	...	...	...	150
16	Akividu	500	200	5	100	45	500	...	100	880	300	...	300	...	...	...
17	Ashanta	1500	100	...	...	1000	...	...	200	1000	...	100	...	...	...	300
18	Peetapadu	300	...	5	1200	...	20	...	...	400	...	...	...	2900	...	1000
19	Ganapavarm	...	30	...	...	800	150	30	40	400	...	...	...	...	...	...
20	Ratnle	...	1000	4	...	2000	200	...	550	300	...	...	...	...	...	450
21	Gudur (Kistna)	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	300	...	...	...	...	...	...	85
22	Podana	1848	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...	...	...	21	...	...	...
23	Kanteram	...	...	2000	...	800	2085	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	188
24	Pamaru	1400	30	10	4000	...	5070	60	300	1145	...	...	...	...	...	...
25	Parvatipuram	4000	100	20	...	200	...	...	...	3000	...	...	...	...	...	...
26	Bobbili	1920	2000	6	100	1100	900	...	...	1700	...	...	...	...	1200	...
27	Salur	500	1000	10	...	...	...	...	...	3000	...	50	...	8000	...	150

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(*Table No. 19—Contd.*)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	Entertainment Tax	Local Fund Fines Cess	Warrant and Destraint Fees	Rent and Produce of Lands	Deposits	Advances	Postal Interest	Management Receipts	Profession Tax	Miscellaneous	Aid to Library and Radio	Fairs and Festivals Fees	Dearness Allowance Grants	Lapsed Deposits	Avenues
(i)	(ii)	26	31	32	34	37	38	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	49
28	Maduguia	250	200	10	100	1200	50	...	140	400	140	...	...	...	150	...
29	Chodavaram	...	38	...	195	600	...	...	157	387	...	...	...	...	405	10
30	Kasimkot	...	...	...	20	4710	50	...	...	400	...	...	...	...	...	...
31	Yellamanchili	200	5	...	300	1500	200	...	...	350	393	...	...	650	...	10
32	Dharmavaram	2600	200	...	...	...	...	...	50	1700	560	...	...	50	...	10
33	Kadiri	2000	700	10	...	...	1000	...	...	1800	540	...	...	...	...	...
34	Gooty	2000	...	8	...	...	...	...	100	1500	1092	...	100	600	...	...
35	Dhone	...	...	...	300	...	...	...	...	1200	...	...	...	...	...	200
36	Nandikotkur	...	20	10	1000	...	...	...	500	500	...	...	...	...	...	...
37	Pattikonda	...	200	10	...	...	...	...	...	900	300	...	...	...	...	...
38	Maddikera	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	800	130	...	...	...	600	...
39	Kampli	2040	...	...	...	...	...	...	444	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40	Rayadrug	...	300	20	200	500	...	300	...	1200	...	...	50	...	...	...
41	Vailuru	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	156	...	...	...
42	Yeditha	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	90	...	...	...	...	...
43	Kapileswarapuram	...	10	600	...	...	...	...	100	...	130	100	...	...	...	...
44	Palivela	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	895	...	...	...
45	Alamuru	...	...	...	...	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	367	...	...
46	Avidi	...	...	...	...	...	27	3	50	...	...	367	...	...	...	...
47	Bodasakurru	...	2	...	...	2817	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
48	Kothapeta	34	50	5	...	10	...	50	...	400	...	...	...	...	...	...
49	Inaparru	...	650	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50	Itempudi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
51	Vasadi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20
52	Pittala-Vomavaram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
53	Mukkamala	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
54	Palakoderu	...	200	...	...	...	...	...	...	1000	...	...	...	...	1500	...

55	Kandavilli	...	2000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56	Aravalli	...	576	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
57	Gudur (Kurnool)	...	2724	67	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	1600	500	
58	Kothavalasa	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	326	...	...	...	...	...	1100	
59	K. Jagannadhapuram	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	748	...	100	
60	Vadada	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
61	Bukkapatnam	100	100	...	...	...	...	...	150	320	...	...	250	...	...	...	
62	Gorantala	1200	15	20	...	...	...	...	...	200	...	100	...	4500	...	...	
63	Lepakshi	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
64	Veldurti	309	...	223	...	...	...	...	375	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	
65	Betamcherla	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

N. B.—Columns omitted are supplied hereunder according to the place, etc.

Col. 27.-Interest on Loans :

	Rs.
27. Salur	50
56 Aravalli	10

Col. 28.-Interest on Securities :
No statistics available

Col. 29.-Encroachments :

10. Nuzvid	500
22. Pedana	388
30. Kasimkot	50
34. Gooty	100
42. Yeditha	10

Col. 30.-Godown Rents :

7. Tadepalligudam	1000
13. Velpur	5
31. Yellamanchili	100
38. Maddikera	100
53. Mukkamala	10

Col. 33.-Donations :

2. Bhimavaram	3500
17. Achanta	3000
23. Kantaram	2000
25. Parvatipuram	10
28. Madugula	5500
30. Kasimkot	10
36. Nandikotkur	500

Col. 35.—Earth Fees :

12. Kovvur	50
40. Rayadrug	200

Col. 36.-Penalties :

5. Mandapeta	15
12. Kovvur	50
13. Velpur	500
14. Attili	1000
38. Maddikera	500
40. Rayadrug	1500
56. Palakoderu	106

Col. 39.-Bore-hole Machine Fees :

18. Peatapadu	550
24. Pamaru	100
33. Kadiri	200

Col. 48.-Grants and Contributions :

5. Mandapeta	2500
38. Maddikera	600
42. Yeditha	100

Col. 50.-Sale of Old Stores :

	Rs.
3. Tuni	100
10. Nuzvid	50
20. Razole	50
33. Kadiri	200
38. Maddikera	200
62. Gorantala	30

Col. 51.-Magisterial Fines :

4. Guntakal	1000
8. Tanuku	750
12. Kovvur	150
13. Velpur	170
14. Attili	900
19 Ganapavaram	280
25. Parvatipuram	400
27. Salur	1000
30. Kasimkot	500
40. Rayadrug	1300

Col. 53.—Animal Tax
No statistics available.

26: Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1954 AW1 India Telugu AW17

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Section II: Schools in Madras Panchayats

PART I

Administrative and Legislative Position on the Eve of the Enquiry

871 651 At the time when the reformers of Local Self-Government became busy with the revival of the age old village Panchayat, Village Unions were first started wherever the village Rate Schools were first existing. The maximum distance from the school to the Union periphery was never more than two or three miles. House tax was legalised and collected only in places where schools existed. But in course of time, the system went out of vogue and the schools fell into abeyance, as the rural communities for whose sake they were intended did not evince much interest in their development. Huge arrears of house tax were left uncollected, the teachers unpaid and the system died a natural death. By 1870, only 101 schools were found working out of the original 271, which were started. Elementary education, it was realised, could not be maintained by collection of voluntary rates, and a regular compulsory cess was thought of. Though the original idea of instituting such a compulsory cess was there from 1859, it was postponed to 1868, due to the lack of support of Sir Charles Trevelyan in the earlier years. It was only when the necessity of supplementing the Imperial Revenues with local taxes was found inevitable, it was resorted to. But even this did not find favour with the villagers and had to be ultimately abandoned by 1873–74.

871 It was with the revival of Panchayats in 1920 by legislation, that fresh stimulus was given to the Panchayat Schools too. About 1,300 village schools were established in the period between 1920 to 1930 and half of them had their own buildings. The inspecting staff of the District Board was consulting the Panchayats for making the necessary recommendations everytime and for sanctioning of grants.

The starting and promotion of Panchayat Schools became thus so accomplished a factor in Local Government that by 1945 in every part of the Province there were several Panchayat Schools established and found working as below :

and orders and for seizing, selling and delivering movable properties under this Act. 692

B. Finance: The income of the Village and Panchayat Courts mainly consisted of the fees charged for the process, for the execution of decrees and for the supply of copies of decrees and other records. The village officers like the Munsif and the Karnam and the other village servants were hereditary with fixed pay and incomes. The members of the Panchayat Court were all honorary and as such the establishment expenses were practically nil. This was the main advantage of the administration of justice by the Village Courts and Panchayats Courts. As no legal practitioners were essential to appear either in civil or criminal proceedings, the parties were saved from the expenses of litigation, while they were enabled to have effective and early justice. 692 651

C. Functions: The Village Courts and the Panchayat Courts had both Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction. 692

Civil Jurisdiction: The civil suits admissible before these Courts were for claims not exceeding Rs. 50 or upto Rs. 200 with the written consent of both the parties. The President or members should not decide cases to which they were parties. Cases which were once tried by another Court of competent jurisdiction were not to be entertained and claims which were once judiciously reduced could not be raised again. After serving the summons on the parties by the village servants, cases were fixed for hearing and if the defendant failed to appear, the Court was competent to give an exparte decree. Legal practitioners were allowed to appear on behalf of any parties. Witnesses were summoned to give evidence, if they were within 5 miles distance and if the distance was more, the Munsif of the other village was intimated to take interrogation of the witness and to send it. Women who according to the custom could not be called in public or if they were sick, were heard at home. After hearing the parties and recording evidence, the Village or Panchayat Court was to arrive at just and fair judgement. 695

Criminal Jurisdiction: The Provincial Government might by a notification in the Gazette empower a Panchayat Court to try all or 692

692 A. **Structure**: Every district had a number of Panchayat Courts in it, and in all of them, fair representation was given to all the communities like Brahmins, Kapus, Kammas, Baljas, Telagas, Harijans, [666] etc. The method of election in all the Panchayats selected was by show of hands only.

[661] B. **Finance**: Court fees were the only source of income at their disposal.

C. **Functions**: The working day, the place of work, the time and procedure of these Courts differed from one another from district to district. Again most of them had both civil and criminal powers.

The Panchayat Courts in the East and West Godavaris were known for their efficient and impartial working. Ganapavaram Panchayat Court in West Godavari had both civil and criminal jurisdiction. Working hours were from 11 a. m. to 5 p. m. In Pennada both civil and criminal powers were bestowed, but since 1930 criminal powers were taken away. As there was no place for holding the Panchayat Court, it was being held in the President's house. Similarly in Sringavarapukota, which started in 1920, there was always heavy work. In places like Bhimavaram and Veeravaram the Panchayat Courts were found to be efficient.

In East Godavari, the Panchayat Courts in Valluru, Kapileswarapuram and Palivela, not to speak of those in major Panchayats like Razole and Amalapuram, were working quite well. In Kistna District, Panchayat Courts in Jaggayapeta, Nuzvid and Vuyyuru were found to be working well. They had representation from all communities, good record of work from 1927, and created good impression on the public. In Vizagapatam not many efficient Panchayat Courts were found except in a few instances like Kothavalasa, where the same President was continuing for the last 20 years. He was also the President of the Village Panchayat. There was no fixed day allotted for the decision of the cases. The Court usually met, whenever there was work, in the house of the President.

Kurnool District was notorious for its village factions and it was confirmed in our investigation. In Nandikotkur, the majority of cases were only criminal. The civil work was far too low every year. About 200 criminal cases came up for the decision as those of illicit cattle grazing, felling fuel, etc. Some of the specimens of the most unsatisfactory type of working were Dhone, Maddikera and Betemcherla where the election for the Panchayat Courts were held 3 years back, but the President was not elected at all. This of

9. the Irrigation Panchayats should not effect any alterations to sluices or masonary works or make any alterations in the channels or interfere with any headworks; 10. the Panchayat shall be responsible for keeping water over the bund during the rainy seasons; 11. the Panchayat should make good any damage to the bund sluice, head-work etc., resulting from their mismanagement; 12. the Government may sanction a grant for the up-keep of the channels and masonry works; and 13. the Panchayat should maintain an account of expenditure and receipts.

B. Finance: The Government gave them small annual grants. As these were usually very meagre, the Irrigation Panchayats depended to a great extent on the funds they collected by way of subscriptions from the local ryots for the improvement and repairs of irrigation sources.

C. Functions: The functions of the Irrigation Panchayat were to see that richer ryots did not get more water at the expense of the poorer ryots, to keep the water sluices in order, to send intimations to the Public Works Department in time and to make representations in the matter of any difficulty.

D. Supervision and Control: Irrigation Panchayat supervision was entrusted to the Revenue and the Public Works Departments. They had to submit periodical reports of work to the Tahsildar or the Revenue Divisional Officer who was supposed to be their immediate superior authority.

PART II

Actual Conditions Revealed by the Survey

Irrigation Panchayats were at Brahmanayeleru in Anantpur, Bhimavaram and Cherukumilli in West Godavari, Jaggayapeta in Kistna, Kampli and five informal Irrigation Panchayats at Chinatam. Palem, Avinamadugu, Daroji, Haganuru and Sirigupa in Bellary. Palem River Irrigation Scheme, a registered cooperatived society since 1927, would deserve special mention as it was first of its type in the Presidency.

A. Structure: The membership of these Irrigation Panchayats varied from Panchayat to Panchayat. For instance, while Bhimavaram Irrigation Panchayat consisted of 5 members, Cherukumilli Irrigation Panchayat in the same district consisted of 10 members; while Kampli Irrigation Panchayat in Bellary consisted of 7 members, the Irrigation Panchayat of Brahmanayeleru in Anantapur consisted of 4 members,

312 3 from the Village Panchayat and one from the Panchayatdars. Again in Kampli in Bellary and in Brahmanayeleru in Anantapur, the President of the Panchayat as well as that of the Irrigation Panchayat were the same without any detriment to the good work of either body.

[666] **Method of Election**: This was generally by show of hands and the election was always conducted by the Revenue Divisional Officer.

Term: The term of office for the members of the Irrigation Panchayat was 3 years, but for the last 13 years, there were no elections due to war and the same old bodies were in power.

[564] **Caste Composition**: The majority was always of non-Brahmins, more than of Brahmins. There was no system of reservation of seats or ex-officio membership as in the case of the Village Panchayats.

651 312 **B. Finance**: This was constisted of meagre Government grants supplemented in a few cases by the small proceeds from sale of grass, etc. The Government of Madras had made the following sanctions to the Irrigation Panchayats:

1.	Kovvada Channel	... Rs.	30-0-0
2.	Yendaganda Channel	... „	30-0-0
3.	Aya Bhimavaram Channel I.	... „	60-0-0
4.	„ „ Channel II.	... „	60-0-0
5.	Bhaskararao Channel	... „	20-0-0
6.	Cherukumilli Channel	... „	20-0-0
7.	Kampli Irrigation Panchayat in Bellary		nil.

As regards the income of the Irrigation Panchayats, they did not have any other sources than the grants of the Revenue Department annually as mentioned above; and these were inadequate. Besides these, the Panchayats got some income from the sale of grass on canal bunds, whenever that source was available, but this was possible only in the Circars and not in the Ceded Districts. The actual expenditure was generally in excess of finance and the gap was usually filled in by subscriptions voluntary and methodical. Brahmanayeleru Irrigation Panchayat in Anantpur collected at the rate of Re. 1/- per acre on wet cultivation and as. 4 per acre on dry cultivation in its area.

312 652 **C. Functions**: The income of the Irrigation Panchayats was inadequate to meet the cost of their functions which were generally the same as Bhimavaram and Cherukumilli Irrigation Panchayats, Details of expenditure for these were as below.

Details of Expenditure of Bhimavaram Irrigation Panchayat 312 652

Year	Particulars	Rate per Kunta as.	Amount Rs. as. p.
1927	Digging charges ...	2	140-0-0
1928	Digging channels ...	2	128-0-0
1929	Digging channels ...	3	109-2-0
1930	-do- ...	-do-	81-12-0
1931	-do- ...	-do-	57-14-10
1932	-do- ...	1½	48-0-0
1934	-do- ...	1	62-3-0
1941	-do- ...	1½	160-0-0
1944	-do- ...	3	215-0-0

Same was the case in Cherukumilli Irrigation Panchayat as indicated below:

Date	Particulars	Amount Rs. as. p.
3-11-1940	Opening Balance ...	302- 6-8
	Postage charges ...	5- 0-0
	...	
8-11-1940	Costs for digging the channel ...	65-10-0
20- 5-1943	Sell of avenues ...	9-12-0
22- 3-1943	Digging channels ...	98- 0-0
23- 3-1944	Cartage charges ...	105- 1-0
12- 7-1946	Grass expenditure ...	94- 0-0
	Balance	146 -8-0 ,

While in the case of Bhimavaram, the annual revenue grant was Rs. 60; in the case of Cherukumilli it was only Rs. 20. The expenditure that was being incurred by the irrigation Panchayats was far in excess of their income, and the excess money was being collected from the individual ryots as private subscriptions for the improvement of the irrigation channels. This was the case with regard to all the Irrigation Panchayats in West Godavari. 312 657 651

In Anantapur, Brahamanayeleru Irrigation Panchayat professed to be the oldest and best. It collected irrigation tax at the rate of Re.1 per acre of wet crops and 4 as. per acre of dry crops. Kudimaramat (free labour contribution by the villagers) was in force and Irrigation Panchayat appointed Nirgantis at a pay of Rs. 13, though the 312 651

312 651 authorised scale was only Rs. 6 per mensem, to look after the distribution of water.

312 The administrative duties of the Irrigation Panchayats were more of a nature of conscientious execution by themselves rather than a directorial imposition from above. Mostly these consisted of digging up channels, regulation of water by sluices, sending proper intimation to the P. W. D. and the revenue authorities, occasional sale of grass and usufruct of trees on the banks of the rivers and provision of other ameliorative measures to the village ryots. But even this much of an acti . was visible only in the villages of West Godavari, while in the Ceded Districts, except in rare instances as at Brahmanayeleru, they were mostly nominal. They functioned well because the members were active. Brahmanayeleru in Anantapur had also the right of appointing its own Nirgantis, but this was a privilege rarely exercised or given to any of the Panchayats.

D. Supervision and Control: The Irrigation Panchayats, also known as the informal Panchayats, were usually subject to the supervision of the Revenue and Public Works Departments.

PART III

Observations

A. Structure: The Irrigation Panchayats revealed features like disproportionate membership in relation to the population, election by show of hands, and lack of representation according to the communities.

[651] **B. Finance:** These were inadequate to undertake any works of public utility. The Irrigation Panchayats had always to depend upon the voluntary contributions of ryots as the Government grants were very inadequate.

C. Functions: As most of the functions were self-imposed there was no need for direction from above. The villagers, in their own interest, discharged their obligations by getting the necessary water supply for their fields in time by digging channels and repairing sluices, etc.

While the honorary services of the local non-officials were available, the enthusiasm could not be properly exploited without giving them the required financial assistance and administrative help like appointment and payment of Nirgantis, etc.

D. Supervision and Control: Both the Revenue and Public Works Departments never took any active interest in the adminis-

area entrusted to their care. It was also their responsibility to increase the usefulness of the forests and develop them properly. 311

The main conditions of the agreement were to be scrutinised by the Forest Panchayat Tahsildar who sent them to the Revenue Divisional Officer and he, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue. The Forest Panchayat usually entered into an agreement with the District Collector and the agreement was signed on Re 0-12-0 stamp. A map of the Forest Panchayat area was to be supplied to it by the Government at the time when it started functioning. Cairns were to be constructed throughout the reserve area with a width of 12 feet and height of 11 feet. The boundaries of the manure leaf cour[illegible] should be well defined, features like streams, wells, cart tracks, [illegible] clearly shown in the map. Areas that should be closed permanently for grazing too would be shown together with localities earmarked for digging wells, etc. All the grazing permits were only issued to the Forest Panchayatdars and no permits were issued on credit.

B. Finance: The Finance of the Forest Panchayat included the proceeds of: 1. sale of grazing permits allowed to be issued under specified rates, as per agreement with the Government, 2. sale of minor forest produce; 3. sale of permits to collect dead wood, manure, leaves and the like on a small payment; 4. the rights to collect *savaram*; 5. sale of fuel coups to the extent of 10 to 15 acres depending on the size of the forest; 6. giving permits for quarrying and carrying materials wherever available by payment of seignorage; 7. tree tapping fees, when there were in the forest trees fit for tapping, the toddy tappers were to pay rates fixed by the Panchayat; 8. fees for the removal of green timber; 9. commission for working on big fuel coups sales which were to be determined by the Collector; 10. moiety on fines and compound fees, and 11. share in sandal wood revenue. The Forest Panchayat was not entitled to extract sandal wood, but a share was given to provide them with an incentive to work. 651 311

C. Functions: Functions of the Forest Panchayats included appointment, maintenance and payment of watchers, improvement and maintenance of boundaries, meeting contingencies and payment of rent to Government. Any amount left after meeting these charges was to be utilised for works of public utility. Each watcher should not have more than a square mile area under his jurisdiction. Annually provision for construction of any works should not exceed the expenditure the Forest Panchayat incurred during the course of the year. The Panchayat should hold meetings at least once in two months. The 311

PART II

Actual Conditions Revealed by the Survey:

A. **Structure**: Selection of the sample of the Forest Panchayats was made on the same basis as that of the Village Panchayats in four categories i.e. good, moderate, unsatisfactorily and very unsatisfactorily working according to the connotation explained in the preface. (Table No. 22) 311

The Forest Panchayats were not constituted on one village one Panchayat basis, but they were constituted for a group of villages. Sometimes the Forest Panchayat was for 7 to 8 village hamlets e. g. Bayyavaram in Vizagapatam District, so with almost all the Forest Panchayats in every district.

The membership varied with the number of hamlets to be represented on the Panchayat. If number of hamlets was less and the area of the Forest Panchayat was meagre, naturally, the number of members of the Forest Panchayat was less.

The caste composition was usually cosmopolitan, i. e. 4 were Valamas, 4 were Kapus and one was Raju in Bayyavaram which was typical example. The other Forest Panchayats in other districts revealed a representation of all castes. [564]

The method of election was always by show of hands. The electorate consisted of the cattle owners. [641] [666]

There was no ex-officio membership of the Village Officials.

The ability of the Forest Panchayat and its working depended mostly on the team work of the members and their sense of responsibility, not to speak of the resources at their disposal.

B. **Finance**: Generally the income of the Forest Panchayats was constituted of the proceeds of the grazing fee, the sale of dead wood, fuel and quarry's stone, income from minor forest produce, bark, leaves, Tangedu, Avaram, etc. Income from sandalwood trees was generally taken by the Forest Department of the Government. Similarly income from big fuel coups was also taken away by the Government except an insufficient share given to the Forest Panchayats for meeting the cost of cutting the wood. (Table No. 23). 311 651

The grazing permits of the Forest Panchayats were usually determined according to the extent of the acreage under command of the Panchayat. The incidence per cow came usually to 3 acres. But the rate of the grazing permits varied from one Panchayat to another Forest

311 651 Panchayat for instance in Bayyavaram Forest Panchayat in Vizagapatam, the rate of grazing per cow was Re 0-6-0, per buffalo Re. 0-12-0 and per sheep Re. 0-3-0 and for fuel each chit for head-load was charged at only Re. 0-0-6.

The grazing rates in Bellary for instance again varied similarly from one Forest Panchayat to another. In Chigetheri Forest Panchayat whose extent in area was 2686.83 acres, the rates of grazing permits were Re. 0-5-0 per cow, Re. 0-10-0 per buffalo, and Re. 0-2-6 per sheep. In Haskanhal, the rates were Re. 0-6-0 per cow. In Kodattu the rates for cow, buffalo and sheep were Re. 0-6-0, Re. 0-12-0 and Re. 0-3-0, respectively.

[314] The income from minor forest produce also varied from one Forest Panchayat to another depending on the nature of the forest produce available, i. e. Tangedu, Avaram, Garualmia, Margosa, sandal-wood, Kasangaddi, Kluesklues, Tamarind, Mustard and the game like deer, peacock, dove, etc.

[316] Quarrying fees were collected in Panchayats like Bayyavaram in Vizagapatam and Betamcherla in Kurnool. Such examples were to be found even in Bellary.

Bayyavaram Forest Panchayats usually sold the fuel coups at a cost not less than Rs. 1000, remitting the same to the treasury. Of this only 10 per cent was given to the Panchayat. It sold fuel dead-woods at Re. 0-0-6 per head load, Re. 0-6-0 per cart-load, Re. 0-1-0 per shoulder-load etc., and levied quarrying fees of Re. 0-2-0 and Re. 0-1-0 per cart load of chisled and unchisled stone respectively.

Income from fuel coups was rarely seen except in Panchayats of the Ceded Districts as that of Bellary. e. g. Jaga the biggest toward Hospet and Dhemaketupalli near Hindupur, in Anantapur. Here the Government of the neighbouring four areas were keeping their wood in Government Depots. The ordinary dead wood was allowed to be sold as usual on the basis of permits.

311 652 One peculiar feature of the budget of the Forest Panchayats was the large balances that accrued from year to year. There was no systematic planning of expenditure for useful purposes by these Panchayats. Panchayats were responsible for the payment of watchers, pay and dress, maintenance and the protection of the reserves from damages of illicit grazing, fire, and theft of firewood and forest produce, the preservation of cairns, the cleanliness, orderliness, etc. Greater the extent of the Panchayat area, greater the number of watchers and greater consequently was the expenditure.

26: Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW 17

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Table No. 23—Income of the Forest Panchayats in Madras 1946 (Rs.)

	Name of the Village	District	Opening Balance	Grazing Fees	Minor Forest Produce	Moisty	Bank Interest	Assessment of Contribution	Notes of Deadwood
1	Bayyaveram	Vizagapatam	265	138	22	47	...	56	56
2	Pedapalli	"	206	12	30	13	12	...	...
3	Gokivada	"	298	99	8	6	6	...	8
4	Rompalem	"	165	96	...	...	...	...	2
5	Kalavalapalli	"	765	117	6	100	...	...	8
6	Yeravaram	"	568	103	15	42	35	42	19
7	Dhemakempalli	Anantapur	1067	600	135	40	25	...	...
8	Sankaragalla	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	Betamcherla	Kurnool	800	700	90	50	...	...	...
10	Jonnagiri	"	137	99	20	...	...	...	...
11	Gooty, Erraguderu	"	1035	363	5	15	...	...	...
12	East Ramakotah	"	1512	409	120	139	20	...	...
13	Jaggayapeta	Kistna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	Bandar Forest	"	60	124	138	...	...	...	78
15	Bolgoti	Bellary	538	187	100	20	8	4	5
16	Arekera	"	100	172	5	1	...	...	...
17	Hulikatti	"	417	326	20	44	44	20	1
18	Eligetteri	"	...	312	70	2	1	...	...
19	Harkanlal	"	21	182	20	6	16	...	...
20	Adevimakankara	"	116	138	...	13	10	...	...
21	Alagallivad	"	36	316	15	5	...	15	...
22	Ucca gidurgam	"	453	340	16	...	...	13	...
23	Masavakalahal	"	85	203	3	14	3	...	...
24	Kodatta	"	34	336	20	11	2	...	...
25	Hydrada	"	75	372	60	2	50	15	...
26	Dasoba Halli	"	42	188	8	...	...	...	...
27	Tagalkatti	"	24	373	2	2	3	...	...
28	Halvagal	"	938	387	15	9	76	9	...
29	Nagathihasapuram	"	126	375	160	9	13	...	13
30	Kanchikari	"	175	275	30	5	5	24	324
31	Aravamahal	"	70	193	14	8	9	5	14
32	Kanavalli	"	632	296	125	5	10	3	1072
33	Koyakathi	"	632	296	20	79	3	...	...
34	Bandikara	"	340	225	20	20	25	20	10
35	Holgundi	"	52	268	63	...	234	...	...
36	Nemikathi	"	633	150	40	5	200	...	...
37	Balagayi	"	417	163	113	83	20	1	15
38	Yellarthi	"	388	187	3	80	20	80	...
39	Rayadrug	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40	Kanispuram	"	537	337	31	2	10	...	...
41	Vithalapuram	"	...	268	30	2	...	...	...
42	Nibalgiri	"	236	229	87	8	...	...	9
43	Thimalgiri	"	...	175	22	60	...	...	...
44	Hospet	"	375	204	130	50	20	50	30
45	Mauri	"	585	219	30	20	23	...	...
46	Gandigamanur	"	517	320	80	20	20	...	28
47	Venkatapuram	"	307	378	...	...	...	...	40
48	Dharmasagy	"	988	265	41	2	4	...	...
49	Jarga	"	1283	464	10	44	...	...	193
50	Dargi	"	207	350	1	5	350	...	...
51	Ingloti	"	350	1	10	206	1	...	...

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

There are no other sources of water-supply. There are no streams or rivers belonging to the village. There is one at some distance, but its water is used to irrigate lands belonging to adjoining villages.

According to assessment—

Wet lands.			Dry lands.		
Rate per acre paid to zamindar.	Extent.	Revenue.	Rate per acre.	Extent.	Revenue.
Rs. A. P.	ACRES.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	ACRES.	Rs. A. P.
8 14 3	4·89	44 3 9	2 1 9	11·11	23 7 2
7 12 6	1·57	12 8 2	1 10 9	4·65	7 11 1
7 6 6	0·86	6 6 6	1 7 3	2·91	4 3 11
6 10 9	1·11	7 7 2	1 3 7	13·95	17 6 7
5 8 11	8·35	48 12 4	1 0 0	3·41	3 7 7
4 7 2	58·60	266 6 1	...	...	...
				Total ...	442 0 4

Inams.

Dry lands.			Wet lands.		
Rate per acre.	Extent.	Revenue.	Rate per acre.	Extent.	Revenue.
Rs. A. P.	ACRES.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	ACRES.	Rs. A. P.
2 3 1	1·06	2 3 3	10 15 0	3·46	39 5 10
1 10 3	15·52	20 9 4	8 12 0	5·69	61 5 8
1 6 9	7·90	11 3 8	7 10 6	4·54	34 15 2
1 3 2	3·58	4 4 11	5 7 6	0·85	6 5 0
				Total ...	180 4 10
				Other lands ...	442 0 4
		Grand total of revenue received by zamindar ...			622 5 2

Occupation of land.—A very small area, 62½ cents of dry land, and 31 cents of wet, belongs to the zamindar himself and is cultivated by a tenant. Such lands are called "kanagi." The rent is Rs. 1-5-2 for the dry land and Rs. 2-11-0 for the wet land.

There are eight ryots who hold land under the zamindar, of these six cultivate their holdings, and two, of whom one is the karnam of the village, let their land to sub-tenants who pay in shares of the produce.

There are thirteen sub-tenants who own no land.

In cultivating paddy, ragi, cholam, sazzulu, and other such grains, half of the produce generally goes to the cultivator, and the other half to the zamindari tenant who lets out his land, all the straw going to the cultivator only, who supplies himself with all the necessaries for cultivation.

But in some cases the zamindari tenant (the pattadar or inamdar) himself supplies one pair of bulls, and ploughs the land, while the cultivator simply helps him in his work. In that case only one-sixth of the produce is given to the cultivator. If the

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

311 *Land*—

	ACS.
Wet land	141·30
Dry land	304·29
Land watered by wells	52·19
Common waste	451·35
Pastures other than waste ... ... } Woods and forests ... ... }	898·14

312 There are two tanks, *Kodipalli cheruvu* and *Varadarajulu kunta*. The first is sufficiently deep though not extensive, and the water stored in the tank is sufficient for two crops. The surplus water is allowed to collect in another small pond. There are fourteen wells, all built round with stone; and one stream when in flood affords an additional water-supply.

311 651 *Classification of lands—According to assessment*—

Wet lands.		Dry lands.	
Rates.	Acres.	Rates.	Acres.
Rs. 4-0-0	18·38	Re. 1	304·29
Rs. 5, Rs. 5-8-0	32·38	... ..	...
Rs. 6-0-0	21·24	.....	...
Rs. 7-0-0	20·35	.....	...
Rs. 8-0-0	7·37	.....	...
Rs. 9-0-0	1·10	.....	...

311 *Occupation of land.*—Of the dry land 109·02 acres, of the wet land 31·50 acres are cultivated by the landowners, the remainder, viz., 32·28 acres of wet land, and 272·79 acres of dry land are sublet and cultivated by tenants.

423 There are about 25 non-cultivating landowners. Some hold Government posts, about 12 are engaged in trade; there are between 30 and 40 tenants who own no land, and the agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land number men 113, women 47.

There are two kinds of ownership, inam and patta. All sirkar lands are held by pattadars. The area of holdings of inam ownership is 127·38 acres. The rest of the cultivable land is held by pattadars. Inamdars pay only quit-rent and road-cess.

There are only about half a dozen pattadars. One family alone owns 97·15 acres of wet and 143·14 acres of dry land.

427 *Rents.*—There are no cultivators who pay a money rent. Everything is paid in kind. The usual arrangement is that the cultivator himself supplies all that is necessary for cultivation, and out of the produce one-half goes to the landowner and the other to the cultivator. There are no other conditions of contract. But when sugarcane is cultivated the landowner gets only one-fourth of the produce.

The whole land revenue comes to Rs. 1,034·7-0, out of which the revenue from the inam lands alone amounts to Rs. 154-3-0.

463 Some of the villagers are engaged in trade side by side with agriculture. Others are potters, dhobis, in addition to being cultivators. Some hold Government posts. Some are contractors.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

165 The figures for deaths are in general accurate, according to information collected in the village, with the exception of the deaths in the cholera epidemic of 1911 and the small-pox epidemic of 1915. In the latter, according to non-official information between 80 and 85 children died, and 160 persons in all. The record of births appears to be very defective.

162 By the 1911 census there were 396 homesteads; there are now 430 to 440, there being many recent extensions of the inhabited village into the fields on the north and south.

An approximate statement of the population according to caste is as follows:—

	Adults.	Children.
Brahmans	25	13
Vaisyas	55	40
Sudras, Kammas	225	220
„ Kapus	275	240
Carpenters and silversmiths	33	24
Weavers	26	22
Barbers	10	4
Washermen	100	150
Toddy-tappers	283	305
Shepherds	52	33
Potters	4	2
Muhammadans	5	1
Oil-mongers	11	5

Land.

311

	Acres.
Wet land	Nil.
Dry land, cultivated	1,545·27
Land watered by wells	7·40
Common waste	145·36
Pasture other than common waste	415·82

Most of the land is cultivated by the pattadar, but 226 acres are sublet to tenants. There are about 350 agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land.

241 The following are the principal crops:—

	Acres.
Paddy	166·39
Cholam	468·88
Kambu	73·68
Gingelly	194·74
Horsegram	151·34
Ragi	...
Chodi	1·90
Korra	6·10
Chillis	0·67
Jute	1·80
Tobacco	1·34

• 651 Land is assessed for revenue at the following rates:—

	Per acre. Rs.	A.	P.
Best black clay	1	12	0
Best black loam	1	10	0
Best red loam	1	10	0
Best red sand	0	10	0

Chelmsford Reforms in 1919, the Local Self-Government became a provincial subject. The Madras Village Panchayat Act was passed in 1920, with functions of 1. construction and maintenance of roads, villages and bridges, buildings; 2. lighting of streets; 3. construction of drains; 4. cleaning of streets, removing of prickly pear, construction of latrines, construction, maintenance and repair of burning and burial grounds; 5. sinking wells and making bathing ghats; 6. control of cattle stands, and thrashing floors; 7. Control of rest houses; 8. extension of village sites; 9 enforcement of vaccination; 10. registration of births and deaths; 11. maintenance of latrines; 12. construction of pounds; and 13. maintenance of other public utility services, delegated powers from Local Boards such as control over markets and cart-stands, control of fisheries, establishment and maintenance of village schools, provision of medical relief, etc. 642 623

As the legislation of 1920 was only an enabling one, and not a compulsory measure, village Panchayats could not make much headway. By the end of 1924-25, their number was only 579, but, later on they were able to make progress, because of the appointment of a Registrar-General of Panchayats. Mr. N. Gopalswami Iyengar was the first Registrar-General, and he was rightly regarded as the father of the modern Panchayat Movement in Madras. The development of Panchayats during this period had to depend mostly on the efforts of honorary organisers as there was no regular subordinate supervisory staff under the Registrar-General. This Act fixed the age limit of a voter at 25 and prescribed 7 to 15 members to a Panchayat. It did not provide for any reservation of seats to minorities or for ex-officio membership of the village officials. Even on the testimony of their administration reports there were no regular meetings in several Panchayats. Most of them had not even establishments of their own. Often, the President of the Panchayat used to do all the clerical work. But all the same, the period from 1920 to 1930 was considered to be the Golden Age of Panchayats, in Madras. The number of Panchayats increased from 579 in 1924-25 to 4,479 in 1931-32. 611

There were certain inherent defects in the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1920, which hindered their progress. Functions like the removal of noxious plants from village sites, performance of kudimaramat work, distribution of water, the maintenance of watch over crops, sanitation and conservancy, repairs of drinking water services and provision of educational facilities, control over village artisans, etc. were entrusted to them (Sec. 12.). But their 647 623 652

652 financial position was very precarious (Sec. 25). The Act did not
623 provide for any compulsory taxes, though many sources were
642 suggested. Most of the Panchayats depended on collections from marriages, kolagaram taxes, taxes on artisans and loans, oil-mills, factories, rice mills, market fees and collections from temporary stalls and festivals etc. No coercion in the matter of these collections was ever allowed. The Registrar-General of Panchayats was in charge of supervision and control of these bodies.

642 The position was changed in 1930 with the passing of the Madras
623 Local Boards Act. While the existing office of the Registrar-General of Panchayats was abolished, in its place the office of the Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils was created with four Deputy Commissioners under him. For every district, a District Panchayat Officer and under him one or two Assistant Panchayat Officers were usually sanctioned.

A. Structure: With regard to the functions of the village Panchayat, there was no change. Even the electoral qualifications were the same as for the District Boards and Legislatures. Only the number of members was changed from 8 to 16 instead of from 7 to 15. But, even this had nothing to do with the proportion of local population in the village. Another change was the provision of reserve seats for Christians, Muslims and Harijans in the Panchayats. By section 49, a provision was made to supersede a Panchayat for one year or so, if its working was not satisfactory.

652 **B. Finance**: There was some improvement with regard to the
651 resources of the Panchayat. From 1930, 1/6 of the land cess was granted to Panchayats and from 1934, the period of the abolition of the Taluka Boards, this was increased to 1/5. Besides this, there was provision for house tax, sales tax, profession tax, festival tax, Pilgrim tax, tax on cart-stands, bus stands, fishery rentals, grass sales proceeds, fees from public markets, slaughter houses, licences from D. N. O. trades, fairs and festivals, ferry rentals, warrant and destraint fees, magisterial fines, fines for encroachment, fees from Public Resort Act, Food Adulteration Act, Town Nuisance Act, as extended from the District Municipalities Act, etc. (Vide Schedule 4 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930). To these later on, were added the entertainment tax, stamp duties, registration surcharges, income from usufruct of avenues, scavenging fees, grants-in-aid of education, public health, medical help, libraries, water supply, and public works. For long time the land cess remained to

be the main source of income to Local Boards, mainly the District Boards and Panchayats. 652 651

Besides these, there were other non-tax receipts like fees for choultries, scavenging rates, rates on threshing floors, sale proceeds of rubbish, sweeping, manure, grass on tank beds, and vezel, duties on harvested fields, fisheries, silt in the river bed, etc. The village annual fund called "Samudayam" existed in the Tamil Villages. Then there were special taxes like Kolagram or Mahimai for measurement, Kudi maramat for irrigation purposes, octroi and sales tax of 5½% on commodities, brought and sold in the village.

C. Functions: These were: 1. obligatory and 2. optional. 623 (Sections 112, 115 and 121).

Obligatory: The obligatory functions of the Panchayats were mentioned in Schedule 5 of the M. L. B. Act of 1930. They were: (a) the construction and maintenance of public roads within the limits of the village other than the portion of the district, (a') the establishment and maintenance of choultries within the limits of the village, (b) the lighting of all public roads and public places, (c) the opening and maintenance of libraries, (d) the construction of drains and disposal of drainage water and sewage, (e) the cleansing of streets, the removal of rubbish heaps, jungle growth and prickly-pear, the filling in of unused wells, insanitary ponds, pools, ditches, pits or hollows and other improvements of the sanitary condition of the village, (f) the provision of public latrines and arrangements to cleanse latrines whether public or private, (g) the opening and maintenance of burial and burning grounds, (h) the sinking and repairing of wells, the excavation, repair and maintenance of ponds or tanks for supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing purposes and the construction of bathing ghats, (i) the opening and maintenance of public slaughter house, (j) the opening and maintenance of public markets, other than classified as District Board markets, (k) the control of fairs and festivals other than fairs and festivals of the District Boards, serving the needs of an area wider than the village, which were classified as fairs and festivals, (l) the opening and maintenance of centres of physical culture, and (m) the opening and maintenance of parks.

Optional Duties: These were: (a) the planting and preservation of avenues on all public roads in the village not being district roads, (b) the opening and maintenance of public landing places, halting places and cart-stands, (c) the control of

623 threshing floors, topes, and other porambokes used by the villagers in common, (d) the extension of village-sites and regulation of building, (f) the registration of births and deaths, (g) the control of pounds, (h) village protection, (i) improvement of agricultural stock and agriculture, (j) the promotion and encouragement of cottage industries, (k) the opening and maintenance of elementary schools, (l) the establishment and maintenance of Panchayat dispensaries, (m) gratuities to its officers and servants, (n) contribution to Joint Committee under Section 30 for any purpose in which the Panchayat is jointly interested and all other measures of public utility calculated to promote the safety, health, comfort or convenience of the inhabitants of the village, which are not included in any of the clauses relating to the District Board (vide Schedule 5 of the M. L. B. Act, 1930).

[652] **D. Supervision and Control:** The Panchayats were to submit copies of their budgets to the District Board, to the Collector and to the Inspector of Local Boards at Madras. The District Board and the District Panchayat Officer were expected to scrutinise the several items of income and expenditure.

The District and Assistant Panchayat Officers were to supervise the working and report on their progress to the Inspector of Local Boards. The reports of the minutes of the meetings would be recorded and reported to the District Board. Whenever a Panchayat was not working properly, and continued to be in an unsatisfactory condition for long, Section 45-A provided for the supersession of that body for an year and sometimes to another six months, when the administration would be entrusted to a special officer.

642 623 [622] [624] [651] In 1941, the advisory regime in Madras wanted to introduce some reform in the matter of Panchayats and as such prepared a bill with the following provisions:— 1. introduction of ex-officio membership of the village headman, who was also to be eligible for Presidentship, 2. creation of whole-time executive officers for major Panchayats and the appointment of Village Karanams as Honorary Executive Officers of minor Panchayats, 3. supervision and control of Panchayats by the District Collector, the Revenue Board being the co-ordinating body over the Collector, 4. compulsory levy of a house tax and an additional levy of 3 pies of land cess, and 5. provision for the appointment of a nominated Panchayat. A Committee was appointed to examine this bill. This advisory Committee reported that 1. the District Collector should be entirely divorced from Panchayat administration, 2. the Board of Revenue need have nothing to do with the Panchayats, and instead the post of a Registrar-General should

PART II

Facts Revealed by the Survey

623 652 125 The Village Panchayats were in the grades according to their annual income. The 1st, 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats, which were collectively called major Panchayats, had their annual income between Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 30,000; between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000; and between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000 respectively. Minor Panchayats had their annual income of Rs. 5,000 or less.

The villages selected for inquiry were the following :—

(1) Anantpur District :—Brahmanayeleru; Bukkapatnam; Bukkarayasamudram; Dharmavaram, Gooty, Gorantala, Guntakal, Kadiri, Konakundal, Lepakshi, Penu Konda.

(2) East Godavari District :—Alamuru; Amalapuram, Avidi, Balantram, Bodasakurru, Kapileswarapuram, Kothapeta, Mandapeta, Palivela, Pulletikurru, Ramchandrapuram, Razole, Tuni, Valluru, Venkatayapalem, Yeditha.

(3) West Godavari District :—Achanta, Akividu, Aravalli, Attili, Bhimavaram, Ganapavaram, Gogoti, Inaparru, Itempudi, Kandavilli, Kovvur, Mukkamala, Narsapur, Nidadavol, Peatapadu, Penukonda, Palakoderu, Pittala Vomavaram, Tadepalligudam, Tanuku, Undi, Vasadi, Velpur.

(4) Kishna District :—Gudur, Jaggayapet, Kantaram, Nuzvid, Pamaru, Pedana, Vuyyuru.

(5) Kurnool District :—Betamcherla, Dhone, Gudur, Joharapuram, Kallur, Maddikera, Nandikotkur, Pattikonda, Veldurti.

(6) Vizagapatam District :—Bayyavaram, Bhogapuram, Bobbili, Chodavaram, Chodavada, Gokavaram, Govada, K. Jagannadhapur, Kasimkot, Kothavalasa, Madugula, Parvatipuram, Pedabogila, Salur, Sitanagaram, Vadada, Yellamanchili.

(7) Bellary District :—Kampli, Muddapur, Rayadrug.

The first six districts now form the part of the newly created State of Andhra and the last, of the Mysore State.

If this example was followed in several other Panchayats the prospects of improving the Panchayat finances were bound to be encouraging. 651

Dearness Allowance Grants: This was not a source of income of the Panchayats from taxation. The Government began to give contributions to the several Panchayats for giving dearness allowance to their staff during the time of war, whenever, they complained that they had not got the funds to meet the extra expenditure. (Column 46.) 652

As a matter of fact, a lot of confusion was revealed in the method of giving these grants. Whenever a Panchayat was intelligent enough to show its funds as completely utilised for welfare activities and a nil balance resulting in lack of funds to meet this additional expenditure and demands, Government Grant was coming forth, while actually, most Panchayats which really could not afford to meet this additional burden were silently bearing it by cutting short their own expenditure on administrative functions, because they did not know how to present the matter.

Ground and Godown Rents: This was a source of income to the Panchayats from the sites leased or for the stalls rented out in the Bazar Area, but, as usual, even this was a source which only very few Panchayats were tapping. It was capable of extension if encouraged, since by voluntary adoption, only a few Panchayats were deriving an income from this source. (Column 30.) 651

Income from Rent and Produce of Lands: This was the income of the usufruct of fruits and trees in the Panchayat area. All these, by right were the legitimate sources of the Panchayat. (Column 34.)

Avenue Receipts: This was a source of income of many Panchyats irrespective of the grade of the Panchayat. (Column 49.)

This, however, appeared to be a more common source of revenue in the Panchayats of the northern Circars than in the Ceded Districts.

Sale of Old Stores: It was not a source of tax revenue to the Panchayats. This was a sort of income realised by sale or auction of old furniture and goods of the Panchayats. (Column 50.)

Sale of Manure: Sale of manure was another similar source of income available in almost all of the major as well as minor Panchayats of East Godavari District. Even, in the Ceded Districts, the minor Panchayats did not seem to be negligent about this source

In other sample Panchayats it was not possible to ascertain the rates. 651

Even when the majority of the major Panchayats were not collecting this source of income, the minor Panchayats could not be naturally expected to do better. This was also one of the sources of income of Panchayats which deserved greater attention from the inspecting authorities for its proper enforcement. (Column 22.)

Choultry Fees: These were fees which could be collected from travellers who stayed in the public rest places for temporary sojourn now and then. Here also the buildings were of the District Board or of the Panchayat and the rate per diem varied from annas eight to Rs. 2/- per person as in Guntakal where every room in the Panchayat choultry was let out to travellers at the rates of Re. 1/-, Rs. 1/8/- and Rs. 2/- per day, and this fetched on the whole quite a good amount i. e. Rs. 400/-. (Column 16.) 651 485

This was a source of income which could only be collected if there were good choultries in the Panchayat area which could accommodate passengers. There were in some Panchayats choultries which were in a dilapidated condition. They would have to be reconditioned so as to make them habitable and useful sources of revenue.

Grants-in-aid: These were of four categories: 1. grants-in-aid to schools, 2. grants-in-aid to libraries, 3. grants-in-aid for water supply, and 4. grants-in-aid for roads. 652

Grants-in-aid to schools were received by Panchayat schools in East Godavari, West Godavari, Kistna and Anantapur. But this topic is fully discussed in the Sectian on School Panchayats. But grants-in-aid for roads, grants-in-aid for water-supply and grants-in-aid to libraries formed a negligible part.

Here they were mentioned to indicate that they formed a special part of the Panchayat finance. The chief feature of these grants was that they were not based on any rational basis, like the proportion of the Panchayat income, or population, or other needs, but they were granted on an ad-hoc basis from time to time.

License Fees on Dangerous and Offensive Trades: These license fees were imposed in several Panchayats both major and minor on a variety of trades and callings like boiling camphor, melting tallow or sulphur, storing or otherwise dealing in ophal, blood, bones, hides and skins, storing, selling or curing fish, making fish oil, storing or selling horses, tanning of hides and skins, mustering or drying wool or hair, making soap, manufacturing of distilled sago, 651

651 50 gross Rs. 4. In Narsapur Panchayat (West Godavari), the rates of license fees were according to each type of process, e. g. for boiling paddy Rs. 20, storing paddy Rs. 10, and for storing and selling rice Rs. 10. In some Panchayats the articles stored and sold were charged licensc fees according to the number of bags or the floor area occupied in the godown, e. g. in Madugula Panchayat the rates for storing of grain bags were for bags from 1 to 10 Rs. 3, from 10 to 50 bags Rs. 5, 50 to 100 bags Rs. 7-8-0, from 100 to 1000 bags, Rs. 10, from 1000 to 2000 bags Rs. 12-8-0, and above 2000 bags Rs. 15. In Parvatipuram Panchayat in the same district, the rate was Re. 0-2-0 for 5 sq. feet. Again in Bhimavaram and Kovvur Panchayats in West Godavari, a license fee of Rs. 5 was charged for crushing seeds or making vegetable oils. In Bhimavaram separate fees were charged for street coffee vendors at Rs. 2-8-0 per annum and street sweetmeats vendors at Rs. 2 per annum. Narsapur Panchayat was found to be charging a license fee of Rs. 15 for refining gold. Tanuku Panchayat was charging a license fee of Rs. 10 for storing mango plants. In Attili Panchayat rice shops were charged on classwise basis i. e. 1st class Rs. 5 and 2nd class Rs. 4 but no clear indication was available as to the basis of this distinction. License fees were collected from wholesale shops, retail shops and ration shops too and they were also subject to the same variation as in the case of other instances. Ganapavaram Panchayat in West Godavari District was charging a license fee of Rs. 10 per ration shop, Alagadde Rs. 12 for a retail shop and Rs. 25 for a wholesale shop. Kasba Jagganadhapuram in Vizagapatam was charging Rs. 12 for a wholesale shop and Rs. 3 for a retail shop. The rates for electrical power installation and steam engines too varied between wide extremes from Panchayat to Panchayat, e. g. in Parvatipuram the license fee for steam engine per horse power installation was Rs. 6 while in Akividu the rate was Rs. 60 per annum for oil engine of 24 horse power.

Thus, though the license fees were a veritable goldmine to the Madras Panchayats a lot of spade work was essential by way of framing an exhaustive list of trades and callings on which they were to be collected and fixation of uniform rates and basis on which they were to be fixed up, if the present evils of wide disparities in items and dissimilarities in their rates were to be eliminated.

C. Functions

623 **Grades of Panchayats:** From 1944 all the Panchayats were
652 classified into 3 grades as the 1st grade Panchayats were those with an

income of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 per annum, the 2nd grade with an income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 and 3rd grade with an income of upto Rs. 10,000. Panchayats with Rs. 5,000 income were classified as minor Panchayats. The first 3 were called the major Panchayats and they had executive officer, while minor Panchayats had no executive officers. 623 652

Grades of the Executive Officers: The grade of the executive officer in the 1st grade Panchayats was from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100, of 2nd grade Panchayats from Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 and of 3rd grade Panchayats from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. They were the servants of the Provincial Government working under the Local Boards. The Panchayats could not have any control over their executives. The executive officer was the chief executive of the Panchayat. He was to guide the Board in constitutional matters, put the resolutions before it for discussion and execute them according to its decision. He attended the meetings of the Panchayat, but was not allowed to vote. He was liable for transfer to any place in the Province. This meant a great hardship as the salary paid to him was too meagre to enable him to live in far off places from his native town. His pay, travelling allowance, dearness allowance and contributions to provident fund were all met by the Panchayat and the State Government paid nothing towards his maintenance. 647 [465] 623

Executive Officer and the Staff: The executive officer had under him a number of people like the sanitary inspector, the mistries, the supervisor for public works, vaccinators, compounders, midwives, bill collectors, not to speak of the clerical staff and menial staff like the scavengers, thotties, sweepers, lighters, peons, watchmen, etc. He was the appointing authority for staff beneath the clerical grade. The posts of the sanitary inspectors and overseers were advertised by him. They were to be appointed and paid by Panchayat with the approval and sanction of the District Health Officer and the District Engineer. But administratively they were subordinate to the executive officer and had to carry out the duties allotted to them by him. The sanitary inspector would have to look to matters of village sanitation, vaccination, administration of D. N. O. Licenses slaughter houses, clearance of sewage water, cleansing of gutters, cleansing of private and public latrines, etc. Similarly the overseer had to look to the execution of the public works all subject to the general supervision of the executive officer. 624 647

Executive Officers and Panchayat Boards: As a fact, the executive officers and the Panchayat Boards had a very strange relation. The executive officers were a much hated and an unhappy lot in the 647 623 578

cuted. But the maintenance of staff for public works did not alone 653
solve the problem. The problems were peculiar and different from Panchayat to Panchayat and the reasons for their slovenly and irregular execution were not one and the same as would be illustrated by some examples from each group.

All the 1st grade Panchayats did not appoint overseers and even 653
those that appointed them had nothing exemplary about their public 652
works. For instance Bhimavaram and Narsapur were the 1st grade Panchayats with their own overseers. Even there all the estimates passed were never executed. For instance, in Bhimavaram, 86 estimates amounting to a sum of Rs. 36,000 for 1946–47 were first sanctioned by the Board, but the same Board soonafter rejected 15 estimates the value of which amounted to Rs. 17,800. Thus there was no consistency in the Public Works Programmes of Panchayats. In Narsapur 61 estimates worth Rs. 19,000 ordinary and capital had been actually executed, though a sum of Rs. 15,000 was allotted for public works, according to the model budget, which required 20 per cent of the gross revenue of the Panchayat to be spent on roads. But this ratio was rarely observed in practice by other Panchayats. Narsapur Panchayat was also able to look after its roads with greater regularity through its overseer and supervisor, than Tuni Panchayat whose negligence of roads was the usual theme. Though it was fit to be a 1st grade Panchayat, it had no supervisor or an overseer. The expenditure on capital works amounted to Rs. 12,000 per year, but even this sum was never actually spent. The estimates and plans were not usually executed, and the amounts allotted for public works were kept in reserve from year to year, leaving the state of communication in a deplorable state. Out of the budget expenditure of Rs. 2,200 for 1946-47 for repairs and maintenance of a total length of road of 15½ miles, only Rs. 1,086 was actually spent on doing some patch work here and there. The condition of roads was very bad. There were not even rivetments near the culverts. The Board maintained a total road of 17 miles, 9 miles of which was metalled and 2 miles gravelled and the rest earthen. The recent appointment of an overseer had not very much changed the situation. The expenditure on public works even for previous years 1944–45 and 1945–46 was not more than 10 per cent of the budgeted amount.

The Ceded Districts or any other parts of the province were in no 653
way better. Guntakal, the biggest Panchayat in Anantpur District revealed the same story. Several estimates for repair of road at Rs. 18,000, for Office Building at Rs. 10,000 and for market stand at a

Rajhas had donated maternity wards in the hospitals situated in the Panchayat areas. 743

Donations: Some Panchayats patronised education by contributing funds; for instance, Bhimavaram in West Godavari planned to give Rs. 5,000 annually to the local college. Salur Panchayat in Kurnool was giving Rs. 500 to a school for blind. 658

Sundry Expenses: Besides these, there were separate funds set apart in every Panchayat for public amenities, law-charges, election expenses, office contingencies, dearness allowance, travelling allowance and salaries of the establishment, etc. 652

Meetings of Panchayats: According to the Madras Local Boards Act, every Panchayat should meet at least once a month to transact business and if for three months no meeting was held, the Panchayat would cease to exist or if a member remained continuously absent for three months, he was to be invalidated, though he could seek re-election 623

Name of the Village	Total No. of Meetings	Ordinary	Extra-ordinary	Percentage of Attendance	Adjourned for want of quorm
Amalapuram	17	17	...	...	...
Tuni	18	13	5	...	...
Bhimavaram	25	12	13	...	6
Narsapur	19	19	...	42	5
Ramchandrapuram	24	24	...	50	...
Jaggayapeta	12	12	...	50	...
Kadiri	16	10	6	50	...
Dharmavaram	17	17	...	42	7
Nuzvid	12	12	...	50	...
Achanta	12	12	...	poor	...
Pedana	12	12	...	50	...
Parvatipuram	13	13	...	52	...
Pamaru	12	12	...	34	...
Nandikotkur	12	12	...	34	...
Pattikonda	12	12	...	50	...
Maddikera	12	12	...	20	6
Vuyyuru	12	12	...	80	...
Akividu	12	10	2	50	2
Bukkapatnam	15	15	...	50	...
Penu Konda	16	16	...	66	...

The meetings of the Panchayat are important from the view point of their deliberations, for these formulate the work of Panchayats.

623 **D. Supervision and Control:** The District Boards, District Collectors and the Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils through four Divisional Inspectors, District and Assistant Panchayat Officers supervised the work and controlled the administration of the Village Panchayats. But in practice the supervision and control exercised appeared to be very superficial. The dual control of the District Board and the District Collector led to much confusion. [652] Even the Panchayat budgets were never properly scrutinised with the result that they went on accumulating heavy opening balances as if there was no work they could undertake, thus allowing their administration to deteriorate. The District Panchayat Officers, with hardly one or two Assistant Panchayat Officers under them, could not naturally inspect all the Panchayats at least once in a year. Without increasing the number of supervisory staff and avoiding the defects of dual control, better and effective supervision of the Panchayats could not be envisaged.

While the accounts of the Minor Panchayats were audited by the District Panchayat Officers, those of the Major Panchayats were audited annually by the Local Audit Department. [687] But the introduction of auditing the accounts had not effectively improved the Panchayats and the audit remarks were never properly implemented by them as their failure to do so was not often met with any punishment.

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Table No. 19—Income of Village Panchayats in Madras (1946)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	Opening Balance	House Tax	Rate for House Tax per Rs. 100 Capital Value	Land Cess	Private Scavenging	Licenses Fees	Public Markets	Contribution for Markets	Cart Stands	Bus Stands	Slaughter Houses	Grass Sales	Fishery Rentals	Fines under Public Resort Act.	Sale of Manures	Registration Surcharges
(i)	(ii)	1	2	3	4	5	9	10	11	12	13	14	20	21	22	23	25
				As.													
1	Amalapuram	9321	11000	2	1300	5000	2000	3400	...	8500	...	800	...	1000	...	10	...
2	Bhimavaram	24810	24899	8	1250	6050	5200	8500	...	2500	...	2140	...	500	...	600	25000
3	Tuni	78891	11150	...	100	5500	2000	13000	...	5500	...	4880	...	40	...	400	...
4	Gunsakal	16662	15000	4	250	2000	4000	2700	...	3000	2000	1900	...	...	...	1000	...
5	Mandapeta	...	7000	2	1900	2460	1300	1400	2800	2000	...	210	...	1775	...	500	1000
6	Ramachandrapuram	10501	9542	2	1117	974	8327	990	...	1979	...	2182	...	125	...	...	...
7	Tadepalligudem	1850	18000	...	400	2000	5500	1000	30000	2000	...	210	100	...	...	100	...
8	Tanuku	10134	12000	8	1800	4200	2000	4530	...	2500	...	400	10	50	100	100	...
9	Vuyyuru	2258	6000	8	992	1000	2000	1000	...	200	...	200	300	...	...	100	4000
10	Nuzvid	13450	15000	...	500	1200	650	1200	...	300	1000	1200	...	...	50	500	...
11	Jaggayapeta	11674	10000	8	180	400	3000	1000	...	500	800	400	...	...	...	300	2000
12	Kovvur	1000	8000	5	780	2750	1000	800	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	25	...
13	Velpur	2882	3050	...	470	240	500	2600	...	560	...	...	...	200	...	100	1200
14	Attili	1886	7400	...	1700	400	2500	4000	...	1200	...	...	...	600	...	...	...
15	Undi	6358	2000	8	1000	1200	500	5000	...	300	...	50	...	50	...	250	...
16	Akividu	6029	5000	...	900	1000	1530	5000	...	505	...	200	...	45	...	100	...
17	Achanta	3128	10000	...	2500	3000	1000	2000	...	200	...	250	...	...	500	25	...
18	Peatapadu	568	3000	4	225	...	500	350	...	200	...	...	...	200	...	50	2000
19	Ganapavaram	2961	10000	...	700	300	800	3200	...	500	...	...	...	500	...	...	...
20	Razole	488	3200	2	516	1200	400	2500	...	2500	...	100	...	...	...	10	1000
21	Gudur (Kistna)	480	400	5	488	...	120	400	...	...	...	...	55	...	...	5	...
22	Pedana	...	5889	8	840	463	747	2047	...	...	...	120	800	150	...	152	...

23	Kantaram	7443	3000	8	766	...	203	...	...	...	...	...	4000	200	...	...	....	
24	Pamaru	350	6000	4	1018	250	800	120	...	...	...	150	4000	100	...	20	...	
25	Parvatipuram	25473	12500	4	550	100	3500	3000	...	3000	...	700	...	...	...	100	3000	
26	Bobbili	5768	1000	...	1254	1500	4500	3500	...	...	...	1000	...	...	...	500	1000	
27	Salur	7859	10000	...	300	50	3500	2000	...	350	225	550	...	...	...	100	....	
28	Madugula	420	1500	...	780	120	3500	1400	...	300	200	500	...	...	...	...	...	
29	Chodavaram	69323	4638	4	981	430	17	840	...	2935	...	500	...	10	...	...	...	
30	Kasimkot	766	2900	...	446	...	1200	2500	...	2500	...	130	...	...	...	...	...	
31	Yellamanchili	2031	5300	...	543	80	1000	1100	800	...	...	500	...	250	...	230	200	
32	Dharmavaram	1852	8000	...	650	800	1500	2200	100	1200	...	300	...	150	350	400	...	
33	Kasiri	6710	9000	...	300	11000	1350	1400	350	1600	350	200	...	500	...	300	...	
34	Gooty	863	11000	...	300	500	2500	100	...	2000	...	1200	...	...	...	...	...	
35	Dhone	11675	50 00	...	140	30	1600	1200	...	1250	...	500	...	...	...	...	...	
36	Nandikotkur	129	6000	...	220	500	...	1300	...	600	...	1000	...	...	...	350	...	
37	Pattikonda	7113	3600	...	150	300	1000	1200	...	900	250	1150	...	...	...	750	...	
38	Maddikera	2373	4000	...	150	500	950	700	100	...	560	100	...	...	...	400	300	
39	Kampli	...	3190	2	693	303	634	2000	...	1050	...	56	...	...	...	185	...	
40	Rayadrug	7762	10500	...	80	1000	1500	1500	...	3000	...	1500	...	...	100	200	...	
41	Vallure	1744	...	...	700	...	...	...	...	...	...	....	1400	...	...	20	...	
42	Yeditha	1500	...	...	1800	...	98	130	...	200	...	...	3800	800	...	20	...	
43	Kapileswarapuram	...	...	...	1000	...	130	...	...	200	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
44	Palivela	2936	600	2	1000	120	...	150	165	...	365	...	50	...	...	...	...	
45	Alamuru	3715	...	...	1000	...	150	...	250	3000	...	...	1000	400	...	...	...	
46	Avidi	36	...	...	3019	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	333	40	...	...	...	
47	Budasakurru	4673	...	...	632	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	
48	Kothapeta	7008	1400	4	1000	870	...	740	...	640	...	150	...	...	...	5	...	
49	Isnapuru	508	...	...	650	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	...	
50	Itampudi	3	...	...	60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	108	...	...	...	...	
51	Vasadi	...	...	...	600	...	...	150	...	...	...	...	100	100	...	...	...	
52	Pittala-Vomsavaram	...	...	...	500	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	600	25	...	...	...	
53	Mukkamala	137	...	...	550	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
54	Palakoderu	679	...	...	320	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...	...	
55	Kandavilli	10	...	...	1400	...	50	...	...	...	...	...	400	25	...	...	...	
56	Aravalli	3	...	...	300	...	...	600	...	...	...	...	...	145	...	5	...	
57	Gudur (Kurnool)	50	2500	...	310	330	60	1000	...	...	...	400	...	220	...	...	...	
58	Kothavalasa	472	600	....	318	...	...	1000	...	...	...	...	...	130	...	...	...	

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(*Table No. 19:—Contd.*)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	Opening Balance	House Tax	Rate for House Tax per Rs. 100 Capital Value	Land Cess	Private Scavenging	Licenses Fees	Public Markets	Contribution for Markets	Cart Stands	Bus Stands	Slaughter Houses	Grass Sales	Fishery Rentals	Fines under Public Resort Act.	Sale of Manures	Registration Surcharges
(i)	(ii)	1	2	3	4	5	9	10	11	12	13	14	20	21	22	23	25
59	K. Jagannadhapuram	...	1466	as. 2	455	...	971	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
60	Vadada	...	...	...	360	...	350	900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
61	Bukkapatnam	528	3200	...	1000	40	600	1000	...	...	...	100	...	2300	...	50	...
62	Gorantala	2022	1000	...	116	10	350	2000	...	...	200	...	...	20	...	40	80
63	Lepakshi	...	...	...	200	...	250	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
64	Veldurti	3394	1055	...	184	151	858	790	...	...	380	100	...	...	...	9	...
65	Betamcherla	979	2000	...	250	...	1024	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...

N. B.—Columns omitted are supplied hereunder according to place, etc.

Col. 6.-Rate of Private Scavenging :

	Rs.
6. Ramachandrapuram	0-8-0
12. Kovvur	2-0-0

Col. 7.-Drain Tax :

5. Mandapeta	1750
12. Kovvur	500
41. Valluru	164

Col. 8.-Food Adulteration :

7. Tadepalligudam	10000
16. Akividu	1000
31. Yellamanchili	800
33. Dharmavaram	500
40. Rayadurg.	500
48. Kothapeta	500
58 Kothavalasa	575

Col. 16.-Choultries :

4. Guntakal	400
6. Ramachandrapuram	2
19. Ganapavaram	150
24. Pamaru	80

Col. 17.-Burial Grounds :
No statistics available

Col. 18.-Aid to Village Panchayat Courts :

	Rs.
46. Avidi	768

Col. 19.-Aid to Elementary Schools :

46. Avidi	25
57. Gudur (Kurnool)	1000
62. Gorantala	336

Col. 24.-Ferries :

39. Kampli	3100
43. Kapileswarapuram	4000
45. Alamuru	300
47. Bodasakurru	14550
57. Gudur (Kurnool)	70

(*Table No. 19—Contd.*)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	Entertainment Tax	Local Fund Cess Fines	Warrant and Destraint Fees	Rent and Produce of Lands	Deposits	Advances	Postal Interest	Management Receipts	Profession Tax	Miscellaneous	Aid to Library and Radio	Fairs and Festivals Fees	Dearness Allowance Grants	Lapsed Deposits	Avenues
(i)	(ii)	26	31	32	34	37	38	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	49
1	Amalapuram	10000	...	100	2000	6000	150	...	30	2200	5000	300	300	...	...	35
2	Bhimavaram	17000	2000	10	2000	1008	100	...	1600	5754	250	...	50	...	...	100
3	Tuni	4000	500	10	600	5000	200	...	...	2800	...	...	...	...	...	20
4	Guntakal	5000	1500	...	1750	2000	100	...	100	5000	...	...	300	...	700	.....
5	Kandapeta	5000	305	...	600	3000	10	...	50	1320	50	200	...	...	500	2500
6	Ramachandrapuram	2709	...	...	369	1682	22761	...	48	1739	23	...	...	...	6	73
7	Tadepalligudem	8000	...	30	...	26120	...	...	...	2000	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	Tanuku	6000	950	...	50	...	...	...	200	1600	...	...	50	...	...	...
9	Vuyyuru	4000	100	100	500	...	...	...	2700	1000	...	150	200	...	...	...
10	Nuzvid	4000	20	70	...	1000	...	200	50	1500	100	...	...	...	...	...
11	Jaggayapeta	6000	1000	20	...	100	...	500	500	2400	100	...	...	...	...	...
12	Kovvur	100	800	...	200	900	20	20	200	800	...	...	...	...	...	10
13	Velpur	...	20	...	...	1000	1425	...	60	400	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	Attili	400	600	...	1000	100	...	...	...	1000	...	...	50	7000	...	600
15	Undi	...	50	...	50	...	300	100	400	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
16	Akividu	500	200	5	100	45	500	...	100	880	300	...	300	...	...	150
17	Ashanta	1500	100	...	...	1000	...	...	200	1000	...	100	...	...	...	...
18	Peatapadu	300	...	5	1200	...	90	...	...	400	...	...	...	2900	...	200
19	Ganapavarm	...	30	...	...	500	150	30	40	400	...	...	...	...	...	1000
20	Razole	...	1000	4	...	2000	200	...	350	300	...	...	...	...	...	...
21	Gudur (Kistna)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	300	...	...	...	...	...	...	450
22	Pedana	1848	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...	...	...	21	...	...	85
23	Kantaram	...	...	2000	...	800	2095	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24	Pamaru	1400	30	10	4000	...	5070	60	300	1145	...	...	...	...	...	185
25	Parvatipuram	4000	100	20	...	300	...	...	...	3000	...	...	...	...	...	...
26	Bobbili	1920	2000	6	100	1100	900	...	...	1700	...	...	...	...	1200	...
27	Salur	500	1000	10	...	...	...	...	...	3000	...	50	...	8000	...	150

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(*Table No. 19—Contd.*)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	Entertainment Tax	Local Fund Fines Cess	Warrant and Destraint Fees	Rent and Produce of Lands	Deposits	Advances	Postal Interest	Management Receipts	Profession Tax	Miscellaneous	Aid to Library and Radio	Fairs and Festivals Fees	Dearness Allowance Grants	Lapsed Deposits	Avenues
(i)	(ii)	26	31	32	34	37	38	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	49
28	Madugula	250	200	10	100	1200	50	...	140	400	140	...	...	...	150	...
29	Chodavaram	...	38	...	195	600	...	...	157	387	...	...	...	...	405	10
30	Kasimkot	...	...	...	20	4710	50	...	...	400	...	...	...	...	...	...
31	Yellamanchili	200	5	...	300	1500	200	...	...	350	393	...	...	650	...	10
32	Dharmavaram	2600	200	...	...	...	...	...	50	1700	560	...	...	50	...	10
33	Kadiri	2000	700	10	...	...	1000	...	...	1800	540	...	...	...	...	...
34	Gooty	2000	...	8	...	...	...	...	100	1500	1092	...	100	600	...	...
35	Dhone	...	...	...	300	...	...	...	...	1200	...	...	...	...	...	200
36	Nandikotkur	...	20	10	1000	...	...	...	500	500	...	...	...	...	...	...
37	Pattikonda	...	200	10	...	...	...	...	...	900	300	...	...	...	...	...
38	Maddikera	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	800	130	...	...	...	600	...
39	Kampli	2040	...	...	...	...	...	...	444	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40	Rayadrug	...	300	20	200	500	...	300	...	1200	...	...	50	...	...	...
41	Vailuru	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	156	...	...	...
42	Yedisha	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	90	...	...	...	...	...
43	Kapileswarapuram	...	10	600	...	...	...	...	100	...	130	100	...	...	...	...
44	Palivela	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	895	...	...	...
45	Alamuru	...	...	...	...	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	367	...	...
46	Avidi	...	...	...	...	...	27	3	50	...	...	367	...	...	...	...
47	Bodasakurru	...	2	...	...	2817	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
48	Kothapeta	34	50	5	...	10	...	50	...	400	...	...	...	...	...	...
49	Inaparru	...	650	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50	Itempudi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
51	Vasadi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20
52	Pittala-Vomavaram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
53	Mukkamala	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
54	Palakoderu	...	200	...	...	...	...	...	...	1000	...	...	...	...	1500	...

55	Kandavilli	...	2000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56	Aravalli	...	576	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
57	Gudur (Kurnool)	...	2724	67	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	1600	500	
58	Kothavalasa	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	326	...	...	...	...	...	1100	
59	K. Jagannadhapuram	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	748	...	100	
60	Vadada	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
61	Bukkapatnam	100	100	...	...	...	...	...	150	320	...	...	250	...	...	...	
62	Gorantala	1200	15	20	...	...	...	...	...	200	...	100	...	4500	...	...	
63	Lepakshi	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
64	Veldurti	309	...	223	...	...	...	...	375	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	
65	Betamcherla	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

N. B.—Columns omitted are supplied hereunder according to the place, etc.

Col. 27.-Interest on Loans :

	Rs.
27. Salur	50
56 Aravalli	10

Col. 28.-Interest on Securities :
No statistics available

Col. 29.-Encroachments :

	Rs.
10. Nuzvid	500
22. Pedana	388
30. Kasimkot	50
34. Gooty	100
42. Yeditha	10

Col. 30.-Godown Rents :

	Rs.
7. Tadepalligudam	1000
13. Velpur	5
31. Yellamanchili	100
38. Maddikera	100
53. Mukkamala	10

Col. 33.-Donations :

	Rs.
2. Bhimavaram	3500
17. Achanta	3000
23. Kantaram	2000
25. Parvatipuram	30
28. Madugula	5500
30. Kasimkot	10
36. Nandikotkur	500

Col. 35.—Earth Fees :

	Rs.
12. Kovvur	50
40. Rayadrug	200

Col. 36.-Penalties :

	Rs.
5. Mandapeta	15
12. Kovvur	50
13. Velpur	500
14. Attili	1000
38. Maddikera	500
40. Rayadrug	1500
56. Palakoderu	106

Col. 39.-Bore-hole Machine Fees :

	Rs.
18. Peatapadu	550
24. Pamaru	100
33. Kadiri	200

Col. 48.-Grants and Contributions :

	Rs.
5. Mandapeta	2500
38. Maddikera	600
42. Yeditha	100

Col. 50.-Sale of Old Stores :

	Rs.
3. Tuni	100
10. Nuzvid	50
20. Razole	50
33. Kadiri	200
38. Maddikera	200
62. Gorantala	30

Col. 51.-Magisterial Fines :

	Rs.
4. Guntakal	1000
8. Tanuku	750
12. Kovvur	150
13. Velpur	170
14. Attili	900
19 Ganapavaram	780
25. Parvatipuram	400
27. Salur	1000
30. Kasimkot	500
40. Rayadrug	1300

Col. 53.—Animal Tax
No statistics available.

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Table No. 20—Expenditure of Village Panchayats in Madras (1946)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	Roads, Construction and Maintenance	Choultries	Lighting	Libraries	Cleaning Streets	Public and Private Latrines	Wells & Water Supply	Slaughter Houses	Public Markets	Fairs & Festivals	Planting Trees	Cart and Bus Stands
(i)	(ii)	a	b	c	d	f	g	i	j	k	l	A	B
1	Amalapuram	9000	...	5024	1384	...	...	1000	...	312	400	700	800
2	Tuni	12000	3500	2800	300	6000	10000	2000	500	...	...	...	100
3	Bhimavaram	11000	1500	3000	300	15700	7500	5300	500	500	200	...	500
4	Guntakal.	8000	100	3500	...	20000	3400	1750	100	300	200	200	200
5	Ramachandrapuram	6627	...	7438	...	3637	...	825	135	508	150	450	452
6	Tadepalligudam	8000	...	1900	600	3500	7300	500	150	200	...	300	150
7	Tanuku.	9000	...	2000	300	4500	9000	1000	10	...	50	10	500
8	Nidadavol	3000	...	4000	200	2200	8700	500	...	...	100	400	500
9	Vuyyuru	5000	100	200	500	800	3000	2000	1000	...	200	...	100
10	Nuzvid	2000	...	2000	...	12000	3000	1000	...	1500	...	...	800
11	Jaggayapeta	68000	...	5000	500	13000	3000	3700	200	150	...	...	550
12	Kovvur	1500	300	1200	150	4000	6000	600	80	40	50	...	200
13	Velpur	3200	...	500	65	450	3050	450	...	100	...	60	60
14	Attili	4000	...	300	...	500	7000	1500	...	2000	500	...	...
15	Undi	870	...	500	30	1200	4100	380	100	300	...	...	100
16	Akividu	6000	...	2000	200	4700	700	1500	1000	200	...	...	200
17	Achanta	2000	2000	3000	400	3800	4500	500	100	200	800	100	...
18	Peatapadu	1500	...	...	75	...	3500	1500	...	350	1100	...	100
19	Ganapavaram	3000	...	...	75	395	2050	962	...	...	...	350	...
20	Razole	3000	...	2000	...	3500	600	975	1000	1500	...	...	1500
21	Gudur (Kistna)	400	...	550	...	570	...	10	200	200	...	...	...
22	Pedana	306	293	1066	117	580	2646	...	500	400	150	...	10
23	Kantaram	3800	...	...	300	1200	2000	...	...	...	...	...	...
24	Pamaru	2098	400	1500	150	1000	3000	1000	500	500	...	...	500
25	Parvatipuram	4000	...	2500	250	...	19900	3000	500	500	...	200	3000

26	Bobbili	1500	...	...	30	1000	13090	1300	50	...	1570	500	150	
27	Salur	4000	...	2600	250	8856	4902	1000	275	...	...	...	300	
28	Madugula	600	...	650	300	800	6503	300	300	200	50	...	...	
29	Chodavaram	1484	...	886	...	3275	6895	1159	255	447	...	...	131	
30	Kasimkot	2000	...	1000	...	4474	624	200	100	400	...	...	100	
31	Yellamanchili	3000	400	1050	...	6000	1200	...	...	1506	...	...	1000	
32	Dharmavaram	1800	...	2400	...	350	8100	2250	200	600	50	...	...	
33	Kadiri	1500	...	3000	...	2700	1800	...	50	100	50	50	50	
34	Gooty	1000	...	3000	...	10000	800	...	...	...	100	...	500	
35	Maddikera	200	...	700	60	...	50	100	10	10	20	20	...	
36	Kampli	2274	...	1275	...	1000	5685	...	...	77	...	...	...	
37	Rayadrug	3500	...	3000	250	700	8204	300	500	400	...	...	...	
38	Dhone	2000	...	...	200	6500	400	...	...	...	100	...	...	
39	Nandikotkur	2000	...	1600	80	750	3900	50	350	...	50	...	100	
40	Valluru	2800	...	...	30	...	180	108	...	...	...	500	...	
41	Yeditha	2800	...	...	200	905	300	400	...	...	...	80	...	
42	Kapileswarapuram	1000	...	300	...	1100	...	...	...	...	1000	...	200	
43	Palivela	450	...	300	...	240	96	250	...	...	...	...	20	
44	Alamuru	3500	...	...	150	654	700	...	...	...	...	...	...	
45	Avidi	1379	883	...	91	...	...	571	...	...	...	...	...	
46	Bodasakurru	800	8450	...	...	...	...	183	...	...	...	...	...	
47	Kothapeta	4000	2630	1000	...	...	1000	2000	72	...	3000	...	...	
48	Bukkapatnam	1000	...	2000	...	100	100	1500	...	...	350	...	...	
49	Pattikonda	1000	...	1500	...	300	4800	200	200	500	...	...	500	
50	Inaparru	...	...	...	...	...	90	90	...	...	...	...	...	
51	Vasadi	200	1900	330	125	108	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	
52	Itempudi	103	895	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
53	Mukkamala	1500	...	...	100	50	...	150	...	...	...	...	...	
54	Palakoderu	300	20	...	100	...	360	...	...	...	...	...	...	
55	Kandavilli	6200	...	200	...	72	228	...	...	...	...	...	...	
56	Aravalli	1000	...	...	150	...	...	1000	10	10	...	...	...	
57	Kothavalasa	1500	2748	...	...	258	310	60	...	220	...	...	...	
58	K. Jagannadhapuram	2284	...	20	1704	...	237	...	...	...	...	...	...	
59	Gorantala	500	336	500	60	...	1596	1000	...	...	...	...	...	
60	Veldurti	...	...	131	...	84	750	...	10	...	...	...	...	
61	Betamcherla	900	...	...	...	...	...	700	100	...	...	...	...	

For the villages : Narsapur, Penukonda, Vadadi, Pedabogila, Bhogapuram, Choudavada, Govada, Bukkarayasamudram, Brahmanayeleru, Lopakabi, Kallur, Jogharapuram, Muddapur, Gokavaram and Bayyavaram, etc. details are not available.

N. B.—Columns omitted are supplied hereunder according to place, etc:-

Col. a.-Drains and Sewage :	Rs.
7. Tanuku	400
13. Velpur	500
16. Akividu	350
22. Pedana	200
33. Kadiri	200
34. Gooty	2000
37. Rayadrug	1500

Col. b.-Burial Grounds :	
3. Bhimavaram	2000
7. Tanuku	1000
10. Nuzvid	200
28. Madugula	100
30. Kasimkot	200

Col. m. Talims :	Rs.
50. Inaparru	20
55. Kandavilli	140

Col. n. Parks :	
11. Jaggayapeta	400
27. Salur	1300
30. Kasimkot	100
47 Kothapeta	3000
49. Pattikonda	100

Col. L. Dispensaries :	
1. Amalapuram	1735
3. Bhimavaram	2500
5. Ramachandrapuram	601
7. Tanuku	1500
8. Nidadavol	1800
15. Undi	200
19. Ganapavaram	200
21. Gudur (Kistna)	40

Col. N. Welfare Measures :	
1. Amalapuram	200
4. Guntakal	3000
16. Akividu	500
51. Vasadi	400
52. Mukkamala	100

Col. C.-Topes and Poramboke.
Col. D.-Supervision of Buildings.
Col. E.-Building Regulations.
Col. F.-Registration of Births and Deaths.
Col. G.-Control of Ponds.

Col. H.-Village Protection.
Col. I.-Agriculture.
Col. J.-Cottage Industries.
Col. K.-Schools Maintenance.
Col. M.-Gratuities.

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Telugu AW17

Table No. 20—(Contd.)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	Establishment	G P F. Contribution	Law Charges.	Electric Expenses	Survey Charges	Tools and Plants	Radio	Epidemics Staff and Disease Contingencies	Donations	Deposits	Advances	Office Contingencies
(i)	(ii)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9	10	11	12	13	18
1	Amalapuram	...	2000	...	...	...	...	...	10000	...	6000	400	100
2	Tuni	5000	300	400	150	500	...	...	1000	...	...	...	1000
3	Bhimavaram	9412	188	300	...	2000	500	500	1500	5000	5000	...	1600
4	Guntakal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
5	Ramachandrapuram	2349	535	85	6705	...	...	61	121	...	...	...	43
6	Tadepalligudam	5180	150	50	...	300	...	1000	400	...	2900	1800	...
7	Tanuku	...	...	...	...	50	...	...	1000	...	...	...	...
8	Nidadavol	7000	2160	200	100	...	...	...	300	...	...	...	2000
9	Vuyyuru	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	100	...	...	...	...
10	Nuzvid	...	3000	...	...	...	...	300	500	...	...	...	300
11	Jaggayapta	4000	3300	500	...	...	...	2000	...	...	...	...	...
12	Kovvur	1700	85	50	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	600
13	Velpur	2880	175	50	30	200	500	170	300	...	1200	...	700
14	Attili	...	...	...	...	50	300	...	300	1000	...	...	...
15	Undi	2000	70	200	50	10	...	300	50	...	...	...	...
16	Akividu	3000	1000	...	...	100	200	200	200	1500	200	...	800
17	Achanta	1700	1400	100	...	100	300	300	100	10	...	...	1000
18	Peatapadu	2400	50	100	100	50	...	150	200	...	400	200	400
19	Ganapavaram	2387	200	25	...	...	...	150	...	1300	150	...	1200
20	Razole	...	...	...	...	500	100	140	700	...	2000	200	...
21	Gudur (Kistna)	447	50	50	2.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50
22	Pedana	...	...	...	...	...	50	188	...	...	...	...	...
23	Kantaram	1970	30	300	100	100	...	...	...	...	...	800	200
24	Pamaru	3200	400	100	50	500	...	200	500	...	...	...	...
25	Parvatipuram	6800	200	1000	600	...	...	...	500	...	...	...	...

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Table No. 20—(Contd.)

Serial No.	Name of the Village	Establishment	G. P. F. Contribution	Law Charges	Electric Expenses	Survey Charges	Tools and Plants	Radio	Epidemics Staff and Disease Contingencies	Donations	Deposits	Advances	office Contingencies
(i)	(ii)	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	10	11	12	13	18
26	Bobbili	4928	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	...	...	...	...
27	Salur	1458	1084	...	...	1500	...	475	300	400	2000	1000	1100
28	Madugula	3750	1300	200	200	...	...	...	...	100	50	...	500
29	Chodavaram	2648	925	...	...	...	...	...	...	18103	...	...	...
30	Kasimkot	304	564	...	...	...	...	200	...	...	...	...	300
31	Yellamanchili	2000	980	...	...	...	...	...	20	1500	500	...	...
32	Dharmavaram	3900	600	...	50	...	...	180	400	20	1000	800	...
33	Kadiri	3700	...	...	...	350	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
34	Gooty	1370	1800	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	400
35	Maddikera	1360	470	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	300
36	Kampli	1877	460	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	75	...	...
37	Rayadrug	3350	300	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...
38	Dhone	2480	...	...	...	...	...	120	...	500	1000	...	...
39	Nandikotkur	1600	900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40	Velluru	180	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
41	Yeditha	410	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	48
42	Kapileswarapuram	700	30	50	100	200	100	200	200	...	...	...	120
43	Palivela	240	...	100	...	...	...	150	...	...	...	300	150
44	Alamuru	192	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
45	Avidi	505	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
46	Bodasakurru	172	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
47	Kothapeta	1120	...	150	100	...	...	500	200	170	...	...	...
48	Bukkapatnam	2400	670	...	...	300	...	...	...	200	500	...	...
49	Pattikonda	1600	80	100	100	...	...	...	100	400	...	...	...

50	Inaparru	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
51	Vasadi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
52	Itempudi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
53	Mukkamala	475	...	50	25	...	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54	Palakoderu	...	...	20	50	...	...	151	...	...	...	...	...	...
55	Kandavilli	400	...	...	...	200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56	Aravalli	840	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
57	Kothavalasa	240	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
58	K. Jagannadhapuram	408	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
59	Gurantala	508	372	...	...	...	...	120	...	...	...	...	...	140
60	Vilduri	235	...	...	...	...	...	160	...	...	...	...	...	...
61	Betamcherla	260	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	130

N. B.—Columns omitted are supplied hereunder according to place, etc.

Col. 6.-Dogs Catch.
Col. 7.-Management Charges.
Col. 14.-Electric Licenses.

Col. 24.-Dearness Allowance.
Col. 25.-Travelling Allowance.
Col 26.-Miscellaneous Contingencies.

PARTICULARS NOT AVAILABLE

Col. 15.-Health Staff and Contingencies. Rs.
1. Amalapuram 4760
Col. 16-Village Panchayat Office Management:
1. Amalapuram 9000
Col. 17.-Contribution to Pensions:
1. Amalapuram 225
13. Velpur 50
41. Yeditha 15

Col. 19.-Health Week: Rs.
40. Valluru 20
Col. 20.-Contingencies:
40. Valluru 10
Col. 21.-Estimation Costs:
40. Valluru 40
Col. 22.-Grass Lease:
9. Vuyyuru 100

	Rs.
33. Kanteram	500
36 Kampli	495
40. Valluru	135
44. Alamuru	200
45. Avidi	49
57. Kothavalasa	82

Col. 23.-P. W. D. Rent:
35. Maddikera 400

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312 3 from the Village Panchayat and one from the Panchayatdars. Again in Kampli in Bellary and in Brahmanayeleru in Anantapur, the President of the Panchayat as well as that of the Irrigation Panchayat were the same without any detriment to the good work of either body.

[666] **Method of Election**: This was generally by show of hands and the election was always conducted by the Revenue Divisional Officer.

Term: The term of office for the members of the Irrigation Panchayat was 3 years, but for the last 13 years, there were no elections due to war and the same old bodies were in power.

[564] **Caste Composition**: The majority was always of non-Brahmins, more than of Brahmins. There was no system of reservation of seats or ex-officio membership as in the case of the Village Panchayats.

651 312 **B. Finance**: This was constisted of meagre Government grants supplemented in a few cases by the small proceeds from sale of grass, etc. The Government of Madras had made the following sanctions to the Irrigation Panchayats:

1.	Kovvada Channel	... Rs.	30-0-0
2.	Yendaganda Channel	... „	30-0-0
3.	Aya Bhimavaram Channel I.	... „	60-0-0
4.	„ „ Channel II.	... „	60-0-0
5.	Bhaskararao Channel	... „	20-0-0
6.	Cherukumilli Channel	... „	20-0-0
7.	Kampli Irrigation Panchayat in Bellary		nil.

As regards the income of the Irrigation Panchayats, they did not have any other sources than the grants of the Revenue Department annually as mentioned above; and these were inadequate. Besides these, the Panchayats got some income from the sale of grass on canal bunds, whenever that source was available, but this was possible only in the Circars and not in the Ceded Districts. The actual expenditure was generally in excess of finance and the gap was usually filled in by subscriptions voluntary and methodical. Brahmanayeleru Irrigation Panchayat in Anantpur collected at the rate of Re. 1/- per acre on wet cultivation and as. 4 per acre on dry cultivation in its area.

312 652 **C. Functions**: The income of the Irrigation Panchayats was inadequate to meet the cost of their functions which were generally the same as Bhimavaram and Cherukumilli Irrigation Panchayats. Details of expenditure for these were as below.

Details of Expenditure of Bhimavaram Irrigation Panchayat 312 652

Year	Particulars	Rate per Kunta as.	Amount Rs. as. p.
1927	Digging charges ...	2	140-0-0
1928	Digging channels ...	2	128-0-0
1929	Digging channels ...	3	109-2-0
1930	-do- ...	-do-	81-12-0
1931	-do- ...	-do-	57-14-10
1932	-do- ...	1½	48-0-0
1934	-do- ...	1	62-3-0
1941	-do- ...	1½	160-0-0
1944	-do- ...	3	215-0-0

Same was the case in Cherukumilli Irrigation Panchayat as indicated below:

Date	Particulars	Amount Rs. as. p.
3-11-1940	Opening Balance ...	302- 6-8
	Postage charges ...	5- 0-0
	...	
8-11-1940	Costs for digging the channel ...	65-10-0
20- 5-1943	Sell of avenues ...	9-12-0
22- 3-1943	Digging channels ...	98- 0-0
23- 3-1944	Cartage charges ...	105- 1-0
12- 7-1946	Grass expenditure ...	94- 0-0
	Balance	146 -8-0 ,

While in the case of Bhimavaram, the annual revenue grant was Rs. 60; in the case of Cherukumilli it was only Rs. 20. The expenditure that was being incurred by the irrigation Panchayats was far in excess of their income, and the excess money was being collected from the individual ryots as private subscriptions for the improvement of the irrigation channels. This was the case with regard to all the Irrigation Panchayats in West Godavari. 312 657 651

In Anantapur, Brahamanayeleru Irrigation Panchayat professed to be the oldest and best. It collected irrigation tax at the rate of Re. 1 per acre of wet crops and 4 as. per acre of dry crops. Kudimaramat (free labour contribution by the villagers) was in force and Irrigation Panchayat appointed Nirgantis at a pay of Rs. 13, though the 312 651

311 651 Panchayat for instance in Bayyavaram Forest Panchayat in Vizagapatam, the rate of grazing per cow was Re 0-6-0, per buffalo Re. 0-12-0 and per sheep Re. 0-3-0 and for fuel each chit for head-load was charged at only Re. 0-0-6.

The grazing rates in Bellary for instance again varied similarly from one Forest Panchayat to another. In Chigetheri Forest Panchayat whose extent in area was 2686.83 acres, the rates of grazing permits were Re. 0-5-0 per cow, Re. 0-10-0 per buffalo, and Re. 0-2-6 per sheep. In Haskanhal, the rates were Re. 0-6-0 per cow. In Kodattu the rates for cow, buffalo and sheep were Re. 0-6-0, Re. 0-12-0 and Re. 0-3-0, respectively.

[314] The income from minor forest produce also varied from one Forest Panchayat to another depending on the nature of the forest produce available, i. e. Tangedu, Avaram, Garualmia, Margosa, sandal-wood, Kasangaddi, Kluesklues, Tamarind, Mustard and the game like deer, peacock, dove, etc.

[316] Quarrying fees were collected in Panchayats like Bayyavaram in Vizagapatam and Betamcherla in Kurnool. Such examples were to be found even in Bellary.

Bayyavaram Forest Panchayats usually sold the fuel coups at a cost not less than Rs. 1000, remitting the same to the treasury. Of this only 10 per cent was given to the Panchayat. It sold fuel dead-woods at Re. 0-0-6 per head load, Re. 0-6-0 per cart-load, Re. 0-1-0 per shoulder-load etc., and levied quarrying fees of Re. 0-2-0 and Re. 0-1-0 per cart load of chisled and unchisled stone respectively.

Income from fuel coups was rarely seen except in Panchayats of the Ceded Districts as that of Bellary, e. g. Jaga the biggest toward Hospet and Dhemaketupalli near Hindupur, in Anantapur. Here the Government of the neighbouring four areas were keeping their wood in Government Depots. The ordinary dead wood was allowed to be sold as usual on the basis of permits.

311 652 One peculiar feature of the budget of the Forest Panchayats was the large balances that accrued from year to year. There was no systematic planning of expenditure for useful purposes by these Panchayats. Panchayats were responsible for the payment of watchers, pay and dress, maintenance and the protection of the reserves from damages of illicit grazing, fire, and theft of firewood and forest produce, the preservation of cairns, the cleanliness, orderliness, etc. Greater the extent of the Panchayat area, greater the number of watchers and greater consequently was the expenditure.

C. Functions: Table No. 24. 311

Watch: The appointment and pay of the watchers was usually left entirely to the discretion of the Forest Panchayat President and members. Very often the pay per month varied from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12, rarely a watcher was paid Rs. 20 or above. There were instances where he was paid only Rs. 6. 465

In Vizagapatam Bayyavaram Forest Panchayat maintained 3 watchers on a monthly pay of Rs. 10 each. In Pedapalli Forest Panchayat of the same district, there were watchers but each got Rs. 6 per month. In Gokivada Forest Panchayat of the same district the pay of the watcher was Rs. 8.

In Anantapur Dhemaketupalli Forest Panchayat paid Rs. 15 to each of its watchers. In Kurnool East Ramalkota Forest Panchayat paid one watcher Rs. 12 per month and another Rs. 14 p. m. In Jonnagiri, the watcher was paid Rs. 16 p. m.

In Bellary, the pay of the watcher similarly varied from one Forest Panchayat to another.

Lease Amount: The most important item of expenditure in the budget of the Forest Panchayats was the lease amount as it would be noticeable from the table. This depended partly on the extent of the forest area and consequently on the number of coups filled up. 311 652

After these two main items of expenditure i. e. the pay and dress of the watchers and the lease amount paid to the Government, what remained was not very often adequate to spend for the functions extended to the Forest Panchayats, as for instance, maintenance and repair of cairns, the preservation of fuel reserves, the protection of forest from illicit grazing, fire, etc. The paucity of funds was in general responsible for the unsatisfactory nature of the Forest Panchayats in most instances.

The working of the Forest Panchayats in the Ceded Districts was far superior to the working of the Forest Panchayats in any other part of the Presidency. There were of course various levels observable. 311

In Vizagapatam, for instance, they were notorious for their backwardness.

Plantation: Plantation of trees, development of nurseries, repairs of ponds and reconstruction of cairns were the duties which few Panchayats could either afford or care to undertake and finish. Accordingly we found some Forest Panchayats with good finances and doing good work, some with good finances and still doing bad work, 311 313

 [See p. 218, category 316.—Analyst]

ment of the Revenue Department. Administration of Venkatampalli, Sangina Malka. Durgam, Odepalli and Methola, etc. Forest Panchayats was under the village Munsifs and was pretty unsatisfactory. Moreover no separate administration and supervision reports were maintained by the supervisory staff to distinguish the consequences of the management by the Government. 311 656

Whenever a particular Forest Panchayat was transferred to the charge of the Government, the Panchayat was abolished and the village headman was automatically kept in charge of it. Thereafter, the moiety, the minor forest produce, the income from the fuel coups, etc. the receipts of the sale of dead wood and stone, the quarrying fees, all accrued only to the Government. When the administration of the Forest Panchayat was not satisfactory under an elected Panchayat, it could not be bettered under the village headman and this was proved by experience in every district.

D. Supervision and Control: The number of watchers in relation to the extent of the Forest Panchayat was everywhere thoroughly inadequate. To add to it, the members and the Presidents of the Forest Panchayats in most instances were litigant. In the Collectorate, the Revenue Divisional Officers and Forest Tahsildars were [illegible]nced in number. Forest Tahsildars were still only in the districts of Nellore, Chittoor, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur. Several instances of illicit browsing, cutting fuel coups unnoticed by the supervisory staff who could not always go through the whole of the forest area, etc. continued. The members of the Forest Panchayat sometimes willfully took away the supervisory staff from places where such ravages would be discovered. Some of the Forest Deputy Tahsildars in the course of their interviews observed that generally the members of the Forest Panchayat attempted to mislead them without allowing them to know the real facts of the situation. 311

PART III

Observations

A. Structure: Forest Panchyats in practice were constituted not on one Panchayat to one village basis, but on the basis of the forest area of contiguous villages. The membership varied from one Forest Panchayat to another according to hamlets and communities to be represented. Election was usually by show of hands. The electorate was of the cattle owners in the Forest Panchayat area.

B. Finance: The resources at the disposal of the Forest Panchayats were usually collected unleft, but the oft-repeated 311 652

311 662 complaint was that they did not always sell as many grazing permits as they ought to sell. Again there was no uniformity in the rates of the grazing fees or the incidence of the grazing area alloted. Large balances which went on accruing were usually left without being properly utilised. Some Panchayats did not sell the authorised number of grazing permits and thus lost legitimate revenue.

311 **C. Functions:** - If the small resources which were at the disposal of these bodies were almost all expended on the pay of the watchers and their dress, and on lease, very little was left over for other normal functions. To allow the watchers to be appointed by the Forest Panchayats and to keep them at the mercy of these bodies seemed to be a precarious affair as they were not given some protection. Their salaries varied from Panchayat to Panchayat according to the financial ability of each Panchayat. There were no rules laid down about the required qualifications or scale or service of these servants. Most of the Forest Panchayats were not able to undertake satitfactorily functions like: 1. the preparation of the fuel coups, 2. sale of the dead wood, 3. giving quarrying permits and 4. protecting the forest reserves from fires, goat browsing and illicit grazing. Even white washing the cairns, digging wells and ponds were done by very few Panchayats. Development of nurseries was a novel idea that was always catching the imagination of enthusiastic Panchayats only, while the rest were very indifferent in this respect. Sale of minor forest produce, barks, medicinal herbs, fire wood, timber and fuel coups, if regularly planned and worked out, would under normal circumstances yield a good revenue, but these resources were not being properly tapped.

Even the transference of these functions from elected Forest Panchayats to nominated village officials did not rather mean any improvement in the situation than the contrary because the village officials did not even keep the records of the inspection notes at the time of of their visits to the reserves. Consequently, there was much deterioration.

The Special Officer appointed to study the working of the Forest Panchayars in 1940 had observed in his report that the backwardness of most of these bodies was due to their slackness in issuing grazing permits and the failure of the Panchayat members to buy them. They were often found to be grazing their cattle without the necessary permits besides allowing their parties' in whom they were interested. He had suggested: 1. the abolition of the payment of the lease amount to Government, 2. increasing the incidence of grazing units from 3 to 6 acres, 3. better payment to the watchers to ensure efficient watching and supervision to avoid unnecessary felling and grazing, 4. appoint-

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Table No. 21—Data on Forest Panchayats in Madras State. (1930-1939)

Particulars regarding the number of Panchayats, the area under their charge and the rent payable by them to Government in each District

No.	District	1930-31			1931-32			1932-33			1933-34			1934-35		
		No. of Panchayats	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No. of Panchayats	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No. of Panchayats	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No. of Panchayats	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.
1	Visagapatam	8	32·67	562	8	32·67	567	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562
2	East Godavari	5	16·91	225	6	18·06	260	6	18·06	260	6	18·06	260	5	18·06	260
3	West Godavari	13	57·94	1985	13	59·43	1435	13	59·05	1440	13	59·36	1510	13	59·36	1385
4	Kistna	20	98·95	2384	20	98·57	2334	20	98·57	2234	20	98·51	2219	20	98·72	2219
5	Guntur	61	193·63	14085	60	193·63	12820	60	196·78	12968	60	196·39	12995	60	196·27	12518
6	Kurnool	25	143·72	5719	25	114·39	5661	25	148·83	5661	25	148·37	6038	24	130·67	5728
7	Bellary	101	485·20	11827	98	485·72	11908	98	485·72	11818	98	486·36	11818	98	485·72	11693
8	Anantapur	93	448·34	11922	92	452·91	12034	92	457·74	11952	92	457·43	11762	92	457·43	11712
9	Cuddapah	54	216·45	6053	54	224·07	6148	54	224·08	6063	54	224·08	6063	54	224·08	5983
10	Nellore	167	395·77	28362	155	394·46	27707	154	399·76	27524	154	399·39	27787	153	394·52	28435
11	Chingleput	66	112·57	10318	67	117·00	10412	67	117·00	10342	67	116·70	9848	67	116·83	9809
12	South Arcot	73	232·52	15714	68	222·50	15755	68	222·40	15615	64	222·55	15618	64	222·28	15618
13	Chittoor	73	318·42	9037	71	315·68	8742	72	315·66	8062	72	315·70	8177	72	315·66	7882
14	North Arcot	90	275·41	15525	91	277·63	15450	91	276·63	16479	91	277·55	17362	90	278·45	17188
15	Salem	42	158·27	7597	42	159·21	7363	42	159·21	7363	42	159·21	7363	41	159·21	7295
16	Coimbatore	21	60·73	3715	21	60·73	3715	21	61·73	3715	21	61·62	3715	21	58·62	4438
17	Trichinopoly	43	90·88	7353	41	90·88	5613	41	90·86	5601	42	90·44	5601	42	90·44	5601
18	Madura	21	41·65	2038	21	41·65	2026	21	41·81	2031	21	41·80	2031	21	41·80	2031
19	Ramnad	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254	1	8·86	254	1	0·86	254
20	Tinnevelly	7	9·84	773	7	10·25	773	8	12·52	966	7	10·22	780	7	10·22	830
21	South Kanara	10	3·05	...	10	3·38	...	10	3·17	...	10	3·11	...	10	3·04	...
	Total	994	3383·78	155448	971	3403.78	150972	972	3423·12	151281	968	3420·41	152483	963	3395·08	151441

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(*Table No. 21—Contd*)

No.	District	1935-36			1936-37			1937-38			1938-39			1939-40		
		No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.	No.	Area sq. miles	Rent Rs.
1	Visagapatam	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562	8	32·64	562
2	East Godavari	5	18·06	260	5	18·06	260	5	18·06	260	5	18·06	260	5	20·75	290
3	West Godavari	13	58·61	1385	13	58·61	1385	13	58·61	1385	13	58·61	1385	13	58·61	1385
4	Kistna	20	99·06	2219	20	99·06	2219	20	99·06	2219	20	99·06	2219	20	99·06	2219
5	Guntur	60	196·19	12438	61	195·59	12433	61	195·59	12424	56	175·01	10959	56	174·89	9461
6	Kurnool	24	130·61	12438	24	130·61	5698	24	130·44	5698	24	130·43	5598	24	130·44	5253
7	Bellary	99	490·52	11711	98	488·74	11591	95	474·04	11387	95	474·04	11212	95	474·04	11212
8	Anantapur	92	457·43	11712	92	457·44	11187	92	457·44	11262	92	457·44	11262	92	457·04	11212
9	Cuddapah	54	227·74	5773	54	227·75	5773	54	227·75	5823	54	227·75	5473	54	227·75	5408
10	Nellore	154	396·22	28677	154	391·49	28714	156	388·84	28734	156	394·85	28301	156	394·85	28248
11	Chingleput	67	116·81	9709	67	116·59	9679	67	116·62	9633	67	115·80	8923	68	110·36	8923
12	South Arcot	64	222·49	15538	67	222·50	15308	67	222·50	15408	67	222·40	14848	67	222·40	14848
13	Chittoor	72	315·70	7867	71	315·69	7802	71	315·69	7802	71	315·69	7637	71	315·69	7287
14	North Arcot	89	274·20	16738	89	274·21	16723	89	274·21	16596	89	274·21	16350	89	274·21	15403
15	Salem	41	153·67	7295	40	153·52	6992	39	147·56	6722	39	140·58	6776	39	139·69	5979
16	Coimbatore	21	58·62	4615	21	58·49	4640	21	58·56	4705	21	58·56	4852	21	58·56	4681
17	Trichinopoly	42	90·66	5586	42	90·58	5586	42	90·58	5586	42	90·58	5511	42	90·58	4896
18	Madura	21	41·77	2031	21	41·77	1976	21	41·77	2031	21	41·77	1961	21	41·77	1953
19	Ramnad	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254	1	0·86	254
20	Tinnevelly	7	10·22	780	7	10·33	780	7	10·03	780	7	10·08	780	7	10·08	780
21	South Kanara	13	3·04	...	10	3·04	...	10	3·04	...	10	3·04	...	10	3·04	...
	Total	964	3395·12	150878	965	3386·57	149562	963	3363·04	149562	963	3341·46	145124	960	3336·74	140090

N. B.—The figure for 1939-40 includes figures upto June 30th 1940. There were no Panchayats in Malabar District.

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Table No. 24—Expenditure of the Forest Panchayats in Madras (Rs.)

No.	Name of the Village	District	Lease Amount	Pay of Watchers	Dress	Contingencies	Cairns Repairs	Ponds Repairs	Plantation Charges	Maintenance	Balance
1	Bayyavarm	Visagapatam	100	90	...	17	20	...	...	...	...
2	Pedapalli	"	127	120	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
3	Gokivada	"	20	64	...	115	...	...	...	...	405
4	Regupalem	"	100	200	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
5	Kalavalapalli	"	30	627	...	200	...	...	...	...	...
6	Yerravaram	"	20	110	...	1	11	...	...	2	234
7	Dhemaketupalli	Anantapur	165	540	60	15	40	5	...	...	1265
8	Sankargallu	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	Betamcherla	Kurnool	300	384	50	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	Jonnagiri	"	45	96	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Gooty, Erragudero	"	260	264	...	36	2	...	...	...	...
12	East Ramalkotah	"	300	307	...	5	...	1	1	...	...
13	Jaggayapeta	Kistna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	Bandar Forest	"	160	192	...	20	...	...	...	...	...
15	Balgoti	Bellary	51	240	30	5	5	40	...	...	721
16	Arekara	"	35	192	10	2	10	5	5	...	...
17	Hulikatti	"	43	156	10	30	10	5	10	20	...
18	Eligatteri	"	60	204	10	10	15	5	5	5	...
19	Harkanlal	"	63	132	5	5	5	5	...	...	...
20	Adivimakankara	"	30	80	...	5	...	...	...	...	...
21	Alagalivada	"	131	216	5	5	5	...	3	...	...
22	Uchangidurgam	"	60	160	15	5	4	...	...	...	...
23	Musavankalahal	"	70	168	5	15	5	...	...	...	...
24	Kodattu	"	41	236	40	5	3	20	...	...	...
25	Hydrada	"	126	294	20	1	20	...	...	...	...
26	Dasena Halli	"	55	108	10	5	5	5	...	...	...
27	Tagalkatti	"	110	92	5	5	2	...	...	...	...
28	Nagathibasapuram	"	144	288	12	18	144	7	7	...	...
29	Aravamahal	"	80	216	20	3	5	20	10	5	20
30	Kanchikari	"	64	216	20	4	10	10	10	5	...
31	Kanavatti	"	65	168	10	3	65	3	3	4	...
32	Halvagal	"	110	92	5	5	1	...	...	...	...
33	Kayakathi	"	168	10	3	40	65	3	4	...	...
34	Bandikara	"	35	216	20	220	250	250	17	...	...
35	Holgondi	"	65	66	1	...	...	...	...	...	..
36	Nenikathi	"	41	240	20	5	10	150	15	15	...
37	Salugoyi	"	130	288	20	3	5	300	20	...	...
38	Yallarthi	"	19	162	8	6	10	10	10	10	...
39	Rayadrug	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40	Kanispuram	"	55	232	13	3	12	5	15	...	...
41	Vithalapuram	"	87	108	10	2	12	55	3	...	...
42	Nimbalgiri	"	85	240	7	2	20	100	5	5	...
43	Thimalgiri	"	90	110	...	13	...	...	...	...	...
44	Hospet	"	60	354	15	5	330	30	...	...	...
45	Metri	"	73	108	10	2	3	32	3	5	...
46	Gandigamanur	"	350	30	10	156	15	5	10	4	...
47	Venkatapuram	"	324	20	6	70	20	6	5	...	...
48	Dharmasany	"	112	18	5	115	...	...	...	...	...
49	Jagga	"	384	20	5	226	20	...	...	...	...
50	Dargi	"	192	20	2	170	20	...	...	...	...
51	Ingioti	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

647 Panchayat : while the Panchayat wanted to dominate them the
623 executive officers placed themselves too high above the Panchayat
578 and regarded themselves sometimes as fallen angels. There were several instances, where the Boards tried to harass the executive officers and the executive officers tried in return to take vengeance on them.

623 **Obligatory and Optional Functions of the Panchayats:** The administrative functions of the Panchayats were divided into two types: obligatory and optional. The obligatory functions included: public works, maintenance and construction of culverts, bridges and roads, burning and burial grounds, provision of water supply, parks, library and newspapers, lighting, public health and conservancy, slaughter houses, managements of fairs and festivals. While the optional functions were plantation of trees, provision of radio, arrangements with regard to infectious diseases, medical relief and donation, etc. Very often the funds of the Panchayats were spent to a large extent on salaries, office contingencies, dearness allowance, and travelling allowance, with little left over for discharging duties either obligatory or optional. (vide Table No. 20)

653 **Public Works** : The arrangements made by the village Panchayats for the construction and maintenance of roads, water tanks, sluices, channels and buildings constituted some of the important items of public works. In most of the villages in South India, provision of water supply and systematic arrangements with regard to maintenance of tanks and distribution of water to fields and settling of disputes arising out of it, were considered to be the functions of the village Panchayats. This was done by the contribution of communal labour according to which every resident of the community was to contribute his share to the maintenance of local public works. Employment of compulsory forced labour for execution of public works like tanks, canals, buildings and roads was a time-honoured custom in South India which continued even today.

Construction of roads and tanks was done by the employment of paid labour alone. But the Panchayats were not at liberty to undertake any work they liked. The Panchayats were generally authorised to undertake public works upto Rs. 250 without the necessity of the sanction of the higher authorities.

Some of the major Panchayats in the Circars and Nellore District had their own overseers and staff like the mistry on their establishment, paid them from their funds and got their works exe-

cuted. But the maintenance of staff for public works did not alone 653
solve the problem. The problems were peculiar and different from Panchayat to Panchayat and the reasons for their slovenly and irregular execution were not one and the same as would be illustrated by some examples from each group.

All the 1st grade Panchayats did not appoint overseers and even 653
those that appointed them had nothing exemplary about their public 652
works. For instance Bhimavaram and Narsapur were the 1st grade Panchayats with their own overseers. Even there all the estimates passed were never executed. For instance, in Bhimavaram, 86 estimates amounting to a sum of Rs. 36,000 for 1946–47 were first sanctioned by the Board, but the same Board soonafter rejected 15 estimates the value of which amounted to Rs. 17,800. Thus there was no consistency in the Public Works Programmes of Panchayats. In Narsapur 61 estimates worth Rs. 19,000 ordinary and capital had been actually executed, though a sum of Rs. 15,000 was allotted for public works, according to the model budget, which required 20 per cent of the gross revenue of the Panchayat to be spent on roads. But this ratio was rarely observed in practice by other Panchayats. Narsapur Panchayat was also able to look after its roads with greater regularity through its overseer and supervisor, than Tuni Panchayat whose negligence of roads was the usual theme. Though it was fit to be a 1st grade Panchayat, it had no supervisor or an overseer. The expenditure on capital works amounted to Rs. 12,000 per year, but even this sum was never actually spent. The estimates and plans were not usually executed, and the amounts allotted for public works were kept in reserve from year to year, leaving the state of communication in a deplorable state. Out of the budget expenditure of Rs. 2,200 for 1946-47 for repairs and maintenance of a total length of road of 15½ miles, only Rs. 1,086 was actually spent on doing some patch work here and there. The condition of roads was very bad. There were not even rivetments near the culverts. The Board maintained a total road of 17 miles, 9 miles of which was metalled and 2 miles gravelled and the rest earthen. The recent appointment of an overseer had not very much changed the situation. The expenditure on public works even for previous years 1944–45 and 1945–46 was not more than 10 per cent of the budgeted amount.

The Ceded Districts or any other parts of the province were in no 653
way better. Guntakal, the biggest Panchayat in Anantpur District revealed the same story. Several estimates for repair of road at Rs. 18,000, for Office Building at Rs. 10,000 and for market stand at a

653 cost of Rs. 5,000 were made, but nothing was practically done nor even a supervisor was appointed to look after the local public works.

These defects were not the monopoly of the 1st grade Panchayats alone. If check measurements were not made, estimates were not actually executed, plans that were put forward were allowed to lag, slackness continued, funds went on accumulating, while condition of roads gradually deteriorated due to the gross negligence even in major Panchayats in the 1st grade, the position in 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats could not have been better.

Often the plans of public works in the 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats made no progress far from the resolutions of the Panchayat Board. For instance Ramchandrapuram and Mandapeta, Panchayats in the 2nd grade, were repairing their public roads once in 5 years or [651] whenever they needed repairs. Schemes for construction of drainage and gutters were still under consideration and a drainage tax was introduced at the rate of 25 per cent of the house tax, but it was never utilised. Ramchandrapuram Panchayat had jurisdiction of over 100 roads which were to be maintained and repaired, but they were left in a helpless and unsatisfactory condition. The amount that was allotted for repairs of roads was very inadequate. Panchayats in other districts had nothing better to report. The same indifferernce, inadequate allottment of funds, irregular enforcement of even these assignments, and unsatisfactory conditions unchecked by Local Government Officials were the usual themes. In spite of their good financial position, Panchayats of the calibre of Tanuku and Tadepalligudam in West Godaveri, Vuyyuru and Jaggayapeta in Kistna, Salur and Yelamanchili in Vizagapatam displayed deplorable indifference to this obligation. Some better examples of constructive Panchayats as Kampli and Ravadrug in Bellary, where better attention was being paid to communication were seen, but such instances were very few.

Even among the 3rd grade Panchayats, there were some instances where the picture was not totally bleak. Razole in East Godavari, Kovvur, Ganapavaram, Peatapadu, Undi, Akividu, Achanta and Attili in West Godavari, Gudur and Pedana in Kistna, Madugula and Chodavaram in Vizagapatam, Penu Konda and Gooty in Anantpur, were some of the Panchayats amongst those visited that showed some real signs of interest towards this important obligation. [735] In these places, in addition to regular attention to roads, alms houses for beggars as in Razole were proposed; registers of length of roads and needs for periodic repairs were maintained and attended to; drains, culverts and platforms were constructed, the towns

were surveyed and the encroachments were booked and fined. Metal 653
roads and streets were laid out and their regular repairs were looked after, but this did not mean that affairs were completely satisfactory even here. The same complications and neglect of executing estimated plans and leaving huge balances in arrears were revealed to be more or less a common feature There were streets where sand had been accumulating and while even the earthen roads were not found in some instances. Thus though the position was only comparatively better, they had to go far ahead before they could be said to be discharging their obligations with satisfaction. About the rest of the 3rd grade Panchayats there was nothing to be said except to mention that the same story of indifference and sorrowful neglect repeated itself besides occasional frauds in check measurements, contracts and execution. Instances were seen where the Panchayats had to execute several public works by reducing them to types costing less than Rs. 250/- in order to circumvent the obligation of getting the estimates checked by the District Board. This was leading to gross abuse of the minimum cost concept and an uneconomic waste of public funds. The explanation, given by some Panchayats for over-riding this legal obligation of getting their estimates checked up by the District Board before executing them, was that they wanted to avoid the exorbitant delay and resorting to corrupt means for getting priority for the examination of their estimates by the Local Board's Engineers. Whoever was responsible for this state of affairs, this was a very unhealthy system which had very much corrupted the Public Life and Local Administration. It is high time that something is done to face these unpleasant facts and clean the body politic from these ugly practices which are detrimental to Public Funds as well as to the welfare of the general public.

Surprisingly enough, the minor Panchayats whose income was below Rs. 5000 revealed to be more considerate in the discharge of public works than any of the major Panchayats investigated into. Especially some of the Minor Panchayats in the two Godavaries had been doing some splendid work. Valluru, Yeditha, and Kapileswarapuram in East Godavari, and Palakoderu, Inaparru, Vomavaram, Itempudi and Vasadi in West Godavari had some brilliant records of work to their credit. They had metal roads which were laid down by public subscriptions and they were proud of this achievement. The four villages of West Godavari mentioned above laid down a road of 16 miles at their own cost of Rs. 16,000 contributing, labour, earth and gravel on their own. Taking along with them some adjoining villages, they had constructed village approach roads and feeder

653 roads to the district roads too with their money at a cost of Rs. 32,000 and with a paltry grant of Rs. 5,000 from the Inspector of Local Boards. Local subscription at the rate of Rs. 5 from each of the landlords owning 100 acres was collected. Mukkamala and Kandavilli were important specimens of this type. They constructed a bridge over the canal at a cost of Rs. 880. While the Local Board proposed to give 1/4 of the expenditure, the remaining expenditure was sought to be met with by the funds of the villagers. Mukkamala Panchayat had also laid down a road of 1 mile 7 furlongs at its own cost. Culverts were constructed in all these village Panchayats with the aid of the economic councils that were in existence till 1941. Palakoderu was the best among the minor Panchayats that received the Governor's Medal for its sense of Public Duty and excellent Public Works. While its income was very poor, its work was more satisfactory than that of any other major Panchayat with vast finances. It had a scheme of road construction at a cost of Rs. 30,000 and maintenance at a cost of Rs. 16,000 out of which a grant of Rs. 8,000 was received from Local Boards, Rs. 3,000 from the District Board and Rs. 5,000 from the Panchayat. All the roads were gravelled; besides, a building for Girls School was constructed at a cost of Rs. 1,000 and given as a gift to the children of the village. Even during the time of enquiry, the Panchayat was carrying out a scheme of Rs. 7,500 for gravelling of roads and Rs. 3,500 were already spent. The Inspector of Local Boards had given a grant of Rs. 2,000 while the District Board and Panchayat had to bear the remaining burden. As they did not have any special sources of taxation, the burden had to be met by individual subscriptions. Some such instances of good minor Panchayats were Kasba Jagannadhapuram and Kothavalasa in Vizagapatam, Brahmanayeleru and Lepakshi in Anantpur, where a good civic sense was also responsible for execution of public works.

The rest of the minor Panchayats both in the Circars and the Ceded Districts had no creditable account in public works, not because they had no funds, but because they did not have enough enthusiasm as the other minor Panchayats illustrated above. They were mostly indifferent. Given proper opportunity for proper development with occasional changes in personnel they might certainly improve. But the stagnation created by the absence of elections for nearly a decade made the people and the members of the Panchayats too indifferent. Especially the Panchayats in the Ceded Districts were much more backward than those in the Circars, due to their general backward economic condition.

661 Even the major Panchayats with overseers and mistries, either
653 left the budgeted plans unfinished, neglecting the roads on the plea that plans were not approved by the District Board or executed them in a haphazard piecemeal way by reducing all the estimates to an amount below Rs. 250/- which they could undertake. Some Panchayat budgets showed expenditure on roads, which were never laid but, when caught, sought to plead that they were spoiled by the time the inspecting authority could visit them. There were frauds in preparing the estimates, in the execution of contracts and in the accounts of the amounts shown as paid in the Panchayat budgets. These shady deals go unpunished for want of positive proof. Minor Panchayats portrayed better enthusiasm in the execution of their public works by the use of communal labour. However, to avoid much wastage of public money by the Panchayats more competent, honest and sincere supervising staff to look to their estimates and execution is essential. Corruption, delay and dilatory tactics should seriously be dealt with. Starting of Government Central Depots for storing and selling raw materials like lime, stone, tar, keel and other materials required for public works under Local Boards would mitigate to some extent the present evil of embezzlements of public funds. A close laison between the District Board and the Public Works Department to tighten up the supervision may also improve the position.

312 Though there is no acute water scarcity in the Circars as in the Ceded Districts there is need for providing protected water supply in Panchayats where there are no fresh water wells or to dig more wells where they are inadequate. While the Panchayats have not got resources to undertake this task, the District Boards and the State Government should take more interest.

744 Only some major Panchayats appointed sanitary inspectors,
364 vaccinators, mid-wives and compounders to look after public health, scavengers and thotties to clean the roads, drains, gutters and latrines private and public. The sanitary inspectors looked to the enforcement of the Food Adulteration Act, supervision of the slaughter houses, prevention of infectious diseases, maintenance of the public health, sweeping of the roads, etc. with the assistance of the sanitary staff But many Panchayats were not in a position to undertake most of these functions due to the lack of funds or difficulties in recruiting scavengers and thotties as in the case of Vizagapatam due to the low salaries paid.

231 Slaughter houses were found mostly in the minor and major Panchayats where even the right of collecting the receipts was

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

the law courts in the city. Now and then State officials visited the village on tour. In the second half of the Jagir period these administrative contacts increased very considerably. At the same time the urban contacts of a section of the village population also grew gradually. These included visiting relations and friends in the city, receiving relations and friends from the city, occasional excursions for shopping in the large city stores and markets as well as for sight-seeing, temporary stay of a short or long duration for work in the city, and finally being in everyday touch with officials resident in the village, who were regarded as an urban element in the village population. Increased contacts with the towns and cities were greatly facilitated by the construction of the metalled road joining Hyderabad with the district headquarters of Karimnagar in the interior of the State. This road touches Shamirpet. With the introduction of bicycles and buses frequent and regular contacts with the urban areas were made possible. The progress of education has been rather slow. In the early-Jagir days only a few children belonging to the higher castes, and also to the upper level families, received any schooling. Even this was confined to a bare acquaintance with three R's. With the opening of a school in the village education was placed within the reach of a much larger section and even some untouchable children started attending the school. Some ambitious parents sent their children to the higher schools in the city where they could learn English. Books, periodicals and newspapers which occasionally found their way into the village conveyed to the people 'strange truths regarding the wide world through the medium of the printed word'. The State administration initiated some of its welfare and nation-building activities in the countryside. Agriculture, Veterinary and Animal Husbandry, Medical and Public Health, and Co-operation and Rural Development departments of the State started functioning in the rural areas. Their representatives and propagandists brought some new ideas and techniques to the village. The villagers saw their demonstrations, heard their talks, and were at times even coaxed into doing things in the new ways. This was indeed novel to them. In the earlier period government had only collected land revenue, heard some of their disputes, tried cases arising out of breaches of law, and occasionally forced them to provide practically free labour and 'presents' for touring government officials, but had never interfered with their agricultural

practices or with their methods of cattle keeping. Compulsory vaccination and inoculation were introduced. The village people did not clearly understand the implications of the political movements that were developing in the city. The Muslims, thinking that they belonged to the 'ruling race', supported the Nizam and later the communalist Muslim party. The educated and city-influenced Hindus had sympathy with the Arya Samaj (a Hindu revivalist and reformist body), and the State Congress (a democratic political party affiliated to the Indian National Congress and dedicated to the ideal of self-government and democracy within the State), but could not express their sympathies openly. At least outwardly the landed Hindu peasantry maintained a loyalist attitude towards the established authority. These were the major influences that operated in the community. Nearly all of them had a slow and uncertain start, but gradually their intensity and effectiveness increased. As an outcome of their operation, at the close of the Jagir period, we get a picture of the village which is very different from the one that it would have presented in the pre- or early-Jagir period.

What then are the main lines of variation? In what spheres of community life are the changes most pronounced? As we find them most pronounced in material culture and technology, it would be appropriate to begin our analysis of change with this aspect of life. These changes have resulted in the acquisition of new habits and styles, of new tools and technological processes, and of a new outlook on things in general.

In the dress and ornaments of the village people there has been very noticeable change. The old-style peasant dress is now giving way to new-style clothes cut and stitched in imitation of the urban style. While it is still common to see an Indian lower garment—Hindu *dhoti* or Muslim *pyjama*—Western-style shirts with collars have mostly replaced the native upper garments. In the former times only the village headman, rich Reddis and Muslims, and the high-caste Brahmins and Komtis wore 'respectable' and semi-urban clothing, and that too only when they were to receive an important visitor or while going to the city. With the exception of this small minority, all others wore the traditional peasant dress. Spinning was done on the hand-wheel at home and cloth was woven by village weavers. Now the situation has changed. At present hardly any spinning is being done by the people, and the village weaver

THE CHANGING SCENE

000 well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

178 621 The Police Action undertaken by the Indian Union in 1948 changed the fortune and status of the State of Hyderabad. The most significant outcome was that political power changed hands —from an extremist communal party to the people of the State. It had a profound effect on the rural areas. However, sufficient time must elapse before we can evaluate its total influence on the life of the community. But it has set in motion certain trends which are not without interest to the student of social change in peasant communities.

178 578 621 The first definite change is that Muslims who occupied a privileged position during the former régime now no longer do so. On account of some of their un-neighbourly acts of terrorism during the last phase of extremist Muslim rule in the State some of them had become very unpopular. Fearing retaliation by the Hindus they ran away from the village temporarily. Now they have all returned. For some time they were jeered at and ridiculed, but at the time of our study cordiality had returned to the Hindu and Muslim sections of the population.

178 651 661 The second noticeable change is that under the administrative reforms initiated by the new administration forced labour and forced extraction of hospitality by government officials have been prohibited. In practice they still continue on a restricted scale. Government's decision to take determined steps against bribery and corruption has been announced; but firm action still remains to be taken in this direction.

423 178 Thirdly, the abolition of feudal estates has been a big step in the direction of land reform. With the end of the Jagirdari system Shamirpet has once again come under normal district administration. Further reforms ensuring a more equitable distribution of land, fixing a maximum limit on land holding and ending the evils of absentee landlordism are under contemplation. When these plans materialize substantial changes can be expected.

178 704 654 Fourthly, the government has intensified its welfare and nation-building activities. The village is to have a better school in the near future. The Public Health Department is already more active. The Agriculture and Veterinary departments are making a better planned and organized effort towards the introduction

of more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

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Agriculture.—Area under each of the principal crops :—

	ACRES.		ACRES.
Paddy	123·17	Ragi	171·9
Sugarcane	4·21	Cholam (for cattle) ...	4·27
Coconut topes ...	2·11	Sazzulu	0·27
Other fruit trees and scattered shade trees	11·21	Chamulu	6·36
		Gram	8·30
Betel gardens ...	1·4	Dholl	6·31
Plantain	4·22	Groundnut	12·15
Mango	1·0	Castor seeds	2·4
		Other crops	18·10

Out of the dry land, nearly 250 acres yield only one crop per annum, about 60 acres two crops. Almost all of the wet land yields two crops. There is no land yielding three crops per annum.

The methods of cultivation are the same as in Thettupalli in the Chittoor district of the Madras Presidency.

407

Implements.—In one house only an iron plough * is used. The rest use the country plough made of wood.

412

Other agricultural implements used are yoke, picottah, *yethambana*, hoe, *guntaka*, *donthi*, *pandluminu*, *gorru*, *palikiguntaka*, *mamoti*, scythe and other minor implements.

The *gorru* is a seed-drill, with a bowl to put the seed in, and bamboo tubes to distribute it. The *guntaka* is a six-bladed harrow, the *palikiguntaka* a twelve-bladed harrow. The *donthi* is a log of wood with twenty wooden teeth, each 5 inches long and half an inch thick, with a curved contrivance at the end of the handle which the driver holds against his stomach. It is used for powdering the soil. The *pandluminu* is a variety of the same.

231

Stock—

Oxen	144	
Cows	111	
Male-buffaloes	...	
Cow-buffaloes	5	(These do not thrive well here).
Young stock of above species.	103	
Horses	4	
Donkeys	15	
Mules	...	
Sheep	27	
Goats	14	
Pigs	4	

In the mornings cows are fed with grass, gram well pounded with the addition of water and rice bran. Then they are let out to graze in the fields. In the evening they receive the same as in the morning and oil-cake. They are also fed with rice straw and ragi straw. Sometimes cholam also is used and its stalks.

Bulls receive almost the same as cows, but are given less of green grass. Gram is fried and made into flour and then used; also Bengal gram and oil cake.

[* The Mysore State Department of Agriculture manufactures and sells cheap and handy iron ploughs. The general use of these would be of immense advantage on dry land.—Ed.]

154

911 a few with bad finance and good work and the majority with bad
913 finances and doing bad work.

911 There were to be seen specimens of good Panchyats as Dhemake-
tupalli in Aantapur, Bandar Forest in Kistna, East Ramalkota in Kurnool and Jaga, in Bellary.

Dhemaketupalli Forest Panchayat was an ideal type so far as Anantapur was concerned. Its jurisdiction extended over 3 villages of Hensakepalli, Kanchi Samudram and Chila Mathur along with the hamlets of Godarallapalli, Kellapuram, Godepalli, Manda Makulapalli, Gorgatipalli, etc. The big tank in the middle of the Forest Panchayat was repaired and a big nursery was developed for plantation of about 50 trees of Margosa, Peta, Kanga Neridi, Tangedu, etc., every year. It also prepared the fuel coups. The sale value of Tangedu was usually given to the Forest Panchayat, but even that was stopped for the time being. In Kistna District, Bandar was the ideal type of Forest Panchayat and Jaggayapeta was another good specimen. Here the Forest Panchayat spent every year a good sum for the repairs and up-keeps of the ponds and the tanks. East Ramalkota in Kurnool began planting every year 100 trees of which about 25 survived. Repairs along with cleaning of the tank for cattle were regularly done. Scent from Khuskhus was prepared and sold. Here cairns were white washed and kept neat. In Bellary Jaga Forest Panchayat was the biggest of its type.

There were some moderate Panchayats, where though the income was not much, the working showed good enthusiasm, as for instance the Forest Panchayats like Kanavalli, Kanchikari, Nenikathi, and Saluvojigi in Bellary. Here the income of the Panchayats was not much yet they paid some attention to the maintenance of cairns, repairs of ponds, etc. They also took up the work of plantations of Margosa, Mango, Tangedu, etc.

The majority of the Forest Panchayats sufferd from both bad finances and bad administration too. They were not able to pay adequate attention to the several functions entrusted to them.

911 **Departmental Administration** : As a means of improving their
656 administration, the Government started taking up their management and handed it over to the Revenue Department. This, in practice, proved to be a more miserable failure than the existing system of management by the Panchayats. For instance in Anantapur out of the existing 88 Forest Panchayats, 50 were under the manage-

ment of the Revenue Department. Administration of Venkatampalli, Sangina Malka. Durgam, Odepalli and Methola, etc. Forest Panchayats was under the village Munsifs and was pretty unsatisfactory. Moreover no separate administration and supervision reports were maintained by the supervisory staff to distinguish the consequences of the management by the Government. 311 656

Whenever a particular Forest Panchayat was transferred to the charge of the Government, the Panchayat was abolished and the village headman was automatically kept in charge of it. Thereafter, the moiety, the minor forest produce, the income from the fuel coups, etc. the receipts of the sale of dead wood and stone, the quarrying fees, all accrued only to the Government. When the administration of the Forest Panchayat was not satisfactory under an elected Panchayat, it could not be bettered under the village headman and this was proved by experience in every district.

D. Supervision and Control: The number of watchers in relation to the extent of the Forest Panchayat was everywhere thoroughly inadequate. To add to it, the members and the Presidents of the Forest Panchayats in most instances were litigant. In the Collectorate, the Revenue Divisional Officers and Forest Tahsildars were [illegible]nced in number. Forest Tahsildars were still only in the districts of Nellore, Chittoor, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur. Several instances of illicit browsing, cutting fuel coups unnoticed by the supervisory staff who could not always go through the whole of the forest area, etc. continued. The members of the Forest Panchayat sometimes willfully took away the supervisory staff from places where such ravages would be discovered. Some of the Forest Deputy Tahsildars in the course of their interviews observed that generally the members of the Forest Panchayat attempted to mislead them without allowing them to know the real facts of the situation. 311

PART III

Observations

A. Structure: Forest Panchyats in practice were constituted not on one Panchayat to one village basis, but on the basis of the forest area of contiguous villages. The membership varied from one Forest Panchayat to another according to hamlets and communities to be represented. Election was usually by show of hands. The electorate was of the cattle owners in the Forest Panchayat area.

B. Finance: The resources at the disposal of the Forest Panchayats were usually collected unleft, but the oft-repeated 311 652

28: Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1954 AWI India
Telugu AW17

Rajhas had donated maternity wards in the hospitals situated in the Panchayat areas. 743

Donations: Some Panchayats patronised education by contributing funds; for instance, Bhimavaram in West Godavari planned to give Rs. 5,000 annually to the local college. Salur Panchayat in Kurnool was giving Rs. 500 to a school for blind. 658

Sundry Expenses: Besides these, there were separate funds set apart in every Panchayat for public amenities, law-charges, election expenses, office contingencies, dearness allowance, travelling allowance and salaries of the establishment, etc. 652

Meetings of Panchayats: According to the Madras Local Boards Act, every Panchayat should meet at least once a month to transact business and if for three months no meeting was held, the Panchayat would cease to exist or if a member remained continuously absent for three months, he was to be invalidated, though he could seek re-election 623

Name of the Village	Total No. of Meetings	Ordinary	Extra-ordinary	Percentage of Attendance	Adjourned for want of quorm
Amalapuram	17	17	...	...	...
Tuni	18	13	5	...	...
Bhimavaram	25	12	13	...	6
Narsapur	19	19	...	42	5
Ramchandrapuram	24	24	...	50	...
Jaggayapeta	12	12	...	50	...
Kadiri	16	10	6	50	...
Dharmavaram	17	17	...	42	7
Nuzvid	12	12	...	50	...
Achanta	12	12	...	poor	...
Pedana	12	12	...	50	...
Parvatipuram	13	13	...	52	...
Pamaru	12	12	...	34	...
Nandikotkur	12	12	...	34	...
Pattikonda	12	12	...	50	...
Maddikera	12	12	...	20	6
Vuyyuru	12	12	...	80	...
Akividu	12	10	2	50	2
Bukkapatnam	15	15	...	50	...
Penu Konda	16	16	...	66	...

The meetings of the Panchayat are important from the view point of their deliberations, for these formulate the work of Panchayats.

In East Godavari the Panchayat school for instance at Avidi was started in 1930 by an order of the Registrar General of Panchayats at that time. It was providing instruction upto vernacular 5th standard. The Panchayat provided the school with an independent building of its own in 1934. The pay of the teacher was met with from the grant of the Inspector of Local Boards i. e. yearly Rs. 60 and the additional expenditure being met with from the funds of the Panchayat. Due to financial disability of the Panchayat, the running of the school was also very unsatisfactory. The teacher was getting Rs. 15/- p. m. His appointment, promotion, suspension or dismissal were all entirely at the mercy of Panchayat subject to the control of the District Educational Officer. The usual working of the school was from 7-30 to 10-30 a. m. and 2-0 to 5-0 p. m. Doddampeta Panchayat School in the same district was reported to be working very satisfactorily, but the lack of sufficient co-operation did not make it possible for conducting actual investigation into the working of this school. In West Godavari two Panchayat Schools were chosen for survey, one known for its efficiency and the other known for its unsatisfactory management i. e. Inaparru and Itempudi respectively. 871 876 [658]

In Inaparru, the Panchayat School was happy under the management of the Panchayat Board which looked to its efficient working. It had 3 teachers. The school was getting a grant of Rs. 826/- and the scales of pay of the teachers were for 2nd grade, basic Rs. 22/- plus Rs. 16/- D. A. and for higher grade, basic Rs. 17/- plus Rs. 8/- plus Rs. 16/- D. A. All the teachers were senior ones and were eager to serve the school without leaving it, in spite of the low remuneration compared with that given by the District Board Schools. This was because of the smooth relations existing between the Board and the School. There were about 88 boys and girls. The average attendance was about 60.

The grant of the teacher's pay from the Inspector of Local Boards was received only once in a year, but, the Panchayat Board paid its teachers regularly, granted them casual leaves of 15 days in a year and in addition to giving them whatever other meagre facilities it could give.

Here the teachers feel that if their scales of pay were revised and they were paid the same scales as those of the District Board they would have better incentive to work.

The working hours were from 7 to 10 a. m. and 2 to 5 p. m. The school was closed in agricultural season and worked in summer instead, to avoid greater absence of children of the cultivators. The

871 Panchayat Schools were never properly inspected either by the
875 District Board or by the Governments' Inspectors.

The school in Itempudi presented a wide contrast to that in Inaparru. Here the school was started about 15 years ago and 3 teachers were found to be working. A free site was given by the villagers to construct a building for the school, but, as the proposed building had not materialised so far, the school was situated in a rented building.

[658] The grant from the Inspector of Local Boards was Rs. 900 per annum for the running of the Panchayat School, and the pay scale of the teachers was Rs. 17 basic plus Rs. 16 D. A per month. The strength of the school, both boys and girls including, came to 90. The school worked from 7 to 10 a. m. and 2 to 5 p. m.

The Panchayat Board appointed the teachers, gave them furniture, buildings, contingencies towards stationery, supervised the school attendance and checked the school teachers' work.

But the school teachers were in general a most dissatisfied lot. For grant of leave, the permission of the Dy. Inspector, District Educational Officer and Inspector of Local Board was required, with the ultimate result of their not getting it, or getting it long after they required it. Hence the teachers demanded leave rules, provident fund facilities, annual or biennial increments, introduction of service registers, promotions, transfers, pension and provincialization of their services, instead of keeping them at the mercy of the Panchayat Boards, which were very often hot beds of party strife and corruption. Another difficulty was they did not get even that inadequate and miserable pay for five to six months. It was becoming very difficult for them to pull on for such long intervals without any aid from the Panchayat. The Panchayat was too poor to advance them with funds till they got the grant from the Inspector of Local Boards.

Itempudi Panchayat School was thus an example of the unsatisfactory type of Panchayat School management, which never thought of the prospects and happiness of the teachers who worked for the social well-being of the village community.

871 Similarly such good and bad examples of Panchayat Schools were to be found in every district. In Vizagapatam, Kothavalasa Panchayat was running an efficient Panchayat Board School. Govada which was having an elementary school was enthusiastic enough to start a high school.

In Kothavalasa the first Panchayat School was started in 1927, the second in 1928, the third and the fourth in 1930, and another

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who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available.

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission.

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village.

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals.

The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; in return for the service, the government grants them the use of certain rent-free lands. 27

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and functions to agents who acted for him. Now he gets a certain percentage of the total revenue collected in the village in lieu of the rent-free land. Thus, theoretically, the Deshmukh is both Mali Patel and Police Patel; but in actual practice these duties are carried out by his agents. In the capacity as Mali Patel of the village the Deshmukh takes steps to ensure the speedy collection of land revenue after each harvest and remits it to the district treasury. The Patwari can seek his assistance in matters connected with the land records and revenue of the village. For this he gets annually 5% of the total land revenue collected in the village. As Police Patel the Deshmukh is entitled to receive another 5% of the revenue collected during the year. In this capacity he has to send regular reports to the police regarding the occurrence of any crime in the village, keep an eye on the 'bad characters' and watch the activities of suspicious strangers. He maintains records of births and deaths in the village. It is his duty to assist the police in all possible ways in their investigations regarding criminal offences in the village. The other officials, such as the sub-inspector of police, head constables, constables and schoolmasters, are not a permanent part of the local population, and as such they do not generally get mixed up in local politics and other affairs. The police officials enjoy both prestige and power and are, in general, greatly feared by the people.

The Patwari, in spite of the fact that he is a petty revenue and land records official, occupies a pivotal position in the village and plays a very significant part in local politics. Being in charge of the land records, he can manipulate things both to the advantage and disadvantage of landowners, who often consult him and ask his advice. Of Patwaris in general it is said, 'What will they not do for a consideration? Give them money and they will prove their own father a bastard.' The present Patwari of Shamirpet is, for one in his position, a man of more than average intelligence and is himself a careful and substantial cultivator who owns some 247 acres of land jointly with his brother. He receives no salary from the government, nor does he have any rent-free land, but a certain percentage of the total land revenue is fixed by the government as his remuneration for the work.

All villages in Hyderabad State, as do most of those of middle and peninsular India, have a number of village menials. Their functions in the internal organization of the village are of two

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well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

The Police Action undertaken by the Indian Union in 1948 changed the fortune and status of the State of Hyderabad. The most significant outcome was that political power changed hands —from an extremist communal party to the people of the State. It had a profound effect on the rural areas. However, sufficient time must elapse before we can evaluate its total influence on the life of the community. But it has set in motion certain trends which are not without interest to the student of social change in peasant communities.

The first definite change is that Muslims who occupied a privileged position during the former régime now no longer do so. On account of some of their un-neighbourly acts of terrorism during the last phase of extremist Muslim rule in the State some of them had become very unpopular. Fearing retaliation by the Hindus they ran away from the village temporarily. Now they have all returned. For some time they were jeered at and ridiculed, but at the time of our study cordiality had returned to the Hindu and Muslim sections of the population.

The second noticeable change is that under the administrative reforms initiated by the new administration forced labour and forced extraction of hospitality by government officials have been prohibited. In practice they still continue on a restricted scale. Government's decision to take determined steps against bribery and corruption has been announced; but firm action still remains to be taken in this direction.

Thirdly, the abolition of feudal estates has been a big step in the direction of land reform. With the end of the Jagirdari system Shamirpet has once again come under normal district administration. Further reforms ensuring a more equitable distribution of land, fixing a maximum limit on land holding and ending the evils of absentee landlordism are under contemplation. When these plans materialize substantial changes can be expected.

Fourthly, the government has intensified its welfare and nation-building activities. The village is to have a better school in the near future. The Public Health Department is already more active. The Agriculture and Veterinary departments are making a better planned and organized effort towards the introduction

of more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

Re. 0-4-0 per Rs. 100 capital value in spite of these Boards being manned by highly educated and respected persons. Same was the case in Kistna, Vizagapatam and the Ceded Districts. In Vizagapatam even the biggest Panchayats refused to levy more than Re. 0-4-0 per Rs. 100 capital value of the house. In stray instances like Madugula, the highest rate of house tax was Re. 0-8-0 per Rs. 100 capital value. In Kurnool, the house tax of Panchayats usually ranged between Re. 0-2-0 and Re. 0-3-0 per Rs. 100 capital value. In Bellary, it was 1/6 per cent the capital value. Some other Panchayats in the Ceded Districts were also found to be following a method of collecting an additional water and privy rate along with the house tax as in Dhone and Maddikera Panchayats in Kurnool, where 45% of the house tax was collected towards supply of protected water supply and drainage. 651

The tendency in most of the major Panchayats was either to pay the lowest rate possible and to pay the lowest possible amount by all conceivable means like undervaluation of the capital value of houses, under assessment of certain houses by all possible discrimination and exemptions of the houses of those who were dear and near to the members. If the executive officers came in the way of such undesirable practices, Panchayat members sought to get them transferred on some false pretext or harassed them in every way. 661

In the minor Panchayats, as imposition of house tax was optional, very few imposed any house tax at all. According to the provisions of the Madras Local Boards Act of 1930, if a Panchayat did not impose house tax prior to 1930, it need not impose it even after 1930. This gave the minor Panchayats an excuse to bypass this obligation. Except a few Panchayats like Kothapeta and Palivela among the minor Panchayats in East Godavari, which collected house tax at the rate of Re. 0-4-0 and Re. 0-2-0 respectively per Rs. 100 capital value of the house, most of the other minor Panchayats like Yaditha, Alamuru, Kapileswarapuram and a host of others were leaving this source of income totally untapped. In West Godavari, it was almost non-existent, while there were stray instances of house tax collection in the minor Panchayats in Kistna, Vizagapatam, Kurnool, Anantpur, etc. districts. In Kistna, Gudur Panchayat collected at the rate of 1/3% capital value of the house. In Vizagapatam, the majority of those like Bhogapuram, Govada, Chodavada, Bayyavaram did not impose any house tax and only Kothavalasa appeared to be collecting house tax at the following rates :— 651

Thus while most of the major Panchayats did not collect at the highest rates possible, but struggled to devise ways and means of either escaping it or levying it at the lowest rates possible, the majority of the minor Panchayats evaded it altogether. 651 661

Scavenging Fees: Public health and conservancy were the obligatory duties of the Panchayats. They provided public latrines for males and females in almost all the major Panchayats, and got them cleansed by the Panchayat scavengers. They also extended their service to private latrines and charged the house-holders at particular rates except in cases of Panchayats where scavengers were independent of Panchayats as in Vizagapatam District. (column 5.) 614 651

This amenity was provided mostly by major Panchayats, while the minor Panchayats lagged behind. But the fees that were being collected by Panchayats varied from one to the other in several respects, such as the base, the rate, the period for which they were collected, and the institutional discrimination they showed.

There was no uniformity in the rates of scavanging fees collected in several Panchayats. But the fees collected varied from Panchayat to Panchayat of the same and different grades in each and every district. Again the fixation of rate was not based on any rational basis, except according to the fancy of the individual Panchayat Board concerned. Sometimes the fees were charged per latrine, sometimes on the number of members in the family, sometimes according to an arbitrary distinction of big and small families, in some instances the rates were per mensem, and in others they were charged on a quarterly basis. Some Panchayats distinguished between different categories of institutions like office, police lines, schools, union areas and private families and charged separate rates for separate institutions. In some cases the scavenging rates were made a part of the assessment on house tax as in the Ceded Districts.

In the Ceded Districts of Anantpur and Kurnool, scavenging fees were also collected on the basis of rates of house tax: as Re. 1, Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 2 per quarter per latrine. In Bellary, the Kampli Panchayat collected only Re. 0-3-0 per latrine, while Rayadrug had arranged a regular scale related with the capital valuation of the house at Re. 0-6-0, Re. 0-12-0 and Re. 1 per quarter per latrine, according to the capital value of the house Rs. 800, Rs. 800 to Rs. 3000, and Rs. 3000 and over respectively. In West Godavari, the basis of collection was still different in the 3rd grade Panchayats as in Ganapavaram and Undi. In Ganapavaram, the rates

623 Panchayat would not work under any circumstances. Ultimately it
578 was superseded.

697 In Kistna District there was a parallel instance. In one Panchayat three Presidents came in power in quick succession. When the President who was in office for 4 year resigned the Vice-President became the President. But he was thrown out and anotner was elected and during his term of office, the Panchayat was superseded. The cause of conflict was strong party factions. The difficulty was only one party in the village was returned into power while the other parties remained outside. So the members within the Panchayat tried to wreck it and ultimately the Board was superseded.

In Vizagapatam one Panchayat met on its own accord and began to cancel a resolution which it had passed permitting taxation on sugar pans, etc. Immediately when it was detected, the Board was superseded and a special officer was appointed, under whom the financial position had considerably improved.

Anantapur District had similar instances of Panchayats which were opposed to taxation, full of party factions, negligent in work and highly litigious. In one instance, the President of the Ex-Taluk Board was a member of the Panchayat and he was in the minority party. In the contest for the Presidential election for the Panchayat, the man from the majority party became successful. As the minority party wanted to pull down the party in power, they refused to pass the administration report, turned petromax lights to kerosene oil lights in the name of the public good and opposed vehemently any taxation The machine of the water pump system was spoiled. So the Inspector of Local Boards requested the Panchayat to add a surcharge of 12% to the house tax and provide themselves with this badly needed facility for which Government and District
687 Board gave donations. Yet the Board persisted in opposing for six
661 months postponing meetings for want of quorum, when it was finally superseded. Another minor Panchayat in Anantapur was superseded because the President and members under-assessed their houses and those of their relations.

These were instances of Panchayats getting annually an income of Rs. 200,000 where the engineer drew a much higher salary than the executive officer, but technically was a sub-ordinate to him.

623 The special officer who was put in charge was expected to bring about a uniform development in the administration of the Panchayat. He had powers to enforce fresh taxation, collect arrears and execute

661 653 Even the major Panchayats with overseers and mistries, either left the budgeted plans unfinished, neglecting the roads on the plea that plans were not approved by the District Board or executed them in a haphazard piecemeal way by reducing all the estimates to an amount below Rs. 250/- which they could undertake. Some Panchayat budgets showed expenditure on roads, which were never laid but when caught, sought to plead that they were spoiled by the time the inspecting authority could visit them. There were frauds in preparing the estimates, in the execution of contracts and in the accounts of the amounts shown as paid in the Panchayat budgets. These shady deals go unpunished for want of positive proof. Minor Panchayats portrayed better enthusiasm in the execution of their public works by the use of communal labour. However, to avoid much wastage of public money by the Panchayats more competent, honest and sincere supervising staff to look to their estimates and execution is essential. Corruption, delay and dilatory tactics should seriously be dealt with. Starting of Government Central Depots for storing and selling raw materials like lime, stone, tar, keel and other materials required for public works under Local Boards would mitigate to some extent the present evil of embezzlements of public funds. A close laison between the District Board and the Public Works Department to tighten up the supervision may also improve the position.

312 Though there is no acute water scarcity in the Circars as in the Ceded Districts there is need for providing protected water supply in Panchayats where there are no fresh water wells or to dig more wells where they are inadequate. While the Panchayats have not got resources to undertake this task, the District Boards and the State Government should take more interest.

744 364 Only some major Panchayats appointed sanitary inspectors, vaccinators, mid-wives and compounders to look after public health, scavengers and thotties to clean the roads, drains, gutters and latrines private and public. The sanitary inspectors looked to the enforcement of the Food Adulteration Act, supervision of the slaughter houses, prevention of infectious diseases, maintenance of the public health, sweeping of the roads, etc. with the assistance of the sanitary staff. But many Panchayats were not in a position to undertake most of these functions due to the lack of funds or difficulties in recruiting scavengers and thotties as in the case of Vizagapatam due to the low salaries paid.

231 Slaughter houses were found mostly in the minor and major Panchayats where even the right of collecting the receipts was

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[Information on village factions with regard to panchayat activities as presented in 26: Rao, AW1 India has been filed in category 578.]

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of more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

Finally, there has been considerable activity in the rural areas by the political parties, culminating in the first general election of December 1951. This experience has been totally new to the villages in Hyderabad. As the Congress is the ruling party in the country, the loyalists have transferred their allegiance from the Nizam to the Congress. At any rate publicly they profess their loyalty to this organization. Because the headman of the village belongs to this group, the faction opposed to him in village matters allied itself to the Socialist party. The Communist party was illegal, but it had operated in the neighbouring area for a long time, and it was a candidate sponsored by it who ultimately won the election. Most people do not understand the intricacies of politics, and indeed frankly say so. Election propaganda has of course put several ideas into the minds of the people and raised new hopes. Those who have some educational or urban background are trying to come forward in this new field of activity. One observable consequence of this has been the revival of casteism. Although nearly every political party in its platform slogans paid lip service to the ideal of a casteless and classless society, in actual selection of the candidates due thought was given to the caste composition of the electoral districts. A candidate's pull over the members of his caste was an additional factor which was taken into account in such politically inexperienced territories as Hyderabad. In the countryside the election propaganda did take a sectarian turn and according to the occasion Hindu versus Muslim, or Reddi versus non-Reddi sentiments were freely exploited. Voting in several areas was largely done on caste considerations. The caste rivalries engendered by it lingered on even when the election was over.

Let us now briefly examine the motivation and mechanism of this process of social change. What are the major factors inspiring this change? And through what agencies does this change come about? In other words why is the community adopting new ways of life and thought, and under whose leadership are the traditional ways of the group being modified?

The reasons for change must be sought in a multiplicity of factors. In the words of Raymond Firth, 'Structural change is a product of social interaction, in which pressures are felt,

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medicines and injections. The old beliefs and practices survive, partly because of the non-availability of quick and efficient modern treatment, and partly also because of its prohibitive cost. Besides the two systems do not conflict, and in order to be doubly sure, most people continue magico-religious practices along with modern medicinal treatment. Adoption of several new tools and instruments for occupational work, as well as of several other items of Western technology, such as buses, railways, razors, and electric torches, introduced in the comparatively recent times is due to their efficiency and utility. In the matter of dress and ornament other factors must also be taken into account. Mill-made cloth was not regarded only as cheap and more durable; it came to be looked upon as more respectable also. The coarse handloom cloth was regarded as rustic, the finer mill-cloth, on the other hand, was more refined and dignified. Further, mill-made cloth allowed a wider range of choice in the matter of colours, designs and patterns. The style of dress was influenced by a variety of factors. Under Muslim rule the style of dress of the rulers became fashionable. With Congress in power there was a sudden switch from the Muslim court-dress to Congress-patronized national dress. Modern Indian—as well as Western-style clothes—cigarettes, sun-glasses and tea are not only popular because of their utility, they possess a great prestige value as well.

Influence of the city has brought about adjustment and modification in several spheres, but the need of balancing different extremes in the organization of the community has so far prevented any drastic structural change in village communities. Under the impact of the new socio-economic factors the family ties have weakened, the kin-group has lost some of its characteristic strength and in the system of status evaluation achieved-status is competing with traditionally ascribed status; but the society still continues to be caste-structured as caste plays a vital role in its social, economic and ritual organization. Democracy has brought in its wake party organization and elections which demand group formation and group allegiance: in several rural areas no new groups have emerged, the loyalties of the people have only been re-affirmed to the pre-existing caste groups. While no important social or economic projects and reforms have so far been put into operation, the first major political change—the

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578 the general tone of life in the community. Inter-group tension between Hindus and Muslims, engendered partly by political controversies in the Hyderabad State, threatened disharmony and possible breach of peace in the village in the period preceding and following the intervention of the Government of India. The recognition of the *fait accompli* in the State by the Muslims and the change in their approach and attitude towards the Hindus soon 666 established cordial relations between the two communities. At 578 the time of our investigations the Brahmin/non-Brahmin controversy, which was governing the political alignments of people within the State to a considerable extent, had its echoes in Shamirpet also. In the Telangana area, in general, it was taking the shape of an open conflict of interest between Brahmins and Reddis. In Shamirpet the individual relations between the Brahmin household and the Reddi residents of the community were very cordial; but in the discussion of general political and social questions there was a persistent anti-Brahmin feeling. Casteism was a force of no mean significance in the first general elections under the Republican Constitution, and manifested itself in such slogans as 'Reddis must solidly stand together', 'Irrespective of party considerations Reddis must vote for a Reddi candidate', or 'Non-Brahmins must unite to strike a blow to Brahmin domination'. As the interaction between the different castes in the wider political field is still in its initial stages, the pattern of group alignments has not emerged 578 very clearly. A third factor may also be mentioned here. Under 564 the influence of the social and political propaganda of the Sched- 185 uled Caste Federation, the untouchable castes have started voicing their grievances and protests against their position in the caste hierarchy. So far these protests have been mild and verbal only. Perceiving the economic advantages of the traditional system, the untouchables have not yet seriously challenged the assumptions that underlie the structure of the community. However, the abolition of untouchability by law, the granting of equal shares to them in all public utility services, and protests against the traditional system by the more vocal and assertive untouchables have aroused some tension with regard to them in the higher castes. 'Times are changing. The untouchables were admitted to schools first, then they started travelling with us in the same railway trains and buses; and now they want to draw water from our wells and eat with us in public eating-houses. The

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medicines and injections. The old beliefs and practices survive, partly because of the non-availability of quick and efficient modern treatment, and partly also because of its prohibitive cost. Besides the two systems do not conflict, and in order to be doubly sure, most people continue magico-religious practices along with modern medicinal treatment. Adoption of several new tools and instruments for occupational work, as well as of several other items of Western technology, such as buses, railways, razors, and electric torches, introduced in the comparatively recent times is due to their efficiency and utility. In the matter of dress and ornament other factors must also be taken into account. Mill-made cloth was not regarded only as cheap and more durable; it came to be looked upon as more respectable also. The coarse handloom cloth was regarded as rustic, the finer mill-cloth, on the other hand, was more refined and dignified. Further, mill-made cloth allowed a wider range of choice in the matter of colours, designs and patterns. The style of dress was influenced by a variety of factors. Under Muslim rule the style of dress of the rulers became fashionable. With Congress in power there was a sudden switch from the Muslim court-dress to Congress-patronized national dress. Modern Indian—as well as Western-style clothes—cigarettes, sun-glasses and tea are not only popular because of their utility, they possess a great prestige value as well.

Influence of the city has brought about adjustment and modification in several spheres, but the need of balancing different extremes in the organization of the community has so far prevented any drastic structural change in village communities. Under the impact of the new socio-economic factors the family ties have weakened, the kin-group has lost some of its characteristic strength and in the system of status evaluation achieved-status is competing with traditionally ascribed status; but the society still continues to be caste-structured as caste plays a vital role in its social, economic and ritual organization. Democracy has brought in its wake party organization and elections which demand group formation and group allegiance: in several rural areas no new groups have emerged, the loyalties of the people have only been re-affirmed to the pre-existing caste groups. While no important social or economic projects and reforms have so far been put into operation, the first major political change—the

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178 introduction of democratic elections—has demonstrated the
621 strength of the traditional system which has made a bid for
[666] absorbing 'political group formation' and 'democratic elections' in its all-embracing caste structure. Deeper and more far-reaching economic and technological changes, as well as externally induced social reform, touching the basic framework of rural societies, may present a different set of problems and test the strength of the caste structure. Under their new pressures and incentives the community may have to work out a new pattern of adjustment which may necessitate important structural changes.

178 Limited as this change has been, it is none the less not unimportant to ask who inspires and leads this movement towards modification of traditional ways and adoption of new elements of culture. To answer this question it is necessary to analyse the major cultural trends operating in India as a whole. Viewing the country broadly, we find three major trends: (i) the regional culture, founded on the traditions, customs and life-ways of the culture-area; (ii) the national culture, comprising some all-India traits inspired by the national renaissance, cemented by the struggle for self-government as well as by social and economic reform, and sustained by the will to find a rightful place in the comity of nations; the elements in this category being partly revivalistic and partly conscious innovations; and (iii) adoption of traits and elements from Western technology and culture. Besides these, in any given area the 'urban' and 'folk' or rural patterns are clearly distinguishable. While in the urban areas all the three trends delineated above are found to operate with more or less equal force, in the rural areas the folk variety of the regional culture is still predominant although it has been modified by national and Western elements. The inspiration and lead for modification in the traditional ways definitely come from the urban areas brought into the village community by semi-urbanized people or inspired by the example of urban relatives. In the Indian setting while there is no polarity between 'folk' and 'urban' societies, for a proper perspective of social change this classificatory device can be used very effectively. On a limited scale the struggle for supremacy between 'old' and 'new' or between 'tradition' and 'progress' goes on in cities and smaller towns also, and every generation finds itself with a modified set of values. The rural communities clearly take the lead from the urban areas, although

623 562 for them as in the Bombay Village Panchayat Act. As such, few women came forward to contest in the Panchayat elections.

666 **Method of Election** : Method of election was by ballot in all the major Panchayats. Even in minor Panchayats, the elections were revealed to be by ballot as in Kapileswarapuram, Kothapeta, Avidi and by show of hands in Panchayats like Bodasakurru, Yeditha and Alamuru in East Godavari. But, in the majority of minor Panchayats, election was only by show of hands.

623 **Wards and Hamlets** : Representation of members by the several wards in the Panchayat and inclusion of several neighbouring hamlets in the Panchayat jurisdiction were revealed to be the universal features in all the Panchayats surveyed, irrespective of the grade to which they belonged. This revealed, the existence of a fair representative system of Panchayat membership from the several wards and hamlets.

564 **Caste Composition of the Panchayats** : It was revealed to be predominantly Non-Brahmins, in every district and in every grade.

Casual Vacant Seats : Casual vacancies arising in the major or minor Panchayats were generally intimated to the District Panchayat Officer, who on receipt of information went to conduct fresh elections for the seats. But, during the course of the survey some instances came to light, where such intimations were not duly given to the District Panchayat Officer and where consequetly no fresh elections were held.

One Village-One Panchayat : This was the basis which was usually followed, but, there were also instances where joint Panchayats were found to be working well as in East Godavari and Kistna.

Supersession versus Nomination of Panchayat : Election versus nomination of the members of the Panchayats was a controversy that held the ground for a very long time in the discussions of the reform of Local Self-Government in Madras. Even in the Madras Panchayats Bill of 1941, it was contended that a nominated Panchayat was better than an elected one to eliminate friction, where there were contending parties in a village. The period of such bodies to be in power was from 1 to 3 years. This was a time when the Panchayat had to be dissolved for mal-administration and when a special officer had to be appointed for the purpose of carrying on the administration of the village. In practice, Panchayats when they proved unworkable were only superseded. They were not run by nominated members.

Literacy: Literacy test to the members of the Panchayats was never seriously taken by the Madras Government. Only the Vice-president and the President were found to be invariably literate except in a few instances, and even there, local importance and weight of authority served as the best springs of administrative efficiency rather than the test of literacy. 212 623

The Election of the Panchayat President: This sometimes led to village disturbances and party factions, but, the remedy did not appear to get him elected by the villagers as a whole, instead of by the Panchayat. 666 578

Village Officials: The idea of associating the village officers: the Karanams and the Munsif, as the ex-officio members of the Panchayat atttracted the attention of the framers of the Madras Panchayat Bill of 1941, "in order that their experience and influence may be at the disposal of the Panchayat," but, this was strongly opposed by the reformers of the Local Self Government who felt that these village officers were no longer the natural leaders, but salaried officials of the Government and hence unfit to participate in matters of village administration entrusted to a purely honorary body. Another reason that was often adduced against them was that both of them might generally be leaders of two opposing parties and their entrance into the Panchayat would simply wreck its working. 624

Executive of the Panchayat: Under the amendment of the Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government of Madras appointed executive officers to Panchayats. The executive authority had 1. to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, 2. to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers specifically imposed or conferred on the executive authority by the Act; in fact, whenever it was expressly so provided for the sanction of the Board and subject to all other restrictions, limitations and conditions hereinafter imposed, 3. to exercise the executive power, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act and 4. to be directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the Act. (Sec. 24-B of the amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act 1943). He was to carry out all the resolutions passed by the Panchayat, but this obligation was limited to legal resolutions alone. 642 647

The executive officer was the custodian of all Government Records though the President had free access to them. All the official correspondence addressed to the District Board, or the Provincial Government had to pass through the President. While

642 623 had, they got usally no other remuneration. Still they continued to do the village watch and ward and police work too. In view of the declining importance given to them so far, they had to be properly readjusted in the new village set up. The method of election in the major Panchayats was by ballot, but in the minor Panchayats election by show of hands was the practice in the majority of cases. Representation by wards or hamlets was in existence only in some of the Panchayats, but to avoid village conflicts the system was highly desired by most of them. Panchayats were not found in all villages which were fit to be Panchayats as their formation was not compulsory according to the statute. Cast composition of the Panchayats was predominently Non-Brahmins. There appeared to be some difficulty in filling up the casual vacancies as no regular reports were sent to the Panchayat Officer. One Panchayat in one village seems to be a better practice though no difficulty was seen even in the working of Joint Panchayats. Election versus nomination of members in the matter of superseded Panchayats was for long a matter of controversy; some like Mr. K. Jayaraman (in A study of Madras Panchayats) upholding a nominated Panchayat and others holding a fresh election to the Panchayat to be a better solution. Instead of these two, the best thing appears to be to leave the matter in the hands of an administrator for sometime. As the nominated bodies would not be expected to look to the daily administrative work of the Panchayats, it is a relief that executive officers are appointed to these Panchayats.

[666]

The different village authorities like the Village Panchayat, the Panchayat Court, the Panchayat School, the Irrigation and Forest Panchayats worked with separate constitutions under the control of separate authorities. It is a matter for earnest consideration whether all functions cannot be entrusted to a single Panchayat with expanded membership and more sub-committees to look after these different functions.

Again as there is no statutory obligation for the creation of Panchayats for a village of a fixed population as in Bombay, their progress stands to be slow.

651 **B. Finance**: The revenues at the disposal of the Madras Panchayats were more in comparison to those at the disposal of Panchayats in other States.

The share of the local fund cess distribution to the Panchayats was not based on any scientific basis; a Village Panchayat situated in an irrigated area got more, while a Panchayat in a dry

692 A. **Structure**: Every district had a number of Panchayat Courts in it, and in all of them, fair representation was given to all the communities like Brahmins, Kapus, Kammas, Baljas, Telagas, Harijans, [666] etc. The method of election in all the Panchayats selected was by show of hands only.

[65] B. **Finance**: Court fees were the only source of income at their disposal.

C. **Functions**: The working day, the place of work, the time and procedure of these Courts differed from one another from district to district. Again most of them had both civil and criminal powers.

The Panchayat Courts in the East and West Godavaris were known for their efficient and impartial working. Ganapavaram Panchayat Court in West Godavari had both civil and criminal jurisdiction. Working hours were from 11 a. m. to 5 p. m. In Pennada both civil and criminal powers were bestowed, but since 1930 criminal powers were taken away. As there was no place for holding the Panchayat Court, it was being held in the President's house. Similarly in Sringavarapukota, which started in 1920, there was always heavy work. In places like Bhimavaram and Veeravaram the Panchayat Courts were found to be efficient.

In East Godavari, the Panchayat Courts in Valluru, Kapileswarapuram and Palivela, not to speak of those in major Panchayats like Razole and Amalapuram, were working quite well. In Kistna District, Panchayat Courts in Jaggayapeta, Nuzvid and Vuyyuru were found to be working well. They had representation from all communities, good record of work from 1927, and created good impression on the public. In Vizagapatam not many efficient Panchayat Courts were found except in a few instances like Kothavalasa, where the same President was continuing for the last 20 years. He was also the President of the Village Panchayat. There was no fixed day allotted for the decision of the cases. The Court usually met, whenever there was work, in the house of the President.

Kurnool District was notorious for its village factions and it was confirmed in our investigation. In Nandikotkur, the majority of cases were only criminal. The civil work was far too low every year. About 200 criminal cases came up for the decision as those of illicit cattle grazing, felling fuel, etc. Some of the specimens of the most unsatisfactory type of working were Dhone, Maddikera and Betemcherla where the election for the Panchayat Courts were held 3 years back, but the President was not elected at all. This of

312 3 from the Village Panchayat and one from the Panchayatdars. Again in Kampli in Bellary and in Brahmanayeleru in Anantapur, the President of the Panchayat as well as that of the Irrigation Panchayat were the same without any detriment to the good work of either body.

[666] **Method of Election**: This was generally by show of hands and the election was always conducted by the Revenue Divisional Officer.

Term: The term of office for the members of the Irrigation Panchayat was 3 years, but for the last 13 years, there were no elections due to war and the same old bodies were in power.

[564] **Caste Composition**: The majority was always of non-Brahmins, more than of Brahmins. There was no system of reservation of seats or ex-officio membership as in the case of the Village Panchayats.

651 312 **B. Finance**: This was constisted of meagre Government grants supplemented in a few cases by the small proceeds from sale of grass, etc. The Government of Madras had made the following sanctions to the Irrigation Panchayats:

1.	Kovvada Channel	...	Rs. 30-0-0
2.	Yendaganda Channel	...	„ 30-0-0
3.	Aya Bhimavaram Channel I.	...	„ 60-0-0
4.	„ „ Channel II.	...	„ 60-0-0
5.	Bhaskararao Channel	...	„ 20-0-0
6.	Cherukumilli Channel	...	„ 20-0-0
7.	Kampli Irrigation Panchayat in Bellary		nil.

As regards the income of the Irrigation Panchayats, they did not have any other sources than the grants of the Revenue Department annually as mentioned above; and these were inadequate. Besides these, the Panchayats got some income from the sale of grass on canal bunds, whenever that source was available, but this was possible only in the Circars and not in the Ceded Districts. The actual expenditure was generally in excess of finance and the gap was usually filled in by subscriptions voluntary and methodical. Brahmanayeleru Irrigation Panchayat in Anantpur collected at the rate of Re. 1/- per acre on wet cultivation and as. 4 per acre on dry cultivation in its area.

312 652 **C. Functions**: The income of the Irrigation Panchayats was inadequate to meet the cost of their functions which were generally the same as Bhimavaram and Cherukumilli Irrigation Panchayats, Details of expenditure for these were as below.

PART II

Actual Conditions Revealed by the Survey:

A. Structure: Selection of the sample of the Forest Panchayats was made on the same basis as that of the Village Panchayats in four categories i.e. good, moderate, unsatisfactorily and very unsatisfactorily working according to the connotation explained in the preface. (Table No. 22) 311

The Forest Panchayats were not constituted on one village one Panchayat basis, but they were constituted for a group of villages. Sometimes the Forest Panchayat was for 7 to 8 village hamlets e. g. Bayyavaram in Vizagapatam District, so with almost all the Forest Panchayats in every district.

The membership varied with the number of hamlets to be represented on the Panchayat. If number of hamlets was less and the area of the Forest Panchayat was meagre, naturally, the number of members of the Forest Panchayat was less.

The caste composition was usually cosmopolitan, i. e. 4 were Valamas, 4 were Kapus and one was Raju in Bayyavaram which was typical example. The other Forest Panchayats in other districts revealed a representation of all castes. [564]

The method of election was always by show of hands. The electorate consisted of the cattle owners. [641] [666]

There was no ex-officio membership of the Village Officials.

The ability of the Forest Panchayat and its working depended mostly on the team work of the members and their sense of responsibility, not to speak of the resources at their disposal.

B. Finance: Generally the income of the Forest Panchayats was constituted of the proceeds of the grazing fee, the sale of dead wood, fuel and quarry's stone, income from minor forest produce, bark, leaves, Tangedu, Avaram, etc. Income from sandalwood trees was generally taken by the Forest Department of the Government. Similarly income from big fuel coups was also taken away by the Government except an insufficient share given to the Forest Panchayats for meeting the cost of cutting the wood. (Table No. 23). 311 651

The grazing permits of the Forest Panchayats were usually determined according to the extent of the acreage under command of the Panchayat. The incidence per cow came usually to 3 acres. But the rate of the grazing permits varied from one Panchayat to another Forest

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above account represents a fairly typical description of hell which one often hears in the village community. Through conversation, folktale, myth and legend these ideas are implanted fairly early into the minds of the village children, who start life with a fear of sin. But by the time they reach the age of undertaking wild adventures these fears are diluted, and the gruesome accounts of hell no longer hold their spell of horror over them. As old age approaches, bitter memories of failures and frustrations accumulate and the flesh does not have the energy to undertake fresh adventures; people slowly begin turning their attention to thoughts of life after death. As an illiterate informant pithily put it: 'While youth lasts, passions rule the actions of man. While property lasts, the glitter of gold makes a man blind. But in old age, man laments for what he did in his youth. With his dim vision, he can no longer see the maddening glitter of gold. Then his thoughts turn to religion.'

The concept of *dharma* is also important, as it covers all the phases of the human life-cycle and fixes several details of intra- and inter-group life. *Dharma* has often been translated by Western writers as 'religion', but this translation hardly conveys the original meaning. It will perhaps be more appropriate to describe it as '*the* way of life' or 'that which is right'. Acceptance of caste traditions and the general rules of piety, observance of fasts and feasts, rigidly following the norms governing the *rites de passage* and undertaking pilgrimages to places of worship or for bathing in holy rivers, can generally be said to constitute the *dharma* of the people. Special worship and rituals may be performed to attain certain special ends. It is through *dharma* that one can look forward to shaping one's destiny. The concepts of *pap* (sin) and *punya* (merit), and of ritual pollution are fundamental to the wider concept of *dharma*. Certain things must not be done by any member of the community irrespective of his caste because they are sinful. Murder, extreme cruelty and violence, and incest can be placed under this category. There are certain other things which must not be done by certain castes, or by certain individuals in particular conditions. Sexual relations or inter-dining with a person of lower caste will lead to impurity. A woman in menses or a family immediately after childbirth and death remains in a state of ritual impurity for a specified period. After certain bodily excretions such as those of fæces, urine or semen, a prescribed

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578 repeatedly they intervene, and seek to set things right by the
627 pressure of their personality. They ridicule, admonish and threaten the wrongdoer, and leave it at that. This intervention is often effective and succeeds in achieving the desired result. Disputes may be specially referred to influential and impartial elders, and thus a settlement is sought without the necessity of having to appear
692 before the village council. When these efforts fail, or when the
674 seriousness of the offence or dispute warrants it, it is taken to the headman or to one of the elders with a specific request that it be decided by the village council. On the other hand, elders may take cognizance of a serious matter and may themselves bring it to the notice of the village council. Of course all cases of murder, serious theft, and grievous bodily injury, as well as of default in payment of substantial loans are taken to the criminal and civil courts. Abduction and adultery can be referred to law courts; but generally they are taken either to the village council or to the caste council. Misconduct with a married or unmarried woman, running away with a married woman, default in fulfilling the terms and conditions of a marriage contract may similarly be referred to either or both the caste council and the village council. Of the two, whichever happens to be more powerful and effective attracts most of these marginal cases to itself. Personal disputes, minor property and land disputes, sex offences and conflicts arising out of breach of contract generally come up for hearing and decision before the village council.

695 The composition of the village council has been described earlier.[1] When cases come up for hearing before it, the proceedings are carried on with considerable dignity. Available evidence and eye-witnesses are examined. The motive for the offence, and the situation in which it was committed—particularly its immediate cause, as well as presence or absence of provocation—are also taken into account. Outwardly an attitude of objectivity and impartiality is maintained by everyone; although in reality the rival factions within the council try to tip the scale their own way so that the evidence may later be construed in such a way that it may prove advantageous to the client to whom they have already promised their support. At the time of actual decision the parties to the dispute have to withdraw, allowing the council freedom to discuss and analyse the issues involved. Divergent and often contrary opinions may be expressed by the rival factions at this stage.

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 45-6, --ANALYST]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

Village administration.—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

Sanitary administration.—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

Crime.—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

History and prospects.—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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Socially, it increases drunkenness in the lower classes; and I find more crimes in summer than in other seasons.

But it has turned the honest and sympathetic ryots into greedy money-lenders and capitalists. It has increased the lust for gold. True that the poorer classes have an opportunity of clearing off their family debts; true that they find sufficient food to eat in summer at least; true that there is more money in the village now than 20 years ago. But equally is it true that there are more debts now; that the gulf between the rich and the poor is widened more and more; that the once poor are now poorer and the once rich now richer. There is greater struggle, greater competition, and greater rises and falls of life.

Economic history of the village.—When compared with fifteen years ago, the village has, on the whole, progressed economically. True that estates once united are now split up into fragments; and that the once poor have now become poorer. True that there are cases where people borrow money and purchase land with it; and then sell it again to clear off that debt some years later. Still the village has improved. There is increase and improvement in agriculture. Many fields that were once forest are now brought under cultivation. There is more money in the village now than 20 years ago, more produce is now exported from the village than before. The introduction of the railway near by has revolutionized the commercial condition of the village. Prices have risen both of the commodities produced and of land in general, three or four-fold. There is a greater inflow of foreign goods into the village. Kerosene oil has completely driven out castor oil. There are sixteen Japanese wind-proof lamps in the village. The standard of living has decidedly been raised. Among the lower castes to eat solid food was a luxury; conjee, prepared of korra and ragi, was the food for all the lower castes, including Sudras. Now they all eat rice and cholam and wear better clothing. But the money is ultimately finding its destination into the hands of the rich money-lenders. Formerly there was enough corn in the land and there was a sort of self-sufficiency. Now there are more debts, consequently more ruin of families with the higher rates of interest, and greater servitude and misery.

If the Government were to open a sugar factory and utilize the jaggery, both the Government and the villagers would be profited. Wells can be very profitably sunk in the fields. But the ryots never do it, though it costs only Rs. 200. A ryot is prepared to spend even Rs. 1,500 in litigation but not Rs. 200 for a well in his fields, even though he is rich and knows that it is profitable. By example they may improve.

The Brahmans have almost lost their former property for want of any profession, while they incur heavy expenses for marriages, etc. Only one family is now well off. The Vaisyas too have lost their former lands by litigation, marriages, and other expenses. On the whole, the Sudras have grown richer, both with agriculture and the jaggery trade, and the rise of prices for their produce. The weavers, washermen, the Panchamas, many of the Sudras, are growing poorer; they are selling off the little lands they have for debts and other expenses.

Lands are sold chiefly to clear off old debts, though there are some cases where profits tempt people to purchase or sell. The

[1 i.e. The seasonal nature of industrial employment--Analyst]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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796 from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150, largely spent on drink. The priests of the goddess are low caste people, chiefly the washerman caste. They get new cloths as presents. The whole celebration is barbarous and repulsive.

624 *The village administration.*—There is no panchayat in the village. The village officers consist of a karnam, a munsif, and three servants. The karnam keeps the village accounts, while the munsif collects the revenue and attends to small criminal cases. The munsif does not generally care to try civil cases even within his province; they all go to the District Munsif's court.

364 Nobody attends to the village sanitation, though the munsif is expected to do so. The villagers too do not care to help him in his work. The Sanitary Inspector comes once in a year, and quietly goes away with satisfactory remarks from the easy chair in his note book. He being the one officer for two or three taluks, cannot pay much attention to one taluk in particular; besides he also has engineering work.

625 The police station is seven miles away. When crimes of extraordinary nature take place, the munsif reports the same to the police, who come and conduct enquiries. Most of the crimes are hushed up. Police enquiry is a sham. So is the night patrolling, which is the duty of the village servants.

692 The munsif is expected to hear petty crimes; but many cases that might have been decided here go to the Magistrate's court.

696 Many crimes have been left undetected, and the criminals unpunished, crimes which were horrible and plainly proved. As locally interpreted, the effect of the Evidence Act is such as to render the most proved case null and void for "want of proper evidence." When a murderer once escapes easily from punishment, another is at once encouraged. All the villagers know that it is these considerations that encouraged a man engaged in litigation to murder another who was about to give evidence against him. That case went unpunished. Such is the case with most murders. In fact, most men engaged in important litigation are afraid for their

● 674 lives in this village. In three years there have been four murders in the neighbourhood of the village, two killed in connection with litigation and two in connection with robbery from the person.

691 There is much litigation. About 45 cases are filed every year. Of these twenty to twenty-five will be for non-clearance of debts, and fifteen to twenty for land disputes. The villagers do not seem to show any hesitation or fear in resorting to the courts. The half educated Brahman in the village, acting as an agent for a vakil, with no other profession, tries to earn his livelihood by creating enmity and disputes among ignorant families and dragging them to the courts. Thus several families which were once considered very rich have been ruined. One family of Komatis, for example, with a property of about Rs. 20,000, was sued by some relations for a partition of the estate. The Vaisya refused all compromise in the earlier courts, pursued the case at enormous expense through the three courts, till he finally lost the whole estate in the High Court. In the end, the family of twelve children, with not an inch of land for support, and no means of liquidating the debts contracted for the court expenses, have sold their big house and gone away to the Agency tracts as beggars to fill their bellies. There are many families in the village similarly ruined.

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While all villages and nearly all castes have their own *panchayats*, inter-village *panchayats* are formed from time to time when they are demanded by a special situation. They function as *ad hoc* arbitration committees. Conflicts between two villages, or between two parties belonging to different villages (and not drawn from one particular caste), often necessitate an inter-village

623 **Meetings and Attendance:** Above table brings out the nature of Panchayat meetings and its interest in administrative work. The Panchayat meetings form an index of their importance in administrative activities. Even in major Panchayats, the civic consciousness and sense of responsibility among the Panchayat members did not appear to be quite satisfactory. The attendance in most instances was hardly more than 50 per cent and in the majority, not even that much. Very often Panchayats had to carry on their transactions with a bare quorum. Instances where attendance was more than 60 per cent were rare. This was a poor index of their sense of local responsibility. To expect them in the face of these facts to become nurseries of democratic traditions and administrative experience appeared to be a very ambitious dream.

The Panchayat members should of course be given 3 clear day's notice, but, even when they got advance intimation, they rarely attended. There were instances of Panchayats in East Godavari and Anantpur Districts where meetings were not held for months and yet neither they were superseded nor any effective action was taken against them in spite of the provision of the Madras Local Boards Act.

If that was the state of affairs in the major Panchayats, the situation in minor Panchayats could not naturally be expected to be [578] better. There were usually party factions, village politics, group pressures, communal rivalries and these rent the village unity to a hundred shreds.

623 Superseded Panchayat Boards were also examined during the course of the investigation. The reasons for superseding a 687 Panchayat might be any one of the following: village factions, party politics, abstention from meetings, opposition to taxation, nepotism in appointments, misappropriation of public funds, harassing executive officers or other public servants, committing frauds, writing off the proper dues of Panchayats, allowing unauthorised exemption of taxtion, lower assessments and discriminatory policies towards favourites, leaving the taxes in large arrears without ever bothering to collect them, and several other unhappy practices by which, the running of administration of the Panchayat by the same body appeared to be pregnant with disaster. Such a Panchayat was superseded and a special officer was appointed to look after it for a period of one year.

Neither the grade of the Panchayat nor its previous record saved it from supersession, when it reached a stage of serious deterioration.

The supersession period was normally one year and sometimes one and a half years. Many of the irregular Panchayats were superseded more than once.

A few samples taken in the survey would illustrate the circumstances under which Panchayats were usually superseded. We shall review only a few cases as Tuni in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Kantaram in Kistna, Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Gooty, Dharmavaram and Gorantala in Anantapur, as instances of superseded Boards.

Tuni Panchayat in East Godavari was once superseded for its wanton neglect of taxation and collection of arrears in 1939.

	Current Demand	Arrears
	Rs.	Rs.
License Fees	...	103—0—0
House Tax	3587—4—0	138—0—0
Profession Tax	226-14-0	75-12—0
Public Scavenging Fees	302—1-0	...
Markets	38—4-0	3944-14—3
Cart Stands	1119-10-0	2224—5—0
Slaughter House	92—0-0	247—6—8
Sale of Rubbish	...	76—0—0
Total.	5266—1-0	8809—5-11

No coercive steps were ever taken by the Panchayat to collect this money. On the other hand these dues were written off without the consent the District Board. The Panchayat had also executed works of gravelling 7 roads in undue haste. Sanitation was neglected awfully. As a result the Board was superseded.

One Panchayat in West Godavari proved to be a notorious example of village factions. When the previous President of the Panchayat died, another came in his place, but the party of the dead President began to oppose every resolution. When the new one was thrown out and a member of the opposition party was elected, they in turn repeated the same thing in vengeance, and consequently no work could be done. Roads which were said to have been executed were proved as never laid down. Some of the lands acquired in the name of the Panchayat were misappropriated. Inspite of all the instructions from the Inspector of Local Boards and the District Panchayat Officer, the Panchayat refused to carry out their orders. Influential majority of population of the village exerted much pressure to see that the

623 Panchayat would not work under any circumstances. Ultimately it
578 was superseded.

687 In Kistna District there was a parallel instance. In one Panchayat three Presidents came in power in quick succession. When the President who was in office for 4 year resigned the Vice-President became the President. But he was thrown out and another was elected and during his term of office, the Panchayat was superseded. The cause of conflict was strong party factions. The difficulty was only one party in the village was returned into power while the other parties remained outside. So the members within the Panchayat tried to wreck it and ultimately the Board was superseded.

In Vizagapatam one Panchayat met on its own accord and began to cancel a resolution which it had passed permitting taxation on sugar pans, etc. Immediately when it was detected, the Board was superseded and a special officer was appointed, under whom the financial position had considerably improved.

Anantapur District had similar instances of Panchayats which were opposed to taxation, full of party factions, negligent in work and highly litigious. In one instance, the President of the Ex-Taluk Board was a member of the Panchayat and he was in the minority party. In the contest for the Presidential election for the Panchayat, the man from the majority party became successful. As the minority party wanted to pull down the party in power, they refused to pass the administration report, turned petromax lights to kerosene oil lights in the name of the public good and opposed vehemently any taxation The machine of the water pump system was spoiled. So the Inspector of Local Boards requested the Panchayat to add a surcharge of 12% to the house tax and provide themselves with this badly needed facility for which Government and District
687 Board gave donations. Yet the Board persisted in opposing for six
661 months postponing meetings for want of quorum, when it was finally superseded. Another minor Panchayat in Anantapur was superseded because the President and members under-assessed their houses and those of their relations.

These were instances of Panchayats getting annually an income of Rs. 200,000 where the engineer drew a much higher salary than the executive officer, but technically was a sub-ordinate to him.

623 The special officer who was put in charge was expected to bring about a uniform development in the administration of the Panchayat. He had powers to enforce fresh taxation, collect arrears and execute

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schemes of administration which were conducive to social welfare in the local areas and when once the Panchayat was rehabilitated, fresh elections were held and it was given over to the new Board. This [687] suspersession of the working of the village body by its own elected representation was considered to be a punishment for the village which did not play fair with the functions entrusted to it.

Audit of the Panchayat Boards: The major Panchayats were audited once in a year by the lower grade sub-ordinate staff of the Accountant General's Office, while the minor Panchayats were audited by the District Panchayat Officers. But the inadequacy of audit staff left the position of acounts in a very unsatisfactory state.

D. Supervision and Control: The District Boards, the District and Assistant Panchayat Officers supervised the working of the village Panchayats. Usually there was one District Panchayat Officer with one or two assistants under him in each district. As they had to do in addition to supervision, inspection work regarding elections and propaganda also, the time left at their disposal for Panchayat supervision was not much with the result several Panchayats remained uninspected for a long time.

PART III

Observations

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A. Structure: The classification with regard to the grades of Panchayats was not systematic. Panchayats which for long ceased to be in the 3rd grade and could be placed in the 2nd grade and the 2nd to 1st grade were not changed but were retained in their old grades. No attempt was ever made to regularise this procedure. There was also no proportion between the population of the Panchayats and their membership. The provision of the seats for the depressed classes, Harijans and Muslims was strictly in accordance with the proportion to their population. Women members were totally absent. Ex-officio membership of the Munsif was provided but later on was eliminated on the pretext that his co-option on the Panchayat might intensify village politics. This did not appear to be justifiable because his elimination from the Panchayat meant the loss of his useful services and those of his hereditary servants. Devoid of any share in Panchayat administration the village officials just did the revenue and police work entrusted to them and remained outside the current day to day administration of the village. The salaries paid to them and to their hereditary servants were very unattractive. Besides the Inams they

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 367

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sale. 443

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

Management of fairs and festivals was done by a few minor or major Panchayats, but, without exploiting their privileged position by means of a pilgrim tax or a tax on the vendors. 543

Optional functions like plantation of trees, provision of cart and bus stands, radio sets for listeners, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, etc. were done only by very few Panchayats. 623

The attendance of the members at the meetings of Panchayats was so irregular that there was often no quorum. Sometimes the Panchayats held no meetings at all for a long time or the members absented themslves continuously without any action being taken against them.

Panchayats were superseded and special officers were appointed to administer them for a year or two, when Panchayats could not work properly either due to local factions or opposition to taxation or any other undesirable features. Fresh Panchayat was ushered in only after the prevailing irregularities were removed and when the prospects of its smooth working were tolerably certain. 687 625

623 **D. Supervision and Control:** The District Boards, District Collectors and the Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils through four Divisional Inspectors, District and Assistant Panchayat Officers supervised the work and controlled the administration of the Village Panchayats. But in practice the supervision and control exercised appeared to be very superficial. The dual control of the District Board and the District Collector led to much confusion. [652] Even the Panchayat budgets were never properly scrutinised with the result that they went on accumulating heavy opening balances as if there was no work they could undertake, thus allowing their administration to deteriorate. The District Panchayat Officers, with hardly one or two Assistant Panchayat Officers under them, could not naturally inspect all the Panchayats at least once in a year. Without increasing the number of supervisory staff and avoiding the defects of dual control, better and effective supervision of the Panchayats could not be envisaged.

While the accounts of the Minor Panchayats were audited by the District Panchayat Officers, those of the Major Panchayats were audited annually by the Local Audit Department. But the introduction of [687] auditing the accounts had not effectively improved the Panchayats and the audit remarks were never properly implemented by them as their failure to do so was not often met with any punishment.

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691 off small debts, serious sexual intrigues, domestic quarrels assuming serious proportions, etc., keep on coming before the village council again and again. It is very rarely that it has to take the final step of ordering the social boycott of an individual. Caste *panchayats*, on the other hand, take recourse to this weapon very often when breaches of caste convention are brought to their 688 notice. Eating with a lower caste, sex intrigue outside the caste, failure in observing injunctions attached to the status of ritual impurity, and inability to perform any major ritual are all punished by ostracism. This involves denial of social equality to the ostracized family. No one will share food or drink with it. No member of such a family will be invited to attend a socio-religious ceremony, nor will anyone accept his invitation. Its status of social equality will be restored when it performs the necessary rituals for the expiation of its offence.

578 Our investigations did not reveal the existence of any serious inter-group tensions and conflicts in the community. Just before and after the Police Action there was some Hindu-Muslim tension: in the first phase Muslims terrorized the Hindus; in the second the Hindus looted property from one Muslim house and terrorized the other Muslims generally and their ringleaders particularly. Between different castes or living-quarters of the village, within living memory, there were only two major disputes. Their details are not remembered, but it is claimed that the tension was short-lived and cordiality was established very soon between the warring sections.

578 The corporate unity of the village finds its fullest expression 621 when the inhabitants come into conflict with outsiders. The village of Aliyabad shares with Shamirpet the water from the 609 tank for the purposes of irrigation. The ratio of water supplied to Shamirpet and Aliyabad has been fixed at 5:2. Over this there are always some difficulties. One night the floodgates were opened, and the water that should have irrigated Shamirpet fields was diverted to Aliyabad fields. Next morning an organized team from Shamirpet attacked Aliyabad. There were three different theories regarding what had happened the previous night. Aliyabad people said that the guards of the floodgates had asked them to take the water under the impression that it was their turn. The guards said that being threatened with violence they allowed the Aliyabad men to divert the water to their area.

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But when the decision is announced, it is done so in a manner that indicates unanimity among the members. Besides attempting arbitration and mediation, the village council also administers punishment when a person's guilt is proved. The nature of punishment itself differs in different categories of cases, also on the basis of persons involved in the dispute. It ranges from a simple warning to a complete social boycott; the intermediate stages being stern admonition, firm demand for apology, compensation to the aggrieved, and fining.

Absence of internal unity within the council has undermined its authority considerably. The fact that some of its members allow and encourage their protégés to defy—fully or partially—its decisions, contributes further to its growing weakness. Dissatisfied with its judgement one can always take the case to a regular court of law where the decision of the council may be reversed.

With these preliminary observations we can now proceed to examine a few illustrative cases which represent typical situations met with in the life of the community:

(1) V. R. R. and his brother B. live together. Their parents are dead, and being minor B. lives with his elder brother. V. R. R. has had elementary education. Being married into a respectable lower middle-class family in the city, and himself with some experience of urban life, V. R. R. regards himself as the leader of a band of city-influenced youth. As most of his time is spent in loafing, planning mischief, gambling, drinking and instigating people to quarrel, he cannot devote much time to the land, and consequently the financial position of the family is not satisfactory. V. R. R. adds to his income by extorting money from the villagers by offering his advice, help and support—often for unjust causes—but this money is spent almost wholly on himself. B. is now an adolescent, and is fast approaching a marriageable age. Noticing his elder brother's indifference towards him, B. approached some of the elders of his caste. His main complaints were: (*a*) V. R. R. does not spend his (B.'s) share of the land and its produce on him. (*b*) Nothing is being saved for his marriage. One day V. R. R. lost his temper over some trifling issue and scolded his younger brother. B. ran to E. D. R.—an influential man in the village, and the hereditary leader of his caste. Fearing that B. might be beaten by his elder brother, E. D. R. accompanied him to his house and asked V. R. R. to come out of the house and listen to

627 him. Partly because of anger, and partly under the intoxication
691 of his power and influence as the leader of a youth gang, he curtly
578 remarked to E. D. R., 'Have you nothing else to do? What brings you here? Is it because of jealousy that you cannot see our welfare and prosperity and you are instigating my brother to separate from me?' This was too much even for the sedate, cool and level-headed E. D. R., who enjoys great reputation in the village for his sobriety. He lost his temper and said, 'You bastard, you seem to have developed great notions about yourself. After spending a few months in the city—and with the support of that band of rascals—you think that you can defy the authority of village elders. I shall show you what it means to be impertinent to me.' V. R. R. was still defiant, but less impolite. E. D. R. said, 'If you have the cheek to answer me back I shall make life impossible for you in the village. You have a long tongue, but if you wag it against us we shall pull it.' At this stage V. P. R.—a rival of E. D. R., who had also been approached by B. on an earlier occasion—entered the scene. But now he was on the side of E. D. R. and joined him in scolding the unrepentant V. R. R. Within a short time a small crowd gathered at the spot. Some other elders persuaded V. R. R. to apologize to the elders whom he had offended. This he did rather reluctantly. E. D. R., V. P. R. and the other elders assembled there decided that V. R. R. should give more attention to his agriculture, save at least two hundred rupees every year for the expenses of his younger brother's wedding; and after his marriage at the end of three years give him his share of land and cattle. V. R. R. agreed to do this and the crowd dispersed.

691 (2) E. R. is a middle-aged woman, and is counted among the
578 colourful personalities of the village. In her day she was regarded as a local beauty and was known for a degree of laxity in morals. Now she has a sort of romantic attachment with C. M.—a local Muslim small-trader. Her husband is meek and docile; and her children ignore this affair. This particular case refers to her quarrel with her son Y., who not only abused her but added to the gravity of the offence by striking her in public. Outwardly the quarrel appeared to be an ordinary, everyday affair; but careful investigation revealed to us that the roots of the trouble lay somewhere else. The fact of the matter was that E. R. had got her son Y. married to a rather young and immature girl who happened to be her friend's daughter. Y. at this time was a grown-

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up man; but his child bride was unable to take her place as his wife for some three years more. To keep her son away from eloping with a young woman, E. R. not only tolerated but encouraged—some people say she actually brought it about—Y.'s liaison with a woman of the same caste living in the neighbourhood. For three or four years everything went on well and the relations between the mother and child were most cordial. Trouble started when Y.'s wife came to live with them. E. R. had expected that her son's amours with the other woman would end shortly. In this she was wrong. The young wife failed to win the affection of her husband, who remained deeply attached to his former mistress. E. R. could not tolerate this. She tried different methods to dissuade her son, and with every failure her relations with him were more embittered. Quarrels between them became frequent. Tired of the incessant flow of criticism and bitter remarks from her, one day Y. struck her—with fists first and later with a stick. He also perhaps pulled her hair. All this happened so suddenly, and E. R.'s husband was at the time so overcome that he found himself helpless and could not intervene in the matter. Infuriated by this E. R. ran into the street and started wailing and cursing loudly. Very soon this attracted a large crowd. Her husband tried to pacify her, but E. R. would not let him come near her. She said to him, 'You claim to be a man! Do you? You could see your son beating me in your very presence and did not lift even your little finger. For me you are dead. Go, go away—for me you are dead. Did you hear that?' Saying this she started breaking her glass bangles. This was quite serious for a Hindu woman breaks her bangles only when she is widowed. The crowd tried to pacify her. Sympathizers made efforts to find out what the matter was. For over an hour E. R. continued cursing her son and husband, spitting 'at their name' and throwing dust, signifying their burial. Then she gave a detailed and rather exaggerated account of the happenings of that evening. Three elders who were present at the spot immediately summoned the son and asked him to touch the feet of his mother and apologize to her. This he did readily, although with a sullen face. But E. R. reacted with another spurt of abuse and foul language. After a while people took them home. The gravity of the matter demanded its consideration by the full village council. Once again the son had to apologize to the mother, and in addition had to pay a small fine for his unbecoming behaviour.

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changed their attitude. One of their spokesmen said, 'The deceased was our seed; and not an untouchable. We may not have riches, but we shall perform his last rites.' They sent for another band, and the last rites were performed in a memorable style. K.'s son felt offended and kept himself away from the ceremonies.

(4) Robust and sturdy C. R. has several remarkable traits. Because of his personality and a rather impressive way of speaking he has considerable influence over his community and is looked upon as its leader. He is an untouchable. Some of his acts now and then disgrace his family, and bring about a temporary eclipse of his reputation. Several times he was accused of petty thefts, and once or twice fined by the village council. But when he stole a blanket and some brassware from his employer, and ran away with the wife of a neighbour, the matter was viewed very seriously. People from the village had seen him at a nearby railway station with all the three stolen things—blanket, brassware and the neighbour's wife. The theft was reported to the village council; and after some preliminary consideration the local caste group referred the elopement also to it. In the meantime news was received that C. R. was working in a sugar factory, but was anxious to return to the village. The village council came to the decision that C. R. should compensate his employer to the full value of the articles stolen, return the woman to her husband with a certain sum of money by way of compensation, and pay a fine to the council for the two offences. C. R. returned to the village, accepted the verdict of the council, but asked for a reduction in the amount of the fine. This request was granted.

(5) R. was a widow, and after the death of her husband had returned to Shamirpet to live with her mother. She was still young. In a few days she became the mistress of M. who belonged to her caste. They never lived openly as man and wife, but their relationship was well known. M. bought several expensive presents for her, and these included a silver necklace and bracelets. After about three years R. fell in love with an outsider who agreed to take her as his wife. M. did not object to this arrangement, but he insisted on having his presents back. R. was not prepared to part with them. One day when she was passing along the street in front of M.'s house, he ran towards her and started snatching the ornaments by force. R. shouted for help and people rushing to the spot separated them. The matter was reported to the headman,

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691 who convened the full council. Opinion in this case was divided, but the final verdict was that since M. had enjoyed sexual favour from the woman for three years he had no right to demand the return of the ornaments. R. married her new lover and went away to live in his village. M. was greatly dissatisfied with the decision, but there was nothing that he could do about it.

(6) D. worked in Bombay and when he returned to the village brought back with him his savings—estimated at four hundred rupees or so. He spent the money lavishly on drink and gambling. In less than a year he had squandered all his savings. Now he started ill-treating his wife. One day when the wife's father had come to take her home for a short stay, he asked her for eight annas to buy some drinks. She said that she had no money, and he beat her mercilessly. The noise attracted people to their house, and the woman's father reported the matter to the headman. The headman called some other members of the village council, and then summoned the husband and wife. He asked the wife, 'Why did you not give him the money?' The wife said, 'I did not have any with me.' She repeatedly asserted that she had no money. Thereupon her belongings were searched. This revealed that she had seven rupees. She tried to convince the council that this was her personal savings from her own earnings from the making of country cigarettes. But the Deshmukh said, 'Why did you lie before the *panchayat*? Why did you say that you had no money?' Encouraged by this turn of events in his favour the husband accused her of stealing three hundred rupees and asked her to leave him. She went away with her father to his village.

691 578 (7) L. and P. both belong to the caste of potters. Their houses stand facing each other. A tamarind tree standing midway between the two houses is a bone of contention, and over this tree there were several pitched quarrels between their families. Who has the right to its fruit? Who should sweep up the dried leaves when they fall? Who should enclose the tree within his own enclosure? Mediation of elders did not succeed in finding a satisfactory solution to the problem. The matter was reported to the village council; but there too no decision could be reached as both sides had their own supporters in nearly equal strength. Efforts at bringing about a compromise were mostly fruitless, or else agreements between the rivals were short-lived. The village council considered it time and again, but in the meantime the matter was

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

reported to a government officer. For four years the matter lingered on, and the tree continued to disturb the peace of that particular living-quarter. Ultimately, at the suggestion of the government officer, the decision was given that the tree should be cut down; its wood be sold and the proceeds distributed equally between the two parties. To effect this a time-limit of a month was prescribed, after which the council was to have the liberty to dispose of the tree and thus to deprive the disputants of the proceeds.

(8) I. and S. are brothers. After their father's death they continued to live together and cultivate their land jointly for two years. Then they had some family difficulties, and had to seek the mediation of village elders. Three influential persons acceptable to both the brothers worked out the details of partition. The family land was divided into two equal parts, but one of these parts was inferior to the other. Equal division of good and inferior land between the two would have meant fragmentation of some of the tiny fields with loss to both; and so it was decided that the one who accepted the inferior land would get all the plough cattle, and the one who got the superior land would have no share in the cattle left by the father. Both the brothers were to contribute two hundred rupees each for three years for the wedding of their sister. I. chose the superior land and S. agreed to have the inferior land with the cattle. For a time the arrangement worked well. The land was still in the name of I. in the government records, because he was the elder of the two. At the time of the partition there was a tacit understanding that they would contribute equally towards the payment of land revenue. But S. had a feeling that his share should be less on account of the fact that his land was inferior. He was instigated by some people to pursue the matter further. I. would perhaps have agreed to an amicable settlement had his brother approached him; but he was annoyed to notice that he sought outside help and unjustly maligned him. Intervention of the elders failed to bring about a compromise. The village council could not come to a decision quickly, as both brothers had powerful factions supporting them. Ultimately its verdict was against S., but his advisers suggested that rather than yield to this decision he should take the matter to a civil court. At the time of our investigations the issue was still undecided and no settlement was in sight.

These examples could easily be multiplied. Failure in implementing the terms of an agreement or contract, inability to pay

691 off small debts, serious sexual intrigues, domestic quarrels assuming serious proportions, etc., keep on coming before the village council again and again. It is very rarely that it has to take the final step of ordering the social boycott of an individual. Caste *panchayats*, on the other hand, take recourse to this weapon very often when breaches of caste convention are brought to their
688 notice. Eating with a lower caste, sex intrigue outside the caste, failure in observing injunctions attached to the status of ritual impurity, and inability to perform any major ritual are all punished by ostracism. This involves denial of social equality to the ostracized family. No one will share food or drink with it. No member of such a family will be invited to attend a socio-religious ceremony, nor will anyone accept his invitation. Its status of social equality will be restored when it performs the necessary rituals for the expiation of its offence.

578 Our investigations did not reveal the existence of any serious inter-group tensions and conflicts in the community. Just before and after the Police Action there was some Hindu-Muslim tension: in the first phase Muslims terrorized the Hindus; in the second the Hindus looted property from one Muslim house and terrorized the other Muslims generally and their ringleaders particularly. Between different castes or living-quarters of the village, within living memory, there were only two major disputes. Their details are not remembered, but it is claimed that the tension was short-lived and cordiality was established very soon between the warring sections.

578 The corporate unity of the village finds its fullest expression
621 when the inhabitants come into conflict with outsiders. The village of Aliyabad shares with Shamirpet the water from the
609 tank for the purposes of irrigation. The ratio of water supplied to Shamirpet and Aliyabad has been fixed at 5:2. Over this there are always some difficulties. One night the floodgates were opened, and the water that should have irrigated Shamirpet fields was diverted to Aliyabad fields. Next morning an organized team from Shamirpet attacked Aliyabad. There were three different theories regarding what had happened the previous night. Aliyabad people said that the guards of the floodgates had asked them to take the water under the impression that it was their turn. The guards said that being threatened with violence they allowed the Aliyabad men to divert the water to their area.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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and prevent them from coming near the village, and apparently the present idea is that they will be satiated with rice and blood and not want to do any mischief. The original idea was possibly quite different; but this seems to be the intention of the ceremony in modern times. 755 776 782

On the next day, early in the morning, the clay image and the pot are washed and smeared afresh with turmeric and kunkuma. Incense and boiled rice are then offered as on other days, and the pot is taken in procession round the village. When this has been done, about midday, each householder brings his offering of boiled rice, cakes, fruits and flowers, and, in addition, the village as a whole contributes about two hundred or more seers of rice, which is boiled near the pandal. All these offerings are placed in a heap before the image. Then, first, a sheep or a buffalo is offered on behalf of the whole village. Having been duly washed, and smeared with turmeric and kunkuma, and decorated with margosa leaves, its head is cut off by a Mādigā. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground, and some loose earth is thrown upon it to cover it up. The head is offered to the image by the headman of the village. After this various householders, even Brāhmans and Bunniahs, bring animals for sacrifice. All are killed by a Mādigā, and then the heads are all presented and placed in a heap before the goddess. Sometimes an extraordinary number of animals is sacrificed on occasions of this kind, as many as a thousand sheep on a single day. In a village like Gudivada the number of victims is, of course, far less. The question of precedence in the offering of victims constantly gives rise to quarrels among the leading villagers. When I was once visiting Gudivada, there was a case pending before the *tahsildar*, *i.e.* the sub-divisional magistrate, between a *zamindar*, landowner, and a village *munsiff*, *i.e.* a village magistrate, about this knotty point. The heads are taken away by the pūjārīs, potters, washermen, barbers, Mālās and Mādigās, and others who take any official part in the sacrifice. The carcasses of the [691]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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order to get the rice and the buffalo's head. The idea of carrying the head and rice round a village, so the people said, is to draw a kind of cordon on every side of it and prevent the entrance of the evil spirits. Should any one in the town refuse to subscribe for the festival, his house is omitted from the procession, and left to the tender mercies of the devils. This procession is called *bali haranam*;[1] and in this district *inams*, rent-free lands, are held from Government by certain families of Mādigās for performing it. Besides the buffalo, large numbers of sheep and goats and fowls are sacrificed, each householder giving at least one animal. The head Mādigā who kills the animals takes the carcass and distributes the flesh among the members of his family. Often cases come into the courts to decide who has the right to kill them. As the sacrifice cannot wait for the tedious processes of the law, the elders of the village settle the question at once, pending an appeal to the courts. But in the town of Masulipatam, a Mādigā is specially licensed by the Municipality for the purpose, and all disputes are avoided.

Cocanada. At Cocanada there is only one Grāma-Devatā, Nukalamma (from Nuku, a Tamil word, meaning "to beat"); but she is very ill-tempered, they told me, and gives much trouble. Curiously enough, the present pūjārī is a woman of the fisherman caste. The office was hereditary in her family and she is the only surviving member of it. A male relative acts as deputy-pūjārī. Offerings are made to Nukalamma every day, doubtless on account of her temper. One custom I found observed here, which is not uncommon in these parts. When a victim's head has been cut off, it is put before the shrine and water poured on it. The offerer then waits to see whether the mouth opens. If it does, it is a sign that the sacrifice is accepted.[2] Another ceremony observed here is significant and, doubtless, a relic of the primitive idea

[1] Sanksrit for "presentation of the offering."
[2] See p. 55 n. 1, above.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other [212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the [191] ability latterly. No one knows English.

There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about 214 seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

624 *Village administration.*—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

691 For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

167 In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

325 Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

271 rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

[191] The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

[213] There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

623 *Village administration.*—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

624 There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

364 *Sanitary administration.*—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

625 There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

624 The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

674 *Crime.*—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

691 No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops.
426 The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

796 from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150, largely spent on drink. The priests of the goddess are low caste people, chiefly the washerman caste. They get new cloths as presents. The whole celebration is barbarous and repulsive.

The village administration.—There is no panchayat in the village.
624 The village officers consist of a karnam, a munsif, and three servants. The karnam keeps the village accounts, while the munsif collects the revenue and attends to small criminal cases. The munsif does not generally care to try civil cases even within his province; they all go to the District Munsif's court.

364 Nobody attends to the village sanitation, though the munsif is expected to do so. The villagers too do not care to help him in his work. The Sanitary Inspector comes once in a year, and quietly goes away with satisfactory remarks from the easy chair in his note book. He being the one officer for two or three taluks, cannot pay much attention to one taluk in particular; besides he also has engineering work.

625 The police station is seven miles away. When crimes of extraordinary nature take place, the munsif reports the same to the police, who come and conduct enquiries. Most of the crimes are hushed up. Police enquiry is a sham. So is the night patrolling, which is the duty of the village servants.

692 The munsif is expected to hear petty crimes; but many cases
696 that might have been decided here go to the Magistrate's court. Many crimes have been left undetected, and the criminals unpunished, crimes which were horrible and plainly proved. As locally interpreted, the effect of the Evidence Act is such as to render the most proved case null and void for "want of proper evidence." When a murderer once escapes easily from punishment, another is at once encouraged. All the villagers know that it is these considerations that encouraged a man engaged in litigation to murder another who was about to give evidence against him. That case went unpunished. Such is the case with most murders. In fact, most men engaged in important litigation are afraid for their
674 lives in this village. In three years there have been four murders in the neighbourhood of the village, two killed in connection with litigation and two in connection with robbery from the person.

691 There is much litigation. About 45 cases are filed every year. Of these twenty to twenty-five will be for non-clearance of debts, and fifteen to twenty for land disputes. The villagers do not seem to show any hesitation or fear in resorting to the courts. The half educated Brahman in the village, acting as an agent for a vakil, with no other profession, tries to earn his livelihood by creating enmity and disputes among ignorant families and dragging them to the courts. Thus several families which were once considered very rich have been ruined. One family of Komatis, for example, with a property of about Rs. 20,000, was sued by some relations for a partition of the estate. The Vaisya refused all compromise in the earlier courts, pursued the case at enormous expense through the three courts, till he finally lost the whole estate in the High Court. In the end, the family of twelve children, with not an inch of land for support, and no means of liquidating the debts contracted for the court expenses, have sold their big house and gone away to the Agency tracts as beggars to fill their bellies. There are many families in the village similarly ruined.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

According to the caste composition of the villages and existing social bonds between them, people belonging to one particular caste will have their own *panchayat* for a group of villages. Thus in the case of some castes ten to twenty villages have their own caste *panchayat*, while in the case of others thirty to forty villages together have a common council of this type. In some cases endogamous sub-castes have their own *panchayats*; but in many others the wider caste group comprising many sub-castes has a composite council of its own. Caste headmen representing each constituent village are the members of this council—although in actual practice other wealthy and influential, as well as vocal and assertive, persons also gradually come to occupy a seat in it. Serious breaches of the norms and traditions of the caste, as well as important intra-caste disputes, are heard and decided by these caste *panchayats*. Cases of divorce, failure in fulfilling agreements made before finalizing marriage arrangements, serious sexual lapses, and of breaches of the social norms of the caste, such as incest, breaches of the rules of endogamy and exogamy, eating forbidden food and pursuing a 'lower' occupation, etc., would be under the jurisdiction of such a caste *panchayat*. But it must be pointed out that there is no clear-cut distinction between the powers and functions of the caste *panchayat* and the village *panchayat*. For example, when a serious case of incest comes to their notice both these *panchayats* take action independently. Similarly, if a person belonging to one of the Hindu castes kills a cow or is found to have eaten beef, simultaneous action is likely to be taken by both the *panchayats*. In general, however, it can be laid down that matters of a primarily local interest are brought to the village *panchayat*, while those having a bearing on specific caste customs fall under the jurisdiction of the caste *panchayat*. A large number of marginal disputes may be heard by either, and often the local tradition defines their respective jurisdictions. As the *panchayat* in Shamirpet is sufficiently aggressive it has arrogated to itself a considerably wide range of powers.

While all villages and nearly all castes have their own *panchayats*, inter-village *panchayats* are formed from time to time when they are demanded by a special situation. They function as *ad hoc* arbitration committees. Conflicts between two villages, or between two parties belonging to different villages (and not drawn from one particular caste), often necessitate an inter-village

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623 692 *panchayat*. In this the elders of the two villages which are parties to the dispute as well as the elders from an agreed number of villages from the neighbourhood sit together, hear the dispute and give their verdict. Of course, they have no authority to enforce their decision, and these days such cases often go to the courts of law established by the government.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

earlier in this chapter, suggests that an extrovert and sensitive people who cannot conceal their approval or disapproval and who do not suppress their immediate reactions cannot have a very peaceful and quiet life. Indeed most of the tensions are short-lived, but quarrels and conflicts are numerous and frequent. As the community is partially autonomous in several spheres of life, it is necessary for it to have an effective mechanism for the control of these conflicts.

Shamirpet, however, is only partially autonomous, for it is a part of a wider social system. The extent of caste organization is regional, and covers a very large number of villages. In several spheres of life it is the caste rather than the village that has the upper hand in controlling the behaviour of its constituents. Details of ritual connected with the life-cycle, and observance of the *mores* and norms of the caste fall in this category. Further the village is but a small unit in the national political structure of a sub-continent. Its laws are made by the State Legislature and the Union Parliament; and the law-enforcing arm of the State extends to it as effectively as it does to the rest of the country. This brings the State police and magistracy on the scene. All important breaches of law go to the civil and criminal courts. What remains of the autonomy of the village appears quite insignificant, but in actual practice relatively few cases go to caste councils, fewer to courts of law, and left to itself to control the inter-group and inter-personal relations of its members the machinery responsible for social control and justice within the village finds itself burdened with considerable work.

How is this mechanism set in motion? How does it work? Presently I shall give a few illustrative cases which will reveal the process in certain typical situations. At this stage it is necessary to point out that all cases of conflict do not go to the village council. In many cases the parties to the dispute boisterously quarrel over the issue and there the matter ends. For a few days they probably will not be on speaking terms, leave each other out of social functions and ceremonies, and continue to indulge in mutual recriminations and behind-the-back slander; but in course of time normal relations will be resumed. In other cases mediation or arbitration of the elders may be sought or may be volunteered by the elders themselves. When influential village elders notice disorderly or unbecoming behaviour on the part of someone

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578 repeatedly they intervene, and seek to set things right by the
627 pressure of their personality. They ridicule, admonish and threaten the wrongdoer, and leave it at that. This intervention is often effective and succeeds in achieving the desired result. Disputes may be specially referred to influential and impartial elders, and thus a settlement is sought without the necessity of having to appear
692 before the village council. When these efforts fail, or when the
674 seriousness of the offence or dispute warrants it, it is taken to the headman or to one of the elders with a specific request that it be decided by the village council. On the other hand, elders may take cognizance of a serious matter and may themselves bring it to the notice of the village council. Of course all cases of murder, serious theft, and grievous bodily injury, as well as of default in payment of substantial loans are taken to the criminal and civil courts. Abduction and adultery can be referred to law courts; but generally they are taken either to the village council or to the caste council. Misconduct with a married or unmarried woman, running away with a married woman, default in fulfilling the terms and conditions of a marriage contract may similarly be referred to either or both the caste council and the village council. Of the two, whichever happens to be more powerful and effective attracts most of these marginal cases to itself. Personal disputes, minor property and land disputes, sex offences and conflicts arising out of breach of contract generally come up for hearing and decision before the village council.

695 The composition of the village council has been described earlier.[1] When cases come up for hearing before it, the proceedings are carried on with considerable dignity. Available evidence and eye-witnesses are examined. The motive for the offence, and the situation in which it was committed—particularly its immediate cause, as well as presence or absence of provocation—are also taken into account. Outwardly an attitude of objectivity and impartiality is maintained by everyone; although in reality the rival factions within the council try to tip the scale their own way, so that the evidence may later be construed in such a way that it may prove advantageous to the client to whom they have already promised their support. At the time of actual decision the parties to the dispute have to withdraw, allowing the council freedom to discuss and analyse the issues involved. Divergent and often contrary opinions may be expressed by the rival factions at this stage.

1 [cf. at 116, pp. 45-6, --ANALYST]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

But when the decision is announced, it is done so in a manner that indicates unanimity among the members. Besides attempting arbitration and mediation, the village council also administers punishment when a person's guilt is proved. The nature of punishment itself differs in different categories of cases, also on the basis of persons involved in the dispute. It ranges from a simple warning to a complete social boycott; the intermediate stages being stern admonition, firm demand for apology, compensation to the aggrieved, and fining.

Absence of internal unity within the council has undermined its authority considerably. The fact that some of its members allow and encourage their protégés to defy—fully or partially—its decisions, contributes further to its growing weakness. Dissatisfied with its judgement one can always take the case to a regular court of law where the decision of the council may be reversed.

With these preliminary observations we can now proceed to examine a few illustrative cases which represent typical situations met with in the life of the community:

(1) V. R. R. and his brother B. live together. Their parents are dead, and being minor B. lives with his elder brother. V. R. R. has had elementary education. Being married into a respectable lower middle-class family in the city, and himself with some experience of urban life, V. R. R. regards himself as the leader of a band of city-influenced youth. As most of his time is spent in loafing, planning mischief, gambling, drinking and instigating people to quarrel, he cannot devote much time to the land, and consequently the financial position of the family is not satisfactory. V. R. R. adds to his income by extorting money from the villagers by offering his advice, help and support—often for unjust causes—but this money is spent almost wholly on himself. B. is now an adolescent, and is fast approaching a marriageable age. Noticing his elder brother's indifference towards him, B. approached some of the elders of his caste. His main complaints were: (*a*) V. R. R. does not spend his (B.'s) share of the land and its produce on him. (*b*) Nothing is being saved for his marriage. One day V. R. R. lost his temper over some trifling issue and scolded his younger brother. B. ran to E. D. R.—an influential man in the village, and the hereditary leader of his caste. Fearing that B. might be beaten by his elder brother, E. D. R. accompanied him to his house and asked V. R. R. to come out of the house and listen to

The Village Panchayat Courts were for a group of villages with powers to try cases upto Rs. 200/- without legal practitioners. The Court Members were elected by all adult residents in the village. The number of members varied from 5 to 12 and each member held office for 3 years. 692

Forest Panchayats were elected by the cattle-owners of the village and then the Panchayat elected its President. The Forest Panchayats were allowed to levy fees for grazing and fuel collection, and then they were vested with certain statutory powers. They were under the control of the Revenue Department. 311

Besides these, there were Irrigation Panchayats elected by all landholders of the village who got water from the sluice. These were under the control of the Revenue Dapartment. 312

Then there were the Village Panchayat Schools. Each village with a population of 500 or more could, on application, have a grant of Rs. 180/- for a school-teacher and an initial grant of Rs. 80/- to start a school in the Panchayat area. There were about 800 Panchayat Schools in Madras by about 1928. 871

Last, but not the least, was the jurisdiction of the Panchayat in its present constitutional set up. The Statute in force did not allow the Village Panchayats any control over the Panchayat Court or Irrigation Panchayat or Forest Panchayat, wherever they existed, though Panchayat Schools alone were entrusted to Village Panchayats wherever they existed. These are discussed in latter sections of this chapter. 642

B. Finance: (Table No. 19)

Local Fund Cess: This was the main source of income to Panchayats in Madras as everywhere else. It was usually 1/6th of the total local fund cess of the Local Boards, soon after the abolition of the Taluk Boards in 1934, it was increased to 1/5th of the District Board Cess. But, the grant of the local fund cess to Panchayats was not based on any rational principle of local finance. In fact, the proportion, each Panchayat got, bore no relation to population, prosperity, poverty or administrative requirements. While a Panchayat situated in an irrigated area got local fund cess as its share, in proportion to the larger land revenue collected from the village. Panchayats existing in the dry areas got positively less local fund cess, in view of the lesser land revenue collected therein. 651

26: Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1964 AWI India Telugu AWI7

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Section III: Village Courts and Panchayat Courts.

PART I.

Administrative and Legislative Position at the Time of the Survey

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Administration of justice by trial by Panchayats was one of the salient features of the Indian Polity from times immemorial. The intimate knowledge of local officers, men and matters possessed by the village elders enabled them to decide the disputes brought before them in a fair and dispassionate way. The local influence and prestige of the village elders and consideration of social ex-communication and popular disapprobation of their acts acted as a strong deterrent to the offenders who could be won over to the right path. This system being cheap, efficient, expeditious and effective, continued to be in force for centuries. The structure of the village community and its internal organization remained unaffected for long despite the drastic political and economic upheavals that affected sweeping changes in the history of the country. There is ample historic evidence to bear testimony to this fact. Inspite of the political interregnum created especially in South India after the fall of the Moghul Empire in the 18th century and the anarchy that prevailed in several parts, the village communities continued to work uninterrupted. Sir Thomas Munroe, who worked in the Ceded Districts left very vivid description of the working of the Judicial Panchayats towards the beginning of the 19th century. The village officers in Madras like the Munsif and the Karnam were very influencial leaders of the community and very often they were the dispensers of justice. The later British rule tried to perpetuate this system in spite of its efforts towards centralisation. A committee that was presided over by Sir Thomas Munroe towards 1816, centralised the power of civil and criminial jurisdiction in the hands of the local hereditary village officials in Madras. Later legislation in Madras in this connection also followed the same lines. The Madras Village Courts Act of 1888, later amended in 1919 and 1936, had laid down the procedure for the administration of justice by Village Courts and Panchyat Courts. According to this Act, the Provincial Government brought all the Village Courts under the control of the Village Munsifs. He was the judge of the Village Court and sometimes the President of the Panchayat Court, if there was one established in the locality.

692 **A. Structure:** The Provincial Government by notification in the Gazette was empowered to establish a Village Court for a group of two or more villages in lieu of the several Courts previously existing therein or a new Village Court for any specified area. In villages where there were no Panchayat Courts, village Munsif was to be appointed by the Collector. The District Collector had a right to suspend or remove a village Munsif or a member of a Panchayat Court for incapacity, neglet of work, misconduct or other just and sufficient cause and was to do so on a requisition passed by the District Judge for the cause appearing in the judicial proceedings of a Village Court. (Sections 6, 7 and 8 of the Madras Village Court Act, 1887). For every order of suspension or removal an appeal might be made within 3 months to the Board of Revenue if the order was passed by the Collector without the orders of the District Judge or to the High Court. The decision of the Board of Revenue or the High Court should be final.

The Provincial Government was to constitute a Panchayat Court for a village or group of villages and therefore no Court of a village Munsif should exercise jurisdiction in any such area. For every Panchayat Court, the Collector was to determine the number of members, but they should not be less than 5 and more than 12. The members were to be appointed by election and out of them, one shall be elected as a President and another as a Vice-President to preside over the deliberations and if both were absent, the Panchayat Court might elect one of the remaining members to be the President for the time being. The term of membership was for 3 years. In addition to the usual members, the Collector might also appoint at his discretion not more than 2 members from the Minority Communities, for example, Muslims, Indian Christians or Backward Classes in the area. The presence of 3 members during any sitting constituted the quorum. All the Civil and Criminal suits in the area were transferred to the Village or Panchayat Court established therein. The village Munsif should keep a register of all suits referred to the Viliage Court and should write the proceedings of the Court. The village Karnam should assist him in this work if required. The village servants were usually employed in serving summons, potices

and orders and for seizing, selling and delivering movable properties under this Act. 692

B. Finance: The income of the Village and Panchayat Courts mainly consisted of the fees charged for the process, for the execution of decrees and for the supply of copies of decrees and other records. The village officers like the Munsif and the Karnam and the other village servants were hereditary with fixed pay and incomes. The members of the Panchayat Court were all honorary and as such the establishment expenses were practically nil. This was the main advantage of the administration of justice by the Village Courts and Panchayats Courts. As no legal practitioners were essential to appear either in civil or criminal proceedings, the parties were saved from the expenses of litigation, while they were enabled to have effective and early justice. 692 651

C. Functions: The Village Courts and the Panchayat Courts had both Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction. 692

Civil Jurisdiction: The civil suits admissible before these Courts were for claims not exceeding Rs. 50 or upto Rs. 200 with the written consent of both the parties. The President or members should not decide cases to which they were parties. Cases which were once tried by another Court of competent jurisdiction were not to be entertained and claims which were once judiciously reduced could not be raised again. After serving the summons on the parties by the village servants, cases were fixed for hearing and if the defendant failed to appear, the Court was competent to give an exparte decree. Legal practitioners were allowed to appear on behalf of any parties. Witnesses were summoned to give evidence, if they were within 5 miles distance and if the distance was more, the Munsif of the other village was intimated to take interrogation of the witness and to send it. Women who according to the custom could not be called in public or if they were sick, were heard at home. After hearing the parties and recording evidence, the Village or Panchayat Court was to arrive at just and fair judgement. 695

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Actual Conditions as Revealed by the Survey

Panchayat Courts were in every district and there were both good and bad specimens. There were Panchayat Courts in major as well as in minor Panchayats and the size of the Panchayat had no bearing on the efficiency of the Panchayat Court.

Samples of good, unsatisfactory and indifferent Panchayat Courts had been chosen for inquiry, from each of the districts surveyed, as shown in the table on the next page.

Table showing the Constitution of Sample Panchayat Courts.

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No.	Name of the Village	District	Date of Creation	Number of Members	Jurisdiction C–Civil Cr–Criminal Powers
1	Valluru	East Godavari	1900	V. M.	C
2	Razole	do	...	V. M.	C
3	Avidi	do	1922	7	C
4	Kothapeta	do	1920	8	C
5	Bodasakurru	do	1920	10	C & Cr.
6	Bhimavaram	West Godavari	1934	11	C & Cr.
7	Tanuku	do	...	...	...
8	Ganapavaram	do	1920	9	C & Cr.
9	Undi	do	do	10	do
10	Pennada	do	do	9	do
11	Veeravaram	do	do	9	do
12	Kandavilli	do	do	5	do
13	Narsapur	do	do	...	do
14	Parvatipuram	Vizagapatam	do	10	do
15	Sringavarapukota	do	do	9	do
16	Kothavalasa	do	1926	9	do
17	Chodavaram	do	1920	13	do
18	Vadada	do	1935	8	do
19	Yellamanchili	do	1930	10	do
20	Pedana	Kistna	...	...	do
21	Vuyyuru	do	1926	10	do
22	Nuzvid	do	1920	7	do
23	Jaggayapeta	do	1920	9	do
24	Gooty	Anantpur	1916	10	do
25	Dharmavaram	do	1920	10	do
26	Penu Konda	do	1920	...	do
27	Brahmanayeleru	do	1937	5	do
28	Bukkapatnam	do	1923	9	do
29	Kadiri	do	...	10	do
30	Gorantala	do	1908	5	do
31	Lepakshi	do	1900	5	do
32	Dhone	Kurnool	...	...	do
33	Betamcherla	do	1910	...	do
34	Pattikonda	do	1908	7	do
35	Maddikera	do	...	...	do
36	Nandikotkur	do	...	7	do
37	Gudur	do	...	12	do
38	Veldurti	do	...	...	do
39	Rayadrug	Bellary	...	11	do
40	Kampli	do	...	...	do

V. M.—stands for Village Munsif Court.

692 A. **Structure**: Every district had a number of Panchayat Courts in it, and in all of them, fair representation was given to all the communities like Brahmins, Kapus, Kammas, Baljas, Telagas, Harijans, [666] etc. The method of election in all the Panchayats selected was by show of hands only.

[661] B. **Finance**: Court fees were the only source of income at their disposal.

C. **Functions**: The working day, the place of work, the time and procedure of these Courts differed from one another from district to district. Again most of them had both civil and criminal powers.

The Panchayat Courts in the East and West Godavaris were known for their efficient and impartial working. Ganapavaram Panchayat Court in West Godavari had both civil and criminal jurisdiction. Working hours were from 11 a. m. to 5 p. m. In Pennada both civil and criminal powers were bestowed, but since 1930 criminal powers were taken away. As there was no place for holding the Panchayat Court, it was being held in the President's house. Similarly in Sringavarapukota, which started in 1920, there was always heavy work. In places like Bhimavaram and Veeravaram the Panchayat Courts were found to be efficient.

In East Godavari, the Panchayat Courts in Valluru, Kapileswarapuram, and Palivela, not to speak of those in major Panchayats like Razole and Amalapuram, were working quite well. In Kistna District, Panchayat Courts in Jaggayapeta, Nuzvid and Vuyyuru were found to be working well. They had representation from all communities, good record of work from 1927, and created good impression on the public. In Vizagapatam not many efficient Panchayat Courts were found except in a few instances like Kothavalasa, where the same President was continuing for the last 20 years. He was also the President of the Village Panchayat. There was no fixed day allotted for the decision of the cases. The Court usually met, whenever there was work, in the house of the President.

Kurnool District was notorious for its village factions and it was confirmed in our investigation. In Nandikotkur, the majority of cases were only criminal. The civil work was far too low every year. About 200 criminal cases came up for the decision as those of illicit cattle grazing, felling fuel, etc. Some of the specimens of the most unsatisfactory type of working were Dhone, Maddikera and Betamcherla where the election for the Panchayat Courts were held 3 years back, but the President was not elected at all. This of

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course was a situation by no means confined to Kurnool District alone. In the Circars, Guntur and Kistna Districts had several Panchayat Courts with the same experience of not electing the President even long after elections of the members of the Panchayat Courts were over. In Dharmavaram, Gorantala and Lepakshi in Anantapur, Panchayat Courts were not able to function due to the same difficulty. In some places the village Munsifs happened to be the President of the Panchayat Courts in which case they sent the village servants to issue summons to the parties.

The jurisdiction of the Panchayat Court was usually upto Rs. 50 and Rs. 200 with the mutual consent of both the parties.

There were no special or independent buildings to the Panchayat Courts in the majority of cases. Hence they were either held in the Village Chavadi or the house of the Panchayat Court President. The working day differed from Court to Court according to the convenience of the members. The decision of the Panchayat Courts were usually accepted. There were no appeals against their decisions except to the High Court and hence the tendency for appeals was practically less.

D. Supervision and Control: The supervision by the revenue and civil authorities seemed to be hopelessly inadequate. They did not even publish the complete results of the election or the names of the members elected for a long time in the Government Gazette and did not take steps to elect the President even after the Court was elected. This was the experience of several Panchayat Courts like Pulletikurru in East Godavari, Yelamanchili and Pedapalli in Vizagapatam, and Dharmavaram in Anantapur to quote only a few instances.

PART III

Observations

The Panchayat Court as an independent entity similar to the Village Panchayat had served a useful purpose and its powers were not notoriously abused everywhere. Its representative character had always been its strong feature and the mature and wise decisions, given without the aid of lawyers, proved beneficial to the villagers. Elections were always peaceful and mostly by show of hands.

The inadequate supervision of their work by the civil and criminal Courts, scarcity of peons at their disposal to serve summons

692 on the parties and the paucity of funds to meet contingencies were some of the defects.

It would be a matter for consideration, whether it is after all necessary to keep the Panchayat Courts as they are to-day separately without making a particular Committee of the Panchayat responsible for administration of justice, by bestowing civil or criminal or both powers, whenever any Panchayat is deemed fit to exercise them. This would also enable to minimise the number of institutions governing village life and may bring all the facets of public life within the control of a single body.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

796 from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150, largely spent on drink. The priests of the goddess are low caste people, chiefly the washerman caste. They get new cloths as presents. The whole celebration is barbarous and repulsive.

The village administration.—There is no panchayat in the village.
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625 The police station is seven miles away. When crimes of extraordinary nature take place, the munsif reports the same to the police, who come and conduct enquiries. Most of the crimes are hushed up. Police enquiry is a sham. So is the night patrolling, which is the duty of the village servants.

692 The munsif is expected to hear petty crimes; but many cases that might have been decided here go to the Magistrate's court.
696 Many crimes have been left undetected, and the criminals unpunished, crimes which were horrible and plainly proved. As locally interpreted, the effect of the Evidence Act is such as to render the most proved case null and void for "want of proper evidence." When a murderer once escapes easily from punishment, another is at once encouraged. All the villagers know that it is these considerations that encouraged a man engaged in litigation to murder another who was about to give evidence against him. That case went unpunished. Such is the case with most murders. In fact, most men engaged in important litigation are afraid for their
674 lives in this village. In three years there have been four murders in the neighbourhood of the village, two killed in connection with litigation and two in connection with robbery from the person.

691 There is much litigation. About 45 cases are filed every year. Of these twenty to twenty-five will be for non-clearance of debts, and fifteen to twenty for land disputes. The villagers do not seem to show any hesitation or fear in resorting to the courts. The half educated Brahman in the village, acting as an agent for a vakil, with no other profession, tries to earn his livelihood by creating enmity and disputes among ignorant families and dragging them to the courts. Thus several families which were once considered very rich have been ruined. One family of Komatis, for example, with a property of about Rs. 20,000, was sued by some relations for a partition of the estate. The Vaisya refused all compromise in the earlier courts, pursued the case at enormous expense through the three courts, till he finally lost the whole estate in the High Court. In the end, the family of twelve children, with not an inch of land for support, and no means of liquidating the debts contracted for the court expenses, have sold their big house and gone away to the Agency tracts as beggars to fill their bellies. There are many families in the village similarly ruined.

LIVING TOGETHER

578 repeatedly they intervene, and seek to set things right by the
627 pressure of their personality. They ridicule, admonish and threaten the wrongdoer, and leave it at that. This intervention is often effective and succeeds in achieving the desired result. Disputes may be specially referred to influential and impartial elders, and thus a settlement is sought without the necessity of having to appear
692 before the village council. When these efforts fail, or when the
674 seriousness of the offence or dispute warrants it, it is taken to the headman or to one of the elders with a specific request that it be decided by the village council. On the other hand, elders may take cognizance of a serious matter and may themselves bring it to the notice of the village council. Of course all cases of murder, serious theft, and grievous bodily injury, as well as of default in payment of substantial loans are taken to the criminal and civil courts. Abduction and adultery can be referred to law courts; but generally they are taken either to the village council or to the caste council. Misconduct with a married or unmarried woman, running away with a married woman, default in fulfilling the terms and conditions of a marriage contract may similarly be referred to either or both the caste council and the village council. Of the two, whichever happens to be more powerful and effective attracts most of these marginal cases to itself. Personal disputes, minor property and land disputes, sex offences and conflicts arising out of breach of contract generally come up for hearing and decision before the village council.

695 The composition of the village council has been described earlier.[1] When cases come up for hearing before it, the proceedings are carried on with considerable dignity. Available evidence and eye-witnesses are examined. The motive for the offence, and the situation in which it was committed—particularly its immediate cause, as well as presence or absence of provocation—are also taken into account. Outwardly an attitude of objectivity and impartiality is maintained by everyone; although in reality the rival factions within the council try to tip the scale their own way so that the evidence may later be construed in such a way that it may prove advantageous to the client to whom they have already promised their support. At the time of actual decision the parties to the dispute have to withdraw, allowing the council freedom to discuss and analyse the issues involved. Divergent and often contrary opinions may be expressed by the rival factions at this stage.

1 [Cf. at 116, pp. 45-6, --ANALYST]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

But when the decision is announced, it is done so in a manner that indicates unanimity among the members. Besides attempting arbitration and mediation, the village council also administers punishment when a person's guilt is proved. The nature of punishment itself differs in different categories of cases, also on the basis of persons involved in the dispute. It ranges from a simple warning to a complete social boycott; the intermediate stages being stern admonition, firm demand for apology, compensation to the aggrieved, and fining.

Absence of internal unity within the council has undermined its authority considerably. The fact that some of its members allow and encourage their protégés to defy—fully or partially—its decisions, contributes further to its growing weakness. Dissatisfied with its judgement one can always take the case to a regular court of law where the decision of the council may be reversed.

With these preliminary observations we can now proceed to examine a few illustrative cases which represent typical situations met with in the life of the community:

(1) V. R. R. and his brother B. live together. Their parents are dead, and being minor B. lives with his elder brother. V. R. R. has had elementary education. Being married into a respectable lower middle-class family in the city, and himself with some experience of urban life, V. R. R. regards himself as the leader of a band of city-influenced youth. As most of his time is spent in loafing, planning mischief, gambling, drinking and instigating people to quarrel, he cannot devote much time to the land, and consequently the financial position of the family is not satisfactory. V. R. R. adds to his income by extorting money from the villagers by offering his advice, help and support—often for unjust causes—but this money is spent almost wholly on himself. B. is now an adolescent, and is fast approaching a marriageable age. Noticing his elder brother's indifference towards him, B. approached some of the elders of his caste. His main complaints were: (*a*) V. R. R. does not spend his (B.'s) share of the land and its produce on him. (*b*) Nothing is being saved for his marriage. One day V. R. R. lost his temper over some trifling issue and scolded his younger brother. B. ran to E. D. R.—an influential man in the village, and the hereditary leader of his caste. Fearing that B. might be beaten by his elder brother, E. D. R. accompanied him to his house and asked V. R. R. to come out of the house and listen to

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

755 776 782 village should come and steal it. The idea is that if any man from another village should take away and carry home even a small part of the blood, that village would get the benefit of the sacrifice. The head of the buffalo is then cut off and placed before the image, with a layer of fat from its entrails smeared over the forehead and face, so as to cover entirely the eyes and nose. The right foreleg is cut off and placed crosswise in the mouth, some boiled rice is placed upon the fat on the forehead, and on it an earthenware lamp, which is kept alight during the whole of the festival. Why the right foreleg should be cut off and placed in the mouth, and what the meaning of it is, I have never been able to discover nor can I conjecture. When I have asked the villagers, they only reply, "It is the custom." But I have found the custom prevailing in all parts of South India, among Tamils, Telugus, and Canarese alike, and I have been informed that exactly the same custom prevails in the Southern Marāṭhā country. It seems to be a very ancient part of the ritual of sacrifice prevailing in South India.[1] This completes the presentation of the sacrifice to the goddess, who is supposed to delight in the food offered, and especially in the blood. A great deal of the food offered is, as a matter of fact, taken

[1] Maharaja Sir V. S. Rañga Rao Bahadur, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., writes in *The Asiatic Review* for January, 1919: "The Lord Bishop wishes to know why the leg of an animal is put crosswise in its mouth after it has been sacrificed before the village goddess. Among the menial castes of a village there is the practice of a guilty man putting a piece of dry grass crosswise in his mouth when he goes to the head of his village to ask his pardon. It denotes that he has committed a wrong act, as a beast. In places where grass is not available, the person in question puts the first finger of his right hand crosswise in his mouth with the same idea or purpose. Here the animals are sacrificed before the village gods and goddesses by the people in the expectation, or rather with the firm belief, that their sins will be forgiven by those deities, and that their consequences will be thus averted by means of those sacrifices. Instead of putting their fingers in their mouths, as stated before, they put the animal's leg (generally the right leg) crosswise in its mouth. Though I am not sure that this is the explanation of this practice, I presume that it must be along these lines, as no other ground is traceable."

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625 The police station is seven miles away. When crimes of extraordinary nature take place, the munsif reports the same to the police, who come and conduct enquiries. Most of the crimes are hushed up. Police enquiry is a sham. So is the night patrolling, which is the duty of the village servants.

692 The munsif is expected to hear petty crimes; but many cases
696 that might have been decided here go to the Magistrate's court. Many crimes have been left undetected, and the criminals unpunished, crimes which were horrible and plainly proved. As locally interpreted, the effect of the Evidence Act is such as to render the most proved case null and void for "want of proper evidence." When a murderer once escapes easily from punishment, another is at once encouraged. All the villagers know that it is these considerations that encouraged a man engaged in litigation to murder another who was about to give evidence against him. That case went unpunished. Such is the case with most murders. In fact, most men engaged in important litigation are afraid for their
674 lives in this village. In three years there have been four murders in the neighbourhood of the village, two killed in connection with litigation and two in connection with robbery from the person.

691 There is much litigation. About 45 cases are filed every year. Of these twenty to twenty-five will be for non-clearance of debts, and fifteen to twenty for land disputes. The villagers do not seem to show any hesitation or fear in resorting to the courts. The half educated Brahman in the village, acting as an agent for a vakil, with no other profession, tries to earn his livelihood by creating enmity and disputes among ignorant families and dragging them to the courts. Thus several families which were once considered very rich have been ruined. One family of Komatis, for example, with a property of about Rs. 20,000, was sued by some relations for a partition of the estate. The Vaisya refused all compromise in the earlier courts, pursued the case at enormous expense through the three courts, till he finally lost the whole estate in the High Court. In the end, the family of twelve children, with not an inch of land for support, and no means of liquidating the debts contracted for the court expenses, have sold their big house and gone away to the Agency tracts as beggars to fill their bellies. There are many families in the village similarly ruined.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

426 allowed by the Government for waste lands. An economic enquiry is held by the village officers every year and a report is sent to the Government.

311 There is scope for improvement on a large scale if only ryots are prepared to start with a large capital and adopt modern methods of agriculture. There does not seem to be any possibility of extending the irrigated lands. Almost all available land has been used up, and brought under cultivation.

312 The condition of tanks and wells has been improved of late. More wells could be sunk with advantage, but are not sunk owing to lack of funds.

733 The barbers, dhobis and others are tending to lose their lands owing to their pernicious habit of drinking. People sell land in 426 order to pay off old debts. Loans are given only on mortgage of lands. The chief purchasers are money-lenders.

167 There has been no emigration. But two Muhammadans are at the front as sepoys. About a hundred belonging to this particular ●702 taluk are in the army and most of them are at the field of operations.

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia RR1

167 361 estimated at 50,000–70,000 inhabitants. Official Soviet sources, while glossing over the strange origin of Magadan, have described it as an important cultural centre, including several houses of culture, dozens of clubs, cinemas, libraries, and two theatres, one for drama, the other for musical comedy. Former prisoners who passed through Magadan have asserted that the actors of the drama theatre were convicts, but Soviet sources of more recent date declare that they were recruited from Moscow drama schools. By December 1952, Magadan had grown large enough to deserve administrative promotion. A decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet transformed it from a district town into a provincial town.[16]

Magadan is the largest locality which owes its existence to Dalstroy, but there are others further inland. One of them is Atka – a name which, at the first glance, seems to have an exotic Asiatic flavour, but is in reality an expression of the unromantic technological mind of Soviet Russia. It is simply an abbreviation of 'Avtotraktornaya Kolonna' (Motor Tractor Column), a tribute to the pioneer role of motorized transport in a territory without a railway. Even in 1946 Atka had large garages and automobile repair works where work never stopped, 'not even for a single minute'. Moreover, Atka produces electrical equipment for the purposes of Dalstroy.[17]

MILITARY COLONIZATION

167 ●129 241 Another interesting and unusual form of colonization introduced in the Soviet Far East is what might be described as 'military colonization'. Discharged soldiers of the Red Army, artillery and cavalrymen, infantry and members of the signal corps, as well as sailors of the Red Fleet, settled down with their families in the fertile border regions on the Ussuri River. These military colonists formed a kind of peasant militia ready to be called up at any time for the defence of the 'socialist fatherland'. The first 'Red Army' and 'Red Fleet' collective farms were formed in 1931. They soon became the pride of the entire Soviet Far East and the head of the administration of the F.E.T., Krutov, described them as a shining example for the entire Far Eastern peasantry.

Not all demobilized soldiers became agriculturists; some of them remained in the Far East as lumbermen and fishermen and many also worked on the Far Eastern railways, as has already been mentioned. At the beginning of 1938, 5,000 demobilized Red Army men were accepted into the service of railways. They were all provided with houses and small plots, and each of them received a government grant for the purchase of a cow.[18]

167 241 This last point is particularly characteristic of Soviet colonization policy in the Far East. To increase its defence potential in the Far

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu
AW17

133 311 The worn-down margin of the Archaean hinterland is poor country: undulating plains broken by little hills, with much waste and stony ground; soils are mainly lateritic with some loams. The coast for several miles inland is largely fringed with mangrove swamp (valuable as a fuel reserve) or sand-dunes rising to 30 or 50 ft. Between the relatively negative upland and the completely negative coast lie the rather limited areas of true delta. At Bezwada (Vijayarada), 45 miles inland, the Kistna crosses a low gneissic ridge in a 1300-yd-wide gap; this is utilised for the headworks of canals irri- [312] gating about 900,000 ac. The Godavari Delta begins 40 miles inland at [731] Dowleshwaram, where a dam 2¼ miles long feeds canals for another 1 m. ac. (TSA; NSA 800,000). The deltas are of course liable to flood, at times disastrous; and cyclones are also a danger, that of 1864 causing 30,000 deaths and ruining the prosperity of Masulipatam port for ever. In the Kistna delta the land slopes away from the main distributaries at about 18 ins. to the mile, and in that of the Godavari below Dowleshwaram "the country is a vast expanse of ricefields dotted with gardens and villages. During the rains the greater part of this tract becomes one sheet of water, only village sites, canal banks, roads, and field boundaries appearing above it. Later in the year, as the rice grows higher, the dividing boundaries are hidden; and the whole country looks like a single ricefield, the groves around the villages, the road avenues, and the white sails of the boats gliding along the main canals breaking the uniform sea of waving green crop." * There is still a certain amount of local traffic, chiefly paddy, on the canals.

Between the deltas Colair Lake occupies a depression not yet silted up, though constantly diminishing by natural and artificial encroachment; covering about 100 sq mls in the rains, it has at times dried out. Its numerous islands are intensively cultivated, and there is a good deal of fishing.

132 241 312 Rainfall exceeds 35 ins. only in the seaward half of the Godavari Delta, and the tendency to October maxima is unfavourable to the groundnut and early paddy harvests, while cotton sowings must be late. Irrigation, if not essential, is at least highly useful; its importance is reflected in the high densities (up to 1100 plus) of some delta taluks. The following figures (in thousand acres approximately) give a summary view of the agriculture:

241 311

	Total area	*NSA*	*TSA*	*Rice*	*Total foodgrains*	*Ground-nuts*	*Total oilseeds*
E Godavari.	3981	1072	1380	692	1070	4	142
W Godavari	1511	800	1111	697	823	42	115
Kistna .	2270	1119	1225	572	877	185	195
Guntur .	3684	2092	2384	400	1405	365	395

* *Ibid.*, 268–69.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

426 allowed by the Government for waste lands. An economic enquiry is held by the village officers every year and a report is sent to the Government.

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426 owing to their pernicious habit of drinking. People sell land in order to pay off old debts. Loans are given only on mortgage of lands. The chief purchasers are money-lenders.

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702 the front as sepoys. About a hundred belonging to this particular taluk are in the army and most of them are at the field of operations.

agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra wages.

The Erkalas earn their livelihood through a variety of means. The menfolk are hunters. They are also adept in the use of snares and traps. They train hunting dogs and use them effectively for chasing and tracking wounded animals. When they succeed in getting some game, they retain a part of it for their domestic consumption and sell the rest to the villagers. The women beg in the countryside by singing songs and narrating legends. They also do some fortune-telling. Family earnings are supplemented by basket-making, a task at which both men and women work. They also rear pigs.

THE MADIGAS

The Madigas are the lowest caste in Shamirpet. Economically they constitute the poorest section of the community. While the Malas, who are also untouchables but a degree higher than the Madigas, either cultivate their own land or work as farm labourers for daily wages, the Madigas affiliate themselves to the households of the substantial agriculturists in the village. According to the size of the land-holding of the cultivator, one or more Madiga families permanently attach themselves to him. At every stage of agricultural operations during the year the attached Madiga, and his wife and children, work in the fields of their master. They are not paid any daily wages. After the crops are harvested they have to go and 'beg' in the master's fields or threshing grounds. The conventions of the community have prescribed the rates of payment, mostly on the basis of the area of land under cultivation and the yield during the particular harvest. Thus for a certain area a basic minimum must be given; but if on account of good crops the yield has been high it is expected that the affiliated Madiga family would be given a proportionately larger share. In former times there used to be considerable compulsion, and, being in no position to protest, the Madigas had to slave for their masters, who could be quite ruthless. If the master was kind and considerate, they regarded it as their good luck. On the whole it was advisable for them to tolerate even a bad master, for any protests or refusal to do the allotted work on their part would eventually have meant their being forced to leave the village. Now, of course, conditions have changed, and Madigas do not any longer put up with indig-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

RITUAL STRUCTURE

Moharram. On the tenth day in the month of Moharram, Imam Hussain, the grandson of Mohammed, was put to death in the plains of Karbala after being denied food and water for three days. Moharram is observed in honour of this martyr and his associates. On the Moharram day symbols of Imam Hussain and his family, known as *alums*, are taken out by the Muslims in a procession to a nearby river or tank. All along the route they beat their breasts and cry aloud 'O, son of Ali' or 'Hussain, Hussain' and wail over the martyr's death. *Tajia* or large paper models of his tomb are also taken out and immersed in water. In all Muslim households a sweet drink either of water and sugar, or of milk and sugar, is prepared and distributed among friends and relations. The giving of alms and charity on this day is believed to contribute greatly towards ensuring one's future.

Meelad Sharif. Unlike Moharram, which calls for mourning, Meelad Sharif is an occasion for rejoicing, as the Prophet Mohammed was born on the twelfth day of the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal. On the eleventh and twelfth days of this month people observe a fast. Muslim priests visit their homes, and passages from the Koran are read. Flowers and sweets are distributed in the name of Mohammed. The celebrations are continued for a month; although the festivities are at their peak on the two days mentioned above.

Giarwin Sharif. This is an important festival for the Sunni sect of the Muslims. It is observed in honour of Abdul Kader Geelani who belonged to Mohammed's generation, and was regarded as a very pious and holy figure. On the eleventh day of the month of Rabi-us-sani, the Muslims of Shamirpet fly the flag of Abdul Kader on their houses, and offer sweets, flowers and prayers in the name of their hero.

Shabe Miraj. On the twenty-sixth day of Rajjub, accompanied by an angel, Mohammed is believed to have visited the seven heavens and hell. Later it is said that he had an audience with Allah himself. To celebrate this event, this day is expected to be spent in meditation and prayer. If possible people keep awake for the whole night saying prayers and asking for Allah's blessings.

Shabe Barat. On the night of the fourteenth day of Shaban, Muslims offer sweets and bread in the name of their deceased kin. They visit their graves and offer flowers and prayers. It is believed

769 that on this day the spirits of the dead come out to see their relations and to receive presents from them. Later all Muslims—men and women (if they are not in their menstrual period)—say their prayers and ask for God's blessing for their long life. Also they read the Koran. This night is important in that it is now that Allah determines the course of the lives of his followers for the coming year.

776 *Ramzan.* Ramzan is the most important month in the religious year of the Muslims. As far as possible, people try to fast for the whole month. They can have food before dawn and after dusk, but in between even a drop of water is not permitted. During these days one should devote as much time as possible to meditation and prayer. The twenty-sixth day of the month is specially important because it was on this day that 'Mohammed received the Koran from Allah'. People wear new clothes on this day, read the Koran and say their prayers. There is considerable enthusiasm in evidence as all Muslims—men, women and children—say their prayers and seek God's blessings. The month-long fasting ends on the day they see the new moon. The next day is spent in festivity and is known as 'Id-ul-fitr'. People breakfast early and wear their best—possibly new—clothes. The men go to the mosque for their Id prayers. After the prayers they go round to their friends' houses meeting and greeting them. On this day and on the two days following a sweet preparation consisting of vermicelli, milk and dates is made, and portions of it are sent to friends and relations. It is desirable that those who can afford it should distribute 2½ seers of grain per head to the poor and the needy.

[735]

Id-uz-zuha. This festival is celebrated on the tenth day of the month of Zilhij. People get up early in the morning and without breakfast go to the mosque for their prayers. When they return home they sacrifice goats in the name of God. The general rule is that one goat is sacrificed in the name of each member of the family; but if this is not possible financially, a goat each may be sacrificed for each adult member of the household. Of course, even this is too much for many of the poorer Muslims, who sacrifice just one goat on behalf of the whole family. The meat of the sacrificed animals is cooked and people have their breakfast. Then they go round to meet and greet their friends. Delicacies and meat dishes are prepared in fairly large quantities and distributed among friends and relations.

653 cost of Rs. 5,000 were made, but nothing was practically done nor even a supervisor was appointed to look after the local public works.

These defects were not the monopoly of the 1st grade Panchayats alone. If check measurements were not made, estimates were not actually executed, plans that were put forward were allowed to lag, slackness continued, funds went on accumulating, while condition of roads gradually deteriorated due to the gross negligence even in major Panchayats in the 1st grade, the position in 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats could not have been better.

Often the plans of public works in the 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats made no progress far from the resolutions of the Panchayat Board. For instance Ramchandrapuram and Mandapeta, Panchayats in the 2nd grade, were repairing their public roads once in 5 years or [651] whenever they needed repairs. Schemes for construction of drainage and gutters were still under consideration and a drainage tax was introduced at the rate of 25 per cent of the house tax, but it was never utilised. Ramchandrapuram Panchayat had jurisdiction of over 100 roads which were to be maintained and repaired, but they were left in a helpless and unsatisfactory condition. The amount that was allotted for repairs of roads was very inadequate. Panchayats in other districts had nothing better to report. The same indifferernce, inadequate allottment of funds, irregular enforcement of even these assignments, and unsatisfactory conditions unchecked by Local Government Officials were the usual themes. In spite of their good financial position, Panchayats of the calibre of Tanuku and Tadepalligudam in West Godaveri, Vuyyuru and Jaggayapeta in Kistna, Salur and Yelamanchili in Vizagapatam displayed deplorable indifference to this obligation. Some better examples of constructive Panchayats as Kampli and Rayadrug in Bellary, where better attention was being paid to communication were seen, but such instances were very few.

Even among the 3rd grade Panchayats, there were some instances where the picture was not totally bleak. Razole in East Godavari, Kovvur, Ganapavaram, Peatapadu, Undi, Akividu, Achanta and Attili in West Godavari, Gudur and Pedana in Kistna, Madugula and Chodavaram in Vizagapatam, Penu Konda and Gooty in Anantpur, were some of the Panchayats amongst those visited that showed some real signs of interest towards this important obligation. [735] In these places, in addition to regular attention to roads, alms houses for beggars as in Razole were proposed; registers of length of roads and needs for periodic repairs were maintained and attended to; drains, culverts and platforms were constructed, the towns

THE SETTING

Children of all communities now go to school, and the old prejudice against admitting untouchable students is dying out. In recent years some Mala and Madiga boys joined the school, but most of them attended only in name, playing truant so consistently that they derived little benefit and eventually stopped going altogether. The school is ill-equipped, having some miserable-looking furniture, a few charts and maps and the inevitable blackboard. The master still wields his stick, and among other reasons this explains perhaps the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the lower-class children and their parents for the school.

The dispensary is housed in a small room and its adjoining verandah. The rest of the building is used as living-quarters by the Medical Officer. This small dispensary was started by one of the Jagirdars, and has had a succession of Medical Officers who had no qualifications for the job. The present incumbent too is not properly qualified, for he is not even a medical licenciate. He is paid Rs. 45 per month and is supplied with a small quantity of drugs by the Medical Department of the Hyderabad Government. As a result of contact with the cities, the villagers have developed a great liking for injections, expecting them to work like magic and provide quick and certain cure for all ailments. The Medical Officer, although he is not authorized to give injections, does so in the course of his limited private practice. People go to the dispensary only for the treatment of common ailments, such as scabies, cough and malaria. For want of proper equipment and a qualified medical practitioner, the dispensary at Shamirpet has very few patients. In addition to the allopathic dispensary there are several elderly people in the village who administer herbal preparations according to Indian indigenous systems of medicine. Magic and divination are also employed to a considerable extent by all sections of the people. 'Where herbs and medicines do not work, proper chants and spells do not fail us', the people often say. Indeed, for certain categories of disease and difficulties recourse to divination is often regarded as the only proper remedy. It must be added that increased contact with the cities and the influence of education have greatly enhanced the value of modern medicine in the eyes of the people. There is now practically no prejudice against vaccination, although some people are still afraid of plague and cholera inoculations because they cause pain and fever. A minority of the villagers take advantage of the qualified doctors

367 In the Godavari Districts again, some of the minor Panchayats appeared to be paying heed to this as in Yeditha and Kapileswarapuram but none of the minor Panchayats in other districts showed any interest.

207 **Radio:** This had become more or less a universal feature in most of the Panchayats both major and minor and provided recreation to the listening public.

485 **Provision of Bus Stands and Cart Stands:** This was a practice that was gradually growing but was not yet prevalent on a wide scale. Some of the major Panchayats had this facility within their areas as Razole in East Godavari, Tadepalligudam, Kovvur, Undi, Velpur, Akividu and Peatapadu in West Godavari, Vuyyuru in Kistna, Parvatipuram, Bobbili, Salur and Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Dharmavaram and Gooty in Anantpur, and Nandikotkur, Dhone and Pattikonda in Kurnool.

744 **Help in Case of Epidemics:** This obligation was met with varying degrees of success in the several Panchayats. The Panchayats in the 1st grade were giving every possible attention, while the Panchayats in the 2nd and 3rd grades were not always able to do much though they too appeared to be very enthusiastic. For instance, the 2nd grade Panchayats like Vuyyuru and Jaggayapeta in Kistna and 3rd grade Panchayats like Razole in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Bobbili, Salur and Parvatipuram in Vizagapatam, Markapur, Maddikera, Kadiri and Nandikotkur in Kurnool, Yeditha, Gooty and Penu Konda in Anantpur and Kosgi, Harpanhalli, Kudligi, etc. in Bellary were assisting the villagers in times of infection, by providing additional sanitary help and vaccinators.

● 743 **Dispensaries and Medical Help:** A few Panchayats began to contemplate of late to undertake this obligation. Panchayats like Amalapuram in East Godavari spent nearly Rs. 2,000 per year on this [232] item. Bhimavaram in West Godavari had constructed a veterinary hospital at a cost of Rs. 4,000 and also gave an annual donation of Rs. 2,500 to it. Tanuku and Ramchandrapuram Panchayats in East Godavari intended opening medical centres. They were found to be making the necessary preparations. Tadepalligudam, another 3rd Grade Panchayat in West Godavari was able to gather about Rs. 2,000 with a view to start a veterinary dispensary of its own. Mukkamala, a minor Panchayat in East Godavari was the first Panchayat in the Presidency to have a medical dispensary of its own since the last twenty years. In Vuyyuru and Bobbili, the

26: Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1954 AWI India Telugu AW17

Rajhas had donated maternity wards in the hospitals situated in the Panchayat areas. 743

Donations: Some Panchayats patronised education by contributing funds; for instance, Bhimavaram in West Godavari planned to give Rs. 5,000 annually to the local college. Salur Panchayat in Kurnool was giving Rs. 500 to a school for blind. 658

Sundry Expenses: Besides these, there were separate funds set apart in every Panchayat for public amenities, law-charges, election expenses, office contingencies, dearness allowance, travelling allowance and salaries of the establishment, etc. 652

Meetings of Panchayats: According to the Madras Local Boards Act, every Panchayat should meet at least once a month to transact business and if for three months no meeting was held, the Panchayat would cease to exist or if a member remained continuously absent for three months, he was to be invalidated, though he could seek re-election 623

Name of the Village	Total No. of Meetings	Ordinary	Extra-ordinary	Percentage of Attendance	Adjourned for want of quorm
Amalapuram	17	17	...	...	...
Tuni	18	13	5	...	...
Bhimavaram	25	12	13	...	6
Narsapur	19	19	...	42	5
Ramchandrapuram	24	24	...	50	...
Jaggayapeta	12	12	...	50	...
Kadiri	16	10	6	50	...
Dharmavaram	17	17	...	42	7
Nuzvid	12	12	...	50	...
Achanta	12	12	...	poor	...
Pedana	12	12	...	50	...
Parvatipuram	13	13	...	52	...
Pamaru	12	12	...	34	...
Nandikotkur	12	12	...	34	...
Pattikonda	12	12	...	50	...
Maddikera	12	12	...	20	6
Vuyyuru	12	12	...	80	...
Akividu	12	10	2	50	2
Bukkapatnam	15	15	...	50	...
Penu Konda	16	16	...	66	...

The meetings of the Panchayat are important from the view point of their deliberations, for these formulate the work of Panchayats.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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361 489 station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

465 [804] *Economic condition.*—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

435 Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures	for a rupee
Ragi	...	...	...	10	" "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10	" "
Cholam	...	...	...	9	" "
Tamarind		...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*	
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6	"
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8	"

426 The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

[452] There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

435 Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

796 *Expenditure on religious festivals.*—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

164 [759] [743] *Sanitary condition.*—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles, and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

562 Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

364 Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

312 For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1½ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzalu or cholam about 1¼ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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426 Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

435 Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

426 Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

796 *Festivals.*—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gownipalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, [782] wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. [782] The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease 759 people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest [743] hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

352 All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

582 No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.

[582] All Muhammadans observe purdah.

312 Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

871 *Education.*—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

The Police Action undertaken by the Indian Union in 1948 changed the fortune and status of the State of Hyderabad. The most significant outcome was that political power changed hands —from an extremist communal party to the people of the State. It had a profound effect on the rural areas. However, sufficient time must elapse before we can evaluate its total influence on the life of the community. But it has set in motion certain trends which are not without interest to the student of social change in peasant communities.

The first definite change is that Muslims who occupied a privileged position during the former régime now no longer do so. On account of some of their un-neighbourly acts of terrorism during the last phase of extremist Muslim rule in the State some of them had become very unpopular. Fearing retaliation by the Hindus they ran away from the village temporarily. Now they have all returned. For some time they were jeered at and ridiculed, but at the time of our study cordiality had returned to the Hindu and Muslim sections of the population.

The second noticeable change is that under the administrative reforms initiated by the new administration forced labour and forced extraction of hospitality by government officials have been prohibited. In practice they still continue on a restricted scale. Government's decision to take determined steps against bribery and corruption has been announced; but firm action still remains to be taken in this direction.

Thirdly, the abolition of feudal estates has been a big step in the direction of land reform. With the end of the Jagirdari system Shamirpet has once again come under normal district administration. Further reforms ensuring a more equitable distribution of land, fixing a maximum limit on land holding and ending the evils of absentee landlordism are under contemplation. When these plans materialize substantial changes can be expected.

Fourthly, the government has intensified its welfare and nation-building activities. The village is to have a better school in the near future. The Public Health Department is already more active. The Agriculture and Veterinary departments are making a better planned and organized effort towards the introduction

of more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

in some cases for minor Panchayats too as the provision of slaughter houses was an obligatory duty of the Panchayat. 231 651

Government desired slaughter houses to be departmentally managed and their collection of fees to be done by the Panchayat staff. In practice, however, the right of collection was auctioned to the highest bidder who paid the amount in one lump sum or by instalments to the Panchayats. He would collect the fees at the rates fixed by the Panchayat through his own agents. In some places there were two or three slaughter houses in the same Panchayat area, separately for pigs, sheep and goats, cows, bullocks and buffaloes, but the supervision of the Panchayats over the slaughter houses was very often most unsatisfactory. Neither [744] the sanitary inspector of the Panchayat nor the veterinary surgeon visited the mutton houses to inspect the type of mutton that was offered for sale, to examine whether it was fit for consumption and to regulate the sanitary conditions in those places. The supervisory staff of Panchayats and the Department of Public Health were too complacent to better the existing state of affairs.

Of the 13 villages for which information was available almost all had uniform rates fixed for goats and sheep which varied between two and four annas each. Slaughter of cows, bullocks and buffaloes and pigs was less common, more than half the number of villages having no rates for these. Rates for cows and bullocks varied between Re. 1 and Rs. 2½ whereas that for the pigs about 5 annas in most cases. Only Guntakal had a uniform rate of one rupee for all the three.

Again the fixation of the slaughter house fees was a matter left to the individual discretion of each Panchayat. The first grade Panchayats like Tuni, Guntakal and Narsapur in East Godavari, Anantpur and West Godavari Districts respectively had fixed up the rates, but, left them to be collected by the auction bidders, instead of collecting through their employees. The practice of letting the right of collecting slaughter house fees to the highest bidder in an auction, was prevalent even among the 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats, except in places where Departmental collection and uniform rates existed as in Ramchandrapuram and Mandapeta in East Godavari and Tanuku in West Godavari. In Kistna and Vizagapatam Districts, auctioning of the right of collection of slaughter house fees was more in practice than their Departmental management, but the rates were more or less uniform. Even amongst

651 of income. Thus both in the Circars and the Ceded Districts this came to be a usual source of Panchayat finances. (Column 23.)

Lapsed Deposits : Lapsed deposits constituted another source on the income side, but it did not come under the regular tax source. (Column 47).

Interest on Postal Savings, Securities, etc : It was another minor source of income for money deposited. (Column 40.)

651 744 **Income from Fines under Food Adulteration Act :** It was a regular source of income for most of the major Panchayats, wherever samples of oils, ghee, milk, food stuffs, meat and fruits were taken by the Sanitary Inspector, and were sent for examination to Madras, and if these samples were found to have been adulterated, then the sellers were fined and these fines constituted a source of income to the Panchayat.

Irrespective of their grade, Panchayats used to send such samples to Madras Food Institute for examination and paid from Rs. 240/- to Rs. 500/- per year for examination and report. The income from fines varied from Panchayat to Panchayat. (Column 8.)

Again this was not at all a compulsory source of income avilable in all the Panchayats, even if they were major ones. There were several instances, where the Panchayats were not able to enforce this, as for example, Ganapavaram in West Godavari District, Pamaru, Pedana, and Kantaram Panchayats in Kistna District, and there were such examples in other districts too.

There were some instances, where the enforcement of Food Adulteration Act did not result in any advantage to the Panchayat, as the charges paid for examining the adulterated foodstuffs were not commensurate with the income from fines collected under the Act. For inatance, Penu Konda Panchayat in Anantpur had introduced the Food Adulteration Act, but while the expenditure for getting the samples examined came to Rs.240/-, the income from fines came to Rs. 9. In Gooty Panchayat, where the Food Adulteration Act was introduced, the income from fines was Rs. 400/- while the examination fees for the samples came to Rs. 240/-. Kurnool was backward in this respect, as Panchayats like Dhone, Gudur, Nandikotkur, Pattikonda and Maddikera did not enforce the Food Adulteration Act due to the want of sanitary inspectors. In Bellary, Rayadrug Panchayat alone had enforced Food Adulteration Act, while other Panchayats could not do so, as they were not as yet in a position to appoint sanitary inspectors for administering the Act.

As regards the minor Panchayats, they were not in a position to undertake this work at all. If the Food Adulteration Act was enforced in all the major Panchayats, it would no doubt prove to be a good source of income to the Panchayats. 651 744

Fines on Encroachments: Most of the Panchayat areas were not surveyed and as such they had only the right of fining the encroachments and not of removing them altogether. However, this system of penalysing them yielded a good source of income to the Panchayats, where-ever it existed. (Column 29.) 651 423

Among the major Panchayats, some of the 1st grade Panchayats like Tuni, Bhimavaram, Guntakal were punishing encroachments. Out of the 1052 encroachments booked in Tuni, about 213 were District Board encroachments. Amalapuram had not the courage to take up the problem of encroachments though there were many. In the West Godavari, Bhimavaram was booking offences of encroachments and the scale of fines was as follows :—

Licence Fees on Encroachments in Bhimavaram Panchayat

Type of Encroachment	Rate	Area	Period
	Rs. as. p.	Per sq.	Per
1. Sunshades.	0-2-0	yard.	half-year
2. Balcony.	0-8-0	do.	do.
3. Verandah or part of house.	1-0-0	do.	do.
4. All kinds of pendals.	0-0-6	do.	day.
5. Box shops and the like.	0-0-6	do.	day

For the grounds to be let temporarily for the purposes which came under the Public Resort Act, 1888, and under Section 160 (i), (ii) (iii) of the Madras Local Boards Act as amended for protection of public roads vested in Bhimavaram Panchayat Board, the rates were as below :—

Area	Rate
	Rs. as. p.
Upto an extent of 3000 sq. ft.	0-0-6 per sq. yard per day
For every 1000 sq. ft. or part thereof over 3000 sq. ft.	0-0-3 do.

367 In the Godavari Districts again, some of the minor Panchayats appeared to be paying heed to this as in Yeditha and Kapileswarapuram but none of the minor Panchayats in other districts showed any interest.

207 **Radio**: This had become more or less a universal feature in most of the Panchayats both major and minor and provided recreation to the listening public.

485 **Provision of Bus Stands and Cart Stands**: This was a practice that was gradually growing but was not yet prevalent on a wide scale. Some of the major Panchayats had this facility within their areas as Razole in East Godavari, Tadepalligudam, Kovvur, Undi, Velpur, Akividu and Peatapadu in West Godavari, Vuyyuru in Kistna, Parvatipuram, Bobbili, Salur and Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Dharmavaram and Gooty in Anantpur, and Nandikotkur, Dhone and Pattikonda in Kurnool.

744 **Help in Case of Epidemics**: This obligation was met with varying degrees of success in the several Panchayats. The Panchayats in the 1st grade were giving every possible attention, while the Panchayats in the 2nd and 3rd grades were not always able to do much though they too appeared to be very enthusiastic. For instance, the 2nd grade Panchayats like Vuyyuru and Jaggayapeta in Kistna and 3rd grade Panchayats like Razole in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Bobbili, Salur and Parvatipuram in Vizagapatam, Markapur, Maddikera, Kadiri and Nandikotkur in Kurnool, Yeditha, Gooty and Penu Konda in Anantpur and Kosgi, Harpanhalli, Kudligi, etc. in Bellary were assisting the villagers in times of infection, by providing additional sanitary help and vaccinators.

743 **Dispensaries and Medical Help**: A few Panchayats began to contemplate of late to undertake this obligation. Panchayats like Amalapuram in East Godavari spent nearly Rs. 2,000 per year on this [232] item. Bhimavaram in West Godavari had constructed a veterinary hospital at a cost of Rs. 4,000 and also gave an annual donation of Rs. 2,500 to it. Tanuku and Ramchandrapuram Panchayats in East Godavari intended opening medical centres. They were found to be making the necessary preparations. Tadepalligudam, another 3rd Grade Panchayat in West Godavari was able to gather about Rs. 2,000 with a view to start a veterinary dispensary of its own. Mukkamala, a minor Panchayat in East Godavari was the first Panchayat in the Presidency to have a medical dispensary of its own since the last twenty years. In Vuyyuru and Bobbili, the

area got less, in accordance with the proportion of land revenue collected in each place. The allocation of this cess was not based on needs or population of the locality. Even an increase of the grant of the land revenue or share of local fund cess on the existing basis would only accentuate the prevalent disparities in the incomes of the Panchayats. Hence a readjustment of the distribution of local fund cess according to the needs and population of the Panchayats appears to be a long-felt need. 651

House tax was another fruitful source of income and was not also properly tapped. Most of the minor Panchayats did not impose it because its imposition was not obligatory. The major Panchayats favoured either the lowest rates possible or the lowest amounts in certain cases by undervaluing a few of the houses of the privileged and by granting exemptions to some, under one pretext or the other. In many Panchayats, house values and rates continued to be the same without revision for years. The method of assessment was also not scientific. Without changing the basis of assessment of house tax from capital to rental valuation, without revision of house values at frequent intervals by impartial observers or assessors and compulsory imposition at the maximum rates and without rigorous efforts of collection, the situation cannot be expected to improve much.

Similarly in the matter of scavenging fees collected. There was no uniformity either in the rates or the base or the period for which they were collected in any Panchayat. Some times the rates were fixed according to the number of the family members; sometimes according to the number of seats, sometimes according to the status of the family holder, and sometimes the rates were different for Institutions and private families. In some places, they were collected together with house tax.

Slaughter house rates too varied for every animal slaughtered from one Panchayat to another. Though departmental management was preferred, auctioning of the right of collecting the fees continued in several Panchayats. There were also instances where slaughter fees were collected without slaughter houses existing there. Meat, offered for sale, was not regularly checked by the executive officer or Sanitary Inspector or the Veterinary Doctor. [744]

Panchayat finance had not only suffered from lack of uniformity in the rates of public market fees and those from ferry boats but had also to loose a major share of the income from these sources as it was being taken by the District Boards without any corresponding benefit to the Panchayats in return.

661 683 Even the major Panchayats with overseers and mistries, either left the budgeted plans unfinished, neglecting the roads on the plea that plans were not approved by the District Board or executed them in a haphazard piecemeal way by reducing all the estimates to an amount below Rs. 250/- which they could undertake. Some Panchayat budgets showed expenditure on roads, which were never laid but, when caught, sought to plead that they were spoiled by the time the inspecting authority could visit them. There were frauds in preparing the estimates, in the execution of contracts and in the accounts of the amounts shown as paid in the Panchayat budgets. These shady deals go unpunished for want of positive proof. Minor Panchayats portrayed better enthusiasm in the execution of their public works by the use of communal labour. However, to avoid much wastage of public money by the Panchayats more competent, honest and sincere supervising staff to look to their estimates and execution is essential. Corruption, delay and dilatory tactics should seriously be dealt with. Starting of Government Central Depots for storing and selling raw materials like lime, stone, tar, keel and other materials required for public works under Local Boards would mitigate to some extent the present evil of embezzlements of public funds. A close laison between the District Board and the Public Works Department to tighten up the supervision may also improve the position.

312 Though there is no acute water scarcity in the Circars as in the Ceded Districts there is need for providing protected water supply in Panchayats where there are no fresh water wells or to dig more wells where they are inadequate. While the Panchayats have not got resources to undertake this task, the District Boards and the State Government should take more interest.

744 364 Only some major Panchayats appointed sanitary inspectors, vaccinators, mid-wives and compounders to look after public health, scavengers and thotties to clean the roads, drains, gutters and latrines private and public. The sanitary inspectors looked to the enforcement of the Food Adulteration Act, supervision of the slaughter houses, prevention of infectious diseases, maintenance of the public health, sweeping of the roads, etc. with the assistance of the sanitary staff. But many Panchayats were not in a position to undertake most of these functions due to the lack of funds or difficulties in recruiting scavengers and thotties as in the case of Vizagapatam due to the low salaries paid.

231 Slaughter houses were found mostly in the minor and major Panchayats where even the right of collecting the receipts was

787 difficulties, and for the fulfilment of comparatively simple wishes, recourse is taken to other methods. Fasting on a certain day in honour of a particular god or goddess for the satisfaction of a specific desire (or for overcoming a difficulty) is very common; and women take recourse to it quite often. Thus when T. was involved in a law suit, both he and his wife used to fast on Monday, and pleaded with their family god to get the court decision in their favour. Promising a food offering, sacrifice, or fasting for a specified period on a certain day, in return for the fulfilment of a wish is also resorted to. E. R.'s daughter was seriously ill and there was no hope of her life. E. R. went to the shrine of the goddess to whom her family was attached and said, 'Mother, we have always worshipped you. My daughter is on the point of death. I cannot bear to let her go before me. Save her and I will sacrifice two goats in your honour.' The girl recovered and E. R. did sacrifice the promised goats. S., a Komti woman, was worried because her daughter's husband was 'going astray'. She promised her family god: 'If you join what is breaking I shall fast on Mondays for three months and make offerings to you on all days of the fast.' The husband after a while, again started taking an interest in her daughter, and true to her word the mother kept her vow. When the wishes are not fulfilled people curse their luck, blame their own past actions, and reconcile themselves to the unfavourable attitude of the gods. 'All that we can do is to pray and worship. It is for the gods to hear or not to hear us. What else can we do? How can we have a quarrel with them?' would typify the average man's attitude in all cases where the powers of the supernatural world do not yield to their prayers and offerings.

751 176 The Muslims too have faith in ghosts and evil spirits. Their methods of dealing with them are similar to those of the Hindus. In addition they read passages from the Koran and invoke the assistance of their sages and seers. For overcoming minor ailments and difficulties they eagerly seek amulets from holy persons.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

178 advantages perceived, responsibilities recognized.'[1] Extending this approach to technical and organizational changes in peasant communities, we can attribute some changes in the life-ways of the people to State compulsion and legal prescription. In some spheres, particularly in material culture and technology, utility, convenience, availability and price determine to a great extent 178 the adoption of new elements and traits. The prestige factor too is 554 significant, for any externally induced or internally inspired change in the system of status evaluation brings in its wake significant modifications in the organization and life-ways of society. Innovation, variety and change for its own sake can also account for substantial variation from established norms in social behaviour at a given point of time. In a small rural community such as Shamirpet, which is situated near a big and modern city and is in everyday contact with it, the prevailing climate of opinion in social, economic and political matters in the city is bound to influence its general outlook and ways, for apart from their practical value city-ways are gradually coming to be regarded as more 'respectable' and 'progressive'.

178 So far State compulsion has been instrumental in bringing about little social and cultural change in the village community. Com- [151] pulsory vaccination as well as inoculation at the time of an epidemic appear to be the only significant measures enforced by the State which have been accepted in the everyday life of the com- [783] munity. Although untouchability has been abolished by law, in actual practice it only gives to the hitherto untouchables an equal share in public utilities, for considerations of pollution bar all effective interaction between the high and the low castes especially in the social spheres of inter-dining and inter-marriage. Symbolic as it is, this gesture of the State has nevertheless brought about a considerable modification in the inter-group attitudes between the clean and untouchable castes.

178 The factors of utility, convenience and availability have played 757 a more important role in bringing several new elements into the life of the community. Although indigenous herbs and magico-religious practices are still continued in the treatment of diseases the efficacy and utility of allopathic drugs and injections have greatly changed the attitude of the people towards modern medicine. I have pointed out earlier that they eagerly seek these

[1] Raymond Firth, *Elements of Social Organization* (London, 1951), p. 85.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

RITUAL STRUCTURE

5. RELIGION IN DISEASE AND DIFFICULTY

In the two preceding sections an attempt has been made to present the ritual cycle of the community covering firstly the festivals and ceremonies within a normal calendar year, and secondly, the rites and observances concerning the major crises of life. These cycles are rigidly observed, as their observance constitutes the *dharma* or the appropriate way of life, and leads to the prosperity and well-being of the family as well as to a desirable future for the individual after death. With the exception of these festivals, under normal conditions of life, there is very little spiritual or devotional activity in the community. But persistent difficulties, uncommon diseases, and frequent deaths turn the people's thoughts to supernatural factors; events are interpreted in terms of supernatural interferences, and are sought to be remedied by magico-religious procedures.

Most of the common diseases are interpreted as a 'fault in the physical system', and are treated with herbal medicines or modern drugs obtained from the dispensary. Common colds, headaches, fever, stomach-ache, scabies, gonorrhoea and syphilis are regarded as natural diseases, and an effort is made to cure them with medicines. But persistent headaches, intermittent fevers, continued stomach disorders, rickets and other wasting diseases among children, menstrual troubles, repeated abortions, etc., are attributed to supernatural forces. In all such cases medicinal cures as well as propitiation of the 'unseen powers' are attempted simultaneously. Similarly, such calamities as the failure of crops, total blindness, repeated failures in undertakings, deaths of children in quick succession and too many deaths in the family within a short time are taken to indicate 'misfortune' and 'the handiwork of malevolent supernatural forces'. Smallpox, cholera and plague are always attributed to the wrath of various goddesses. For these diseases worship is regarded as the only remedy; and no medicines are administered to the patients.

What are the major factors that cause these difficulties, distresses and deaths? In the village community they are attributed to one or more of the following:

(i) The wrath of ancestor-spirits.
(ii) Unfavourable stars.
(iii) Ghosts and spirits.
(iv) The wrath of gods.
(v) Black magic and witchcraft.

RITUAL STRUCTURE

769 If ancestor-spirits are ignored and 'not given their due' they
753 warn the family by causing some minor—but noticeable—trouble. It is for the members of the family to take this 'timely warning' and remove the cause of the ancestors' anger. Failure in this often leads to serious consequences and irreparable losses. Ill-luck and misfortunes persist all along the way of a person whose 'stars are unfavourable'. Hysteria, fits and 'possession by spirits' are the result of hostility of spirits and ghosts. The village goddesses are known for their violent temperament and retaliate quickly and severely, even for minor offences against them. The all-India gods are comparatively pacific; and punish people only for 'gross disrespect' shown towards them. Enmity may lead to the use of black magic or witchcraft, which may be the root cause of the trouble in many cases of persistent disease and ill-luck.

755 Most of the cases need the diagnosis of a specialist. Sometimes the ancestor-spirits convey their anger in dreams to some member of the family. Often the ghost possessing an individual reveals its identity through its victim. But in other cases a proper diagnosis is necessary. Why is the ancestor-spirit angry? What should be done to pacify it? How could the evil influence of unlucky stars be averted? Only the Brahmin or a local seer can answer these questions. For undoing the evil influence of spirits and ghosts the services of a competent specialist must be sought. Similarly, the hostile magician or witch must be matched by a more powerful magician.

[767] The ancestor-spirits are not very difficult to please. When the cause of their anger is known, an apology followed by worship is often enough to appease them. Fasting, repentance and food offerings are generally enough to please the gods. Goddesses are more difficult, and require the sacrifice of a fowl or goat. Unfavourable stars require fasting, worship and certain ceremonies following the recommendations of the Brahmin. The giving of alms to the Brahmin and the poor generally follows these ceremonies. Several different techniques can be employed to keep ghosts and spirits in check, and for counteracting black magic and witchcraft. As far as possible, 'all the reasonable demands of a ghost should be fulfilled', but if it still persists in its mischief 'it should be tied down' and 'kept in captivity'. Against sorcery and witchcraft drastic steps are required. For action under both these categories, i.e. against ghosts, as well as against black magic and witchcraft, three

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

bath or wash is necessary to remove the impurity caused by the act. Non-observance of these rules will have a polluting effect; and according to the nature and degree of pollution purificatory rites will have to be undertaken.

Belief in ghosts and spirits is universal. They are feared and propitiated. Strange mystical power pervading certain objects is recognized, and fetishes and amulets are eagerly sought. Witchcraft is often suspected, and three or four people in the community are believed to possess magical powers.

Clearly, Hinduism as it is practised in the village is not the Hinduism of the classical philosophical systems of India, for it possesses neither the metaphysical heights nor the abstract content of the latter. It is a religion of fasts, feasts and festivals, in which prescribed rituals cover all the major crises of life. Worship and propitiation of gods and spirits follow the annual round of festivals and the ritual of the human life-cycle. Disease and difficulty may also necessitate invoking assistance from these sources.

In early childhood religious instruction through legendary tales and anecdotes exercises its influence on the developing mind of the child in whose thoughts and world of fancy these ideas linger on. Youth brings in its wake a more worldly and materialistic outlook towards life and its pleasures. Thoughts are turned to religion when the evening of life approaches, partly to postpone the final moment of departure as long as it could be, and partly to ensure the future lying beyond the point of death. Analysis of life-histories reveals that spiritualism cannot be said to be the keynote in the life of the community; far from it the religion appears to be a practical one. It strengthens and fortifies the individual and the group in situations where technical competence and practical intelligence are of no avail, and at the same time acts as a bond of cohesion for maintaining the structural unity of the society.

2. BELIEF: GODS AND DEITIES

The Muslims believe in one God, and follow the way of life laid down for them by their Prophet. They all belong to the Sunni division, and as such differ from the Shias and other splinter divisions of Islam in respect of the interpretation of their holy book as well as in several details of belief, ritual and ceremonial. Almost all the Muslims of Shamirpet have been converted to Islam from Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations.

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techniques are employed: *mantram* (chants and spells), *yantram* (use of secret formulae and designs) and *chetla kriya* (counter black magic). Amateur practitioners succeed in some cases, but all difficult cases require the intervention of an established specialist. The techniques of these specialists are their closely guarded secrets.

In Shamirpet eleven people claim some knowledge of these techniques; although only three were recognized as having 'real and effective powers'. One person who claimed to be an expert in *chetla kriya*—powerful enough to use black magic as well as to counteract it—died, when this research was in progress.

Fourteen women had some suspicion of witchcraft against them, only two being regarded as established witches. A census of ghosts was difficult, but we listed more than forty of them. Four ghosts were particularly feared. The hillock to the north-west of the village was believed to be the abode of innumerable ghosts, but now it is inhabited by the ghost of a Reddi woman who died in pregnancy. She is known to have attacked several women and children. A Madiga woman who committed suicide by jumping in the well of their settlement also became a ghost. At first she went out of the village and troubled her daughter, but on being 'driven away' from there she is believed to have come back to Shamirpet. The dread of the village, however, is the ghost of a Reddi agriculturist who dwells in the eastern side of the village. Even tough young people are afraid to go 'to his place' at mid-day, dusk or late at night. A young Muslim who died without sex experience is alleged to have interfered with many young women. No effective checks have been improvised so far to keep these ghosts under control. Many others 'have been tamed'. They were the ghosts of persons from the following categories:

(*a*) Persons too much attached to sex, wealth and children.
(*b*) Persons dying without satisfying their sexual cravings.
(*c*) Pregnant women.
(*d*) Persons meeting an accidental death, by falling from a tree, drowning or by lightning.
(*e*) Persons committing suicide.
(*f*) Persons dying with an intense hatred for someone.
(*g*) Persons who have been murdered.

Serious difficulties created by supernatural agencies call for some of the measures enumerated above. For getting over minor

THE SETTING

871 Children of all communities now go to school, and the old prejudice against admitting untouchable students is dying out. In recent years some Mala and Madiga boys joined the school, but most of them attended only in name, playing truant so consistently that they derived little benefit and eventually stopped going altogether. The school is ill-equipped, having some miserable-looking furniture, a few charts and maps and the inevitable blackboard. The master still wields his stick, and among other reasons this explains perhaps the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the lower-class children and their parents for the school.

743 The dispensary is housed in a small room and its adjoining
757 verandah. The rest of the building is used as living-quarters by the Medical Officer. This small dispensary was started by one of the Jagirdars, and has had a succession of Medical Officers who had no qualifications for the job. The present incumbent too is not properly qualified, for he is not even a medical licenciate. He is paid Rs. 45 per month and is supplied with a small quantity of drugs by the Medical Department of the Hyderabad Government.

[177] As a result of contact with the cities, the villagers have developed a great liking for injections, expecting them to work like magic and provide quick and certain cure for all ailments. The Medical Officer, although he is not authorized to give injections, does so in the course of his limited private practice. People go to the dispensary only for the treatment of common ailments, such as scabies, cough and malaria. For want of proper equipment and a qualified medical practitioner, the dispensary at Shamirpet has very few patients. In addition to the allopathic dispensary there are several elderly people in the village who administer herbal preparations according to Indian indigenous systems of medicine.

755 Magic and divination are also employed to a considerable extent by all sections of the people. 'Where herbs and medicines do not work, proper chants and spells do not fail us', the people often say. Indeed, for certain categories of disease and difficulties recourse
757 to divination is often regarded as the only proper remedy. It must be added that increased contact with the cities and the influence of education have greatly enhanced the value of modern medicine in the eyes of the people. There is now practically no prejudice against vaccination, although some people are still afraid of plague and cholera inoculations because they cause pain and fever. A minority of the villagers take advantage of the qualified doctors

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RITUAL STRUCTURE

5. RELIGION IN DISEASE AND DIFFICULTY

In the two preceding sections an attempt has been made to present the ritual cycle of the community covering firstly the festivals and ceremonies within a normal calendar year, and secondly, the rites and observances concerning the major crises of life. These cycles are rigidly observed, as their observance constitutes the *dharma* or the appropriate way of life, and leads to the prosperity and well-being of the family as well as to a desirable future for the individual after death. With the exception of these festivals, under normal conditions of life, there is very little spiritual or devotional activity in the community. But persistent difficulties, uncommon diseases, and frequent deaths turn the people's thoughts to supernatural factors; events are interpreted in terms of supernatural interferences, and are sought to be remedied by magico-religious procedures.

Most of the common diseases are interpreted as a 'fault in the physical system', and are treated with herbal medicines or modern drugs obtained from the dispensary. Common colds, headaches, fever, stomach-ache, scabies, gonorrhoea and syphilis are regarded as natural diseases, and an effort is made to cure them with medicines. But persistent headaches, intermittent fevers, continued stomach disorders, rickets and other wasting diseases among children, menstrual troubles, repeated abortions, etc., are attributed to supernatural forces. In all such cases medicinal cures as well as propitiation of the 'unseen powers' are attempted simultaneously. Similarly, such calamities as the failure of crops, total blindness, repeated failures in undertakings, deaths of children in quick succession and too many deaths in the family within a short time are taken to indicate 'misfortune' and 'the handiwork of malevolent supernatural forces'. Smallpox, cholera and plague are always attributed to the wrath of various goddesses. For these diseases worship is regarded as the only remedy; and no medicines are administered to the patients.

What are the major factors that cause these difficulties, distresses and deaths? In the village community they are attributed to one or more of the following:

(i) The wrath of ancestor-spirits.
(ii) Unfavourable stars.
(iii) Ghosts and spirits.
(iv) The wrath of gods.
(v) Black magic and witchcraft.

RITUAL STRUCTURE

769 If ancestor-spirits are ignored and 'not given their due' they
753 warn the family by causing some minor—but noticeable—trouble. It is for the members of the family to take this 'timely warning' and remove the cause of the ancestors' anger. Failure in this often leads to serious consequences and irreparable losses. Ill-luck and misfortunes persist all along the way of a person whose 'stars are unfavourable'. Hysteria, fits and 'possession by spirits' are the result of hostility of spirits and ghosts. The village goddesses are known for their violent temperament and retaliate quickly and severely, even for minor offences against them. The all-India gods are comparatively pacific; and punish people only for 'gross disrespect' shown towards them. Enmity may lead to the use of black magic or witchcraft, which may be the root cause of the trouble in many cases of persistent disease and ill-luck.

● 755 Most of the causes need the diagnosis of a specialist. Sometimes the ancestor-spirits convey their anger in dreams to some member of the family. Often the ghost possessing an individual reveals its identity through its victim. But in other cases a proper diagnosis is necessary. Why is the ancestor-spirit angry? What should be done to pacify it? How could the evil influence of unlucky stars be averted? Only the Brahmin or a local seer can answer these questions. For undoing the evil influence of spirits and ghosts the services of a competent specialist must be sought. Similarly, the hostile magician or witch must be matched by a more powerful magician.

[767] The ancestor-spirits are not very difficult to please. When the cause of their anger is known, an apology followed by worship is often enough to appease them. Fasting, repentance and food offerings are generally enough to please the gods. Goddesses are more difficult, and require the sacrifice of a fowl or goat. Unfavourable stars require fasting, worship and certain ceremonies following the recommendations of the Brahmin. The giving of alms to the Brahmin and the poor generally follows these ceremonies. Several different techniques can be employed to keep ghosts and spirits in check, and for counteracting black magic and witchcraft. As far as possible, 'all the reasonable demands of a ghost should be fulfilled', but if it still persists in its mischief 'it should be tied down' and 'kept in captivity'. Against sorcery and witchcraft drastic steps are required. For action under both these categories, i.e. against ghosts, as well as against black magic and witchcraft, three

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

techniques are employed: *mantram* (chants and spells), *yantram* (use of secret formulae and designs) and *chetla kriya* (counter black magic). Amateur practitioners succeed in some cases, but all difficult cases require the intervention of an established specialist. The techniques of these specialists are their closely guarded secrets.

In Shamirpet eleven people claim some knowledge of these techniques; although only three were recognized as having 'real and effective powers'. One person who claimed to be an expert in *chetla kriya*—powerful enough to use black magic as well as to counteract it—died, when this research was in progress.

Fourteen women had some suspicion of witchcraft against them, only two being regarded as established witches. A census of ghosts was difficult, but we listed more than forty of them. Four ghosts were particularly feared. The hillock to the north-west of the village was believed to be the abode of innumerable ghosts, but now it is inhabited by the ghost of a Reddi woman who died in pregnancy. She is known to have attacked several women and children. A Madiga woman who committed suicide by jumping in the well of their settlement also became a ghost. At first she went out of the village and troubled her daughter, but on being 'driven away' from there she is believed to have come back to Shamirpet. The dread of the village, however, is the ghost of a Reddi agriculturist who dwells in the eastern side of the village. Even tough young people are afraid to go 'to his place' at mid-day, dusk or late at night. A young Muslim who died without sex experience is alleged to have interfered with many young women. No effective checks have been improvised so far to keep these ghosts under control. Many others 'have been tamed'. They were the ghosts of persons from the following categories:

(*a*) Persons too much attached to sex, wealth and children.
(*b*) Persons dying without satisfying their sexual cravings.
(*c*) Pregnant women.
(*d*) Persons meeting an accidental death, by falling from a tree, drowning or by lightning.
(*e*) Persons committing suicide.
(*f*) Persons dying with an intense hatred for someone.
(*g*) Persons who have been murdered.

Serious difficulties created by supernatural agencies call for some of the measures enumerated above. For getting over minor

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THE CHANGING SCENE

Changes in tools and technical processes are also important. 178
Barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths are now using 413
factory-made tools and instruments. The village tailor has a sewing machine. It is significant that there has been no mentionable change in agricultural tools. In farming methods, however, some changes have taken place. Improved seeds are being used by 178
many cultivators. The value of green manure is realized by an 241
increasing number of agriculturists. Oil cakes, castor, ammonium sulphate, and a special concoction of chemical fertilizers known as 'paddy mixture' are now being used. More attention is given to growing vegetables. A greater percentage of cultivators is now growing 'cash crops'.

Communications too have now improved. Many persons take 178
advantage of the bus service. There are six private bicycles in the 489
village. A shop-keeper has four more which can be hired. The headman of the village has recently bought a 1928 model Ford. The traditional bullock carts are still largely used for transportation of goods, and also for travel.

The opening of a small dispensary in the village, and the 178
availability of excellent facilities of modern medical treatment in 755
the city have considerably changed the attitude of the people 757
towards diseases and their treatment. Although people still believe that smallpox and cholera are the result of the wrath of two goddesses and annually organize ceremonies in their honour on behalf of the village, the old fear of vaccination and inoculation has now practically disappeared. People no longer run away from the village on the appearance of the vaccinator, nor do they offer him bribes or threats for being spared the cruelty of vaccination. Divination, protective magic, chants and spells are all still employed to ward off disease and difficulty, but at the same time increasing use is being made of modern medicine. Age-old prescriptions of indigenous herbs are generally used for fevers and other common ailments. But when the disease takes a serious turn the patient may even be removed to a hospital in the city. Injections which were greatly feared a few decades ago are now eagerly sought as they are believed to give quick and sure relief from all ailments. Some people keep a limited stock of some of the popular and cheap patent medicines. Medicines for virility and strength prominently advertised in newspapers are obtained by post.

The social structure of the community is basically the same, 178

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CHAPTER IV

MODES OF WORSHIP IN THE TELUGU COUNTRY

755 LET us suppose that an attack of cholera or small-pox has broken out in a village of South India. We will take a village in the Telugu country, in one of the more backward districts, where life is lived under more primitive conditions than in places where large towns and railways and the influence of the Brāhmans have tended to change old-fashioned ideas and customs.

776 755 782 *A Telugu Village.* The village deity, in this particular village, is called Peddamma, the great mother. The epidemic is a sign that she is angry and requires to be propitiated. So a collection is made for the expenses of a festival, or a rich man offers to pay all expenses, and a propitious day is selected, which in this village may be any day except Sunday or Thursday. Then the potter of the village is instructed to make a clay image of the great mother, and the carpenter to make a small wooden cart, and a buffalo is chosen as the chief victim for the sacrifice.

When the appointed day arrives, the buffalo is sprinkled all over with yellow *turmeric*,[1] while garlands of margosa leaves are hung round its neck and tied to its horns. At about two p.m. it is conducted round the village in procession to the sound of music and the beating of tom-toms. The two sections of the Outcastes, the Mālās and the Mādigās, take the leading

[1] *Curcuma longa* is an Indian plant from the rootstock of which a powder called turmeric is extracted. This powder is used as a dye and also as one of the ingredients of curry-powder.

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part in the sacrifice, and conduct the buffalo from house to house. One Mādigā goes on ahead, with a tom-tom, to announce that "the buffalo devoted to the goddess is coming." The people then come out from their houses, bow down to worship the buffalo, and pour water over his feet, and also give some food to the Mālās and Mādigās, who form the procession. By about eight p.m. this ceremony is finished, and the buffalo is brought to an open spot in the village and tied up near a small canopy of cloths supported on bamboo poles, which has been set up for the reception of the goddess. All the villagers then assemble at the same place, and at about ten p.m. they go in procession, with music and tom-toms and torches, to the house of the potter, where the clay image is ready prepared. On arriving at his house, they pour about two and a half measures of rice on the ground and put the image on the top of it, adorned with a new cloth and jewels. All who are present then worship the image, and a ram is killed, its head being cut off with a large chopper, and the blood sprinkled on the top of the image, as a kind of consecration. The potter then takes up the idol and carries it out of the house for a little distance, and gives it to a washerman, who carries it to the place where the canopy has been set up to receive it. During the procession the people flourish sticks and swords and spears to keep off the evil spirits, and, for the same purpose, cut limes in half and throw them up in the air. The idea is that the greedy demons will clutch at the golden limes and carry them off, and so be diverted from any attack on the man who carries the image. When the idol has been duly deposited under the canopy, another procession is made to the house of the toddy-drawer. He is the man who climbs the palm trees and draws off the juice which is made into toddy. At his house some rice is cooked, and a pot of toddy and a bottle of *arrack*[1] are produced and duly smeared with yellow turmeric and a red paste, constantly used in religious

[1] Arrack is a native intoxicant.

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worship among the Hindus and called *kunkuma*.[1] The cooked rice is put in front of the pot of toddy and bottle of arrack, a ram is killed in sacrifice, and then the toddy-drawer worships the pot and the bottle. The village officials pay him his fee, three-eighths of a measure of rice, three-eighths of a measure of *cholam*[2] and four annas, and then he carries the pot and bottle in procession, and places them under the canopy near the image of Peddamma. Then comes yet another procession. The people go off to the house of the chief official, the Reddy, and bring from it some cooked rice in a large earthenware pot, some sweet cakes, and a lamb. A large quantity of margosa leaves are spread on the ground in front of the image, the rice from the Reddy's house is placed upon them in a heap, and a large heap of rice, from one hundred to three hundred measures, according to the amount of the subscriptions, is poured in a heap a little farther away.

All these elaborate proceedings form only the preparations for the great sacrifice, which is now about to begin. The lamb is first worshipped and then sacrificed by having its throat cut and its head cut off. A ram is next brought and stood over the first large heap of rice, and is there cut in two, through the back, with a heavy chopper, by one of the village washermen. The blood pours out over the rice and soaks it through. One half of the ram is then taken up and carried to a spot a few yards off, where a body of Asādis are standing ready to begin their part in the ceremonies. The other half of the ram is left lying on the rice. The Asādis then begin to sing a long chant in honour of the deity. Meanwhile, the chief sacrifice is made. The buffalo is brought forward, and the Mādigās kill it by cutting its throat (in some villages its head is cut off). Some water is first poured over the blood, and then the pool of blood and water is covered up carefully with earth, lest any outsider from another

[1] Made of turmeric mixed with lime.
[2] A coarse grain, the staple food of the villagers.
4 [i.e. the toddy-drawer--Analyst]

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755 776 782 village should come and steal it. The idea is that if any man from another village should take away and carry home even a small part of the blood, that village would get the benefit of the sacrifice. The head of the buffalo is then cut off and placed before the image, with a layer of fat from its entrails smeared over the forehead and face, so as to cover entirely the eyes and nose. The right foreleg is cut off and placed crosswise in the mouth, some boiled rice is placed upon the fat on the forehead, and on it an earthenware lamp, which is kept alight during the whole of the festival. Why the right foreleg should be cut off and placed in the mouth, and what the meaning of it is, I have never been able to discover nor can I conjecture. When I have asked the villagers, they only reply, "It is the custom." But I have found the custom prevailing in all parts of South India, among Tamils, Telugus, and Canarese alike, and I have been informed that exactly the same custom prevails in the Southern Marāṭhā country. It seems to be a very ancient part of the ritual of sacrifice prevailing in South India.[1] This completes the presentation of the sacrifice to the goddess, who is supposed to delight in the food offered, and especially in the blood. A great deal of the food offered is, as a matter of fact, taken

[1] Maharaja Sir V. S. Raṅga Rao Bahadur, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., writes in *The Asiatic Review* for January, 1919: "The Lord Bishop wishes to know why the leg of an animal is put crosswise in its mouth after it has been sacrificed before the village goddess. [695] Among the menial castes of a village there is the practice of a guilty man putting a piece of dry grass crosswise in his mouth when he goes to the head of his village to ask his pardon. It denotes that he has committed a wrong act, as a beast. In places where grass is not available, the person in question puts the first finger of his right hand crosswise in his mouth with the same idea or purpose. Here the animals are sacrificed before the village gods and goddesses by the people in the expectation, or rather with the firm belief, that their sins will be forgiven by those deities, and that their consequences will be thus averted by means of those sacrifices. Instead of putting their fingers in their mouths, as stated before, they put the animal's leg (generally the right leg) crosswise in its mouth. Though I am not sure that this is the explanation of this practice, I presume that it must be along these lines, as no other ground is traceable."

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755 776 782 away by the people and eaten in their homes, but the idea is that the goddess takes the essence and leaves the worshippers the material substance. This takes till about three a.m. next morning; and then begins another important part of the ceremonies.

Some of the rice from the heap, over which the ram was sacrificed and its blood poured out, is taken and put in a flat basket, and some of the entrails of the buffalo are mixed with it. The intestines of the lamb, which was first killed, are put over the neck of a Mālā, and its liver is placed in his mouth,[1] while another Mālā takes the basket of rice soaked in blood and mixed with the entrails of the buffalo. A procession is then formed [786] with these two weird figures in the middle. The man with the liver in his mouth is worked up into a state of frantic excitement and is supposed to be inspired by the goddess. He has to be held by men on either side of him, or kept fast with ropes, to prevent his rushing away; and all round him are the *ryots*, *i.e.* the small farmers, and the Mālās, flourishing clubs and swords, and throwing limes into the air, to drive away the evil spirits. As the procession moves through the village, the people shout out "Food! Food!" and the man who carries the basket sprinkles the rice soaked in blood over the houses to protect them from evil spirits. As he walks along, he shouts out, at intervals, that he sees the evil spirits, and falls down in a faint. Then lambs have to be sacrificed on the spot and limes thrown into the air and cocoanuts broken, to drive away the demons and bring the man to his senses. And so the procession moves through the village, amid frantic excitement, till, as the day dawns, they return to the canopy, where the great mother is peacefully reposing.

At about ten a.m. a fresh round of ceremonies begins. Some meat is cut from the carcass of the buffalo and cooked with some cholam, and then given to five little Mālā boys, *siddhalu*, the innocents, as they are called. They are all covered over with a large cloth,

[1] Cf. pp. 109, 148 below

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and eat the food entirely concealed from view, probably to prevent the evil spirits from seeing them, or the evil eye from striking them. And then some more food is served to the Asādis, who have been for many hours, during the ceremonies of the night, chanting the praises of the goddess. After this the villagers bring their offerings. The Brāhmans, who may not kill animals, bring rice and cocoanuts, and other castes bring lambs, goats, sheep, fowls, and buffaloes, which are all killed by the washermen, by cutting their throats, except the buffaloes, which are always killed by the Mādigās, the lowest class of Outcastes. The heads are all cut off and presented to the goddess. This lasts till about three p.m., when the people go off to the house of the village carpenter, who has got ready a small wooden cart. On their arrival some cooked rice is offered to the cart, and a lamb sacrificed before it, and a new cloth and eight annas are given to the carpenter as his fee. The cart is then dragged by the washermen, to the sound of horns and tom-toms, to the place of sacrifice. The heads and carcasses of the animals already sacrificed are first removed by the Mālās and Mādigās, except the head of the buffalo first offered, which remains in its place till all the ceremonies are finished, when the shrine is removed.

At about seven p.m. another series of ceremonies begins. First a lamb is sacrificed before the goddess, and its blood mixed with some cooked rice, and at the same time a pig is buried up to the neck in a pit at the entrance of the village, with its head projecting above the earth. The villagers go in procession to the spot, while one of the Mādigās carries the rice, soaked in the blood of the lamb, in a basket. All the cattle of the village are then brought to the place and driven over the head of the unhappy pig,[1] which is, of course, trampled to death; and, as they pass over the pig, the blood and rice are sprinkled upon them to preserve them from disease. Then, after this, follows the final ceremony.

[1] Cf. p 58 below.

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755 776 782 The image of the goddess is taken from the canopy by the washerman, and a Mādigā takes the head of the buffalo with its foreleg in the mouth, the forehead and nostrils all smeared over with fat, and the earthen lamp still lighted on the top. They then all go in procession to the boundary of the village, first the men carrying the buffalo's head, next the washerman with the image, and last the small wooden cart. When the procession arrives at the extreme limit of the village lands, they go on, for about a furlong, into the lands of the neighbouring [533] village. There the Asādis first chant the praises of the goddess, then some turmeric is distributed to all the people, and finally the image is divested of all its ornaments and solemnly placed upon the ground and left there. The light on the head of the buffalo is extinguished, and the head itself carried off by the Mādigā, who takes it for a feast to his own house. The object of transporting the goddess to the lands of the next village is to transfer to that village the wrath of the deity, a precaution which does not show much faith in the temper of the goddess, nor much charity towards their neighbours!

Gudivada, near Masulipatam. A somewhat different form of ceremonial prevails in some of the villages of the Telugu country nearer the coast. The village of Gudivada, about twenty miles from the important town of Masulipatam, may be taken as a good specimen of a well-to-do village in a prosperous district, and the ceremonies prevailing there are a fair sample of the cult of the village deities in these parts.

[778] [531] The name of the village deity at Gudivada is Pallalamma. Her image is the figure of a woman with four arms, and a leopard's head under her right foot, carved in bas-relief on a flat stone about three feet high, standing in an open compound, surrounded by a low stone wall. The pūjārī, who is a Śūdra, gave me a full account of the rites and ceremonies. Weekly offerings are made every Sunday, when the pujarī washes the image with water and soap-nut seeds early in the morning, and smears it with turmeric

and kunkuma, offers incense, breaks a cocoanut, and cooks and presents to the image about a seer of rice, which he afterwards eats himself. The rice is provided daily by the villagers. Occasionally fowls and sheep are offered on the Sunday by villagers who have made vows in time of sickness or other misfortunes. When a sheep is sacrificed, it is first purified by washing. The animal is simply killed in front of the image by a Mādigā, who cuts off its head with a large chopper. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground and nothing special is done with it. The head becomes the perquisite of the pūjārī, and the offerer takes away the carcass for a feast in his house. In many villages, both in the Telugu and Tamil districts, water is poured over the sheep's back to see whether it shivers. If it shivers, it is a sign that the goddess has accepted it.[1] Where the people are economical, they keep on pouring water till it does shiver, to avoid the expense of providing a second victim, but, where they are more scrupulous, if it does not shiver, it is taken as a sign that the goddess will not accept it and it is taken away.

A public festival is held whenever an epidemic breaks out. The headman of the village then gets a new earthenware pot, besmears it with turmeric and kunkuma and puts inside some clay bracelets, some necklaces, and ear-rings, three pieces of charcoal, three pieces of turmeric, three pieces of incense, a piece of dried cocoanut, a woman's cloth, and two annas' worth of coppers—a strange collection of miscellaneous charms and offerings. The pot is then hung up in a tree near the image, as a pledge that, if the epidemic disappears, the people will celebrate a festival.

When it does disappear, a thatched shed of palmyra leaves is built near the image, and a special image of clay, adorned with turmeric and kunkuma, is put inside, and beneath it an earthen pot filled with buttermilk and boiled rice. This pot is also smeared with turmeric and

[1] For this widespread superstition see Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, I, 19. Cf. pp. 63, 68, 69, 73, 99, below.

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kunkuma, adorned with margosa leaves, covered with an earthenware saucer, and carried in procession through the village during the day, to the exhilarating sound of pipes, horns, and tom-toms, by the village potter, who takes the rice and buttermilk for his perquisite and renews it every morning of the festival at the public expense. The duration of the festival depends on the amount of the subscriptions, but it always lasts for an odd number of days, excluding all numbers with a seven in them, *e.g.* 7, 17, 27, etc. During the night the barbers of the village chant the praises of the goddess, and the Mādigās beat tom-toms near the image.

On the night before the day appointed for the offering of animal sacrifices by the villagers, a male buffalo, called Devara Potu, *i.e.* devoted to the deity, is sacrificed on behalf of the whole village. First, the buffalo is washed with water, smeared with yellow turmeric and red kunkuma, and then garlanded with flowers and the leaves of the sacred margosa tree. It is brought before the image; and a Mādigā cuts off its head, if possible at one blow, over a heap of boiled rice, which becomes soaked with the blood. The right foreleg is then cut off and placed crosswise in its mouth, according to the widespread custom prevailing in South India, the fat of the entrails is smeared over the eyes and forehead, and the head is placed in front of the image. A lighted lamp is placed, not as in the other villages on the head itself, but on the heap of rice soaked with blood. This rice is then put into a basket; and a Mādigā, the village *vetty* or sweeper, carries it round the site of the village, sprinkling it on the ground as he goes. The whole village goes with him, but there is no music or tom-toms. The people shout out as they go "Poli! Poli!" *i.e.* "Food! Food!" and clap their hands and wave their sticks above their heads to keep off the evil spirits. The rice offered to the goddess, but not soaked with blood, is then distributed to the people. What spirits the rice soaked in blood is supposed to feed is not clear, but the object of sprinkling the blood is evidently to ward off evil spirits

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and prevent them from coming near the village, and apparently the present idea is that they will be satiated with rice and blood and not want to do any mischief. The original idea was possibly quite different; but this seems to be the intention of the ceremony in modern times. 755 776 782

On the next day, early in the morning, the clay image and the pot are washed and smeared afresh with turmeric and kunkuma. Incense and boiled rice are then offered as on other days, and the pot is taken in procession round the village. When this has been done, about midday, each householder brings his offering of boiled rice, cakes, fruits and flowers, and, in addition, the village as a whole contributes about two hundred or more seers of rice, which is boiled near the pandal. All these offerings are placed in a heap before the image. Then, first, a sheep or a buffalo is offered on behalf of the whole village. Having been duly washed, and smeared with turmeric and kunkuma, and decorated with margosa leaves, its head is cut off by a Mādigā. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground, and some loose earth is thrown upon it to cover it up. The head is offered to the image by the headman of the village. After this various householders, even Brāhmans and Bunniahs, bring animals for sacrifice. All are killed by a Mādigā, and then the heads are all presented and placed in a heap before the goddess. Sometimes an extraordinary number of animals is sacrificed on occasions of this kind, as many as a thousand sheep on a single day. In a village like Gudivada the number of victims is, of course, far less. The question of precedence in the offering of victims constantly gives rise to quarrels among the leading villagers. When I was once visiting Gudivada, there was a case pending before the *tahsildar*, *i.e.* the sub-divisional magistrate, between a *zamindar*, landowner, and a village *munsiff*, *i.e.* a village magistrate, about this knotty point. The heads are taken away by the pūjārīs, potters, washermen, barbers, Mālās and Mādigās, and others who take any official part in the sacrifice. The carcasses of the [691]

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755 776 782 private sacrifices are taken away by the offerers, and that of the public victim belongs to the headman of the village. The rice, fruit, etc., are distributed among the various officials. The function lasts from about ten a.m. to five p.m.

In the evening, a cart is brought to the image with nine pointed stakes standing upright in it, two at each of the four corners and one in the centre: on each stake a young pig, a lamb, or a fowl is impaled alive. A Mālā, called a *Pambala*, *i.e.* hereditary priest, then sits in the cart dressed in female attire, holding in his hand the clay image of the goddess which was made for the festival. The cart is dragged with ropes to the extreme boundary of the village lands, and both cart and ropes are left beyond the boundary. The Pambalas take away the animals, which all die during the procession, as their share of the offerings.

796 776 782 785 *Living animals impaled in many villages.* This cruel ceremony of impaling live animals is quite common in the eastern part of the Telugu country,[1] and I have come across it in many villages that I have visited. The Rev. F. N. Alexander, the veteran C.M.S. missionary, who lived over fifty years at Ellore, told me that he witnessed it in the town of Ellore the first year that he went there, and wrote a letter to the *Madras Mail* describing it. As a result of his letter, the practice was forbidden by the Government. So now at Ellore the animals are tied on to the stakes without being impaled; but in many villages near Ellore the custom still survives of impaling the unfortunate animals alive. Sometimes there are only four stakes on the cart, sometimes five, and sometimes more. It is not often that there are as many as nine. In one of the villages of the Kurnool district, I found that a similar barbarity was practised in connexion with the hook-swinging ceremony. On the fifth day of the festival in honour of Aṅkalamma, a large car is constructed, with an arrangement of poles projecting

[1] Cf. pp. 59, 65, 69.

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about 20 feet in the air. A sheep is then suspended from the pole by iron hooks fastened through the muscles of its back and a band round its middle, and swung round and round. Two or three of the older men in the village said that they had often seen men swing like this with iron hooks fastened into their backs,[1] and that it did not hurt. As soon as the sheep is swung up, buffaloes, sheep and goats are sacrificed, and the car is then dragged in procession through the village.

A cruel pig sacrifice. Sometimes, when there is cattle disease, a pig is buried up to its neck at the boundary of the village, a heap of boiled rice is deposited near the spot, and then all the cattle of the village are driven over the unhappy pig.[2] It is not the custom at Gudivada to sprinkle anything on the cattle as they pass over the poor animal, as is done elsewhere.

There is a remarkable parallel to this form of sacrifice in a description quoted by Mr. E. Thurston, in his *Ethnographical Notes in Southern India*,[3] of an ancient custom among the Lambadis, a wandering tribe of South India:

> "In former times, the Lambadis, before setting out on a journey, used to procure a little child and bury it in the ground up to its shoulders, and then drive their loaded bullocks over the unfortunate victim. In proportion to the bullocks thoroughly trampling the child to death, so their belief in a successful journey increased."

It is possible that this custom of driving the cattle over the head of a buried pig may be connected with the worship of an agricultural goddess, since in ancient Greece the pig was sacred to agricultural deities, *e.g.* Aphrodite, Adonis, and Demeter; but it may also be a survival of some former custom of infanticide or human sacrifice such as prevailed among the Lambadis.

An old man in the Kurnool district once described to me the account that he had received from his fore-

[1] This is the practice in the Hindu *dola-jātra*, swing-festival, celebrated in honour of Durgā, the wife of Śiva. Cf. pp. 61, 76, 82, 83.

[2] See p. 53, 60.

[3] P. 507.

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it is common both in the Telugu and Tamil districts to substitute a sheep for a man, and to fasten the iron hooks in the muscles of its back.

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Alleged infanticide among Todas. I have been told that, among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, it was formerly the custom to place female children, whom it was not desired to rear, on the ground at the entrance of the mund, *i.e.* a group of huts, and drive buffaloes over them. If they survived this ordeal, they were allowed to live.

It is only fair to add that the Todas themselves deny that this custom ever existed. To quote Mr. Thurston again:[1]

"The practice of infanticide, as it prevailed among the Todas of the Nilgiris, is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall (*A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, 1873): 'I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (*putkŭli*), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? Those tell lies who say we laid it before the open buffalo-pen so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears and mouth with a cloth thus (here pantomimic action). It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The kelachi got a present of four annas (4d.) for the deed.' The old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance of a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not."

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Masulipatam. At Masulipatam, where ceremonies are performed very similar to those at Gudivada

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

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755 776 782 during an epidemic, a washerman carries the earthenware pot, half full of buttermilk and adorned with margosa leaves, round the village to the sound of tom-toms. As it goes round, the washerman stops at each house and the wife comes out and pours water beside the pot on the ground and does reverence to the pot, imploring the goddess not to let any evil spirit come to the house; and then she puts more rice and buttermilk into it. When it is full, it is taken back to the shrine and another brought in its place. As this procession continues for fifteen days, the accumulation of rice and buttermilk must be considerable. It is ultimately consumed by the washermen, potters, Mālās and Mādigās, who take part in the festival. The real sacrifice begins on the sixteenth day and lasts for a month. Cotton-thread and all the rice and buttermilk collected from the villagers are offered to the image. The images themselves are smeared with turmeric, and dots of kunkuma are put on them, and finally on the last day a male buffalo, called *Devara-Potu*, *i.e.* devoted to the goddess, is brought before the image and its head cut off by the head Mādigā of the town. The blood is caught in a vessel and sprinkled over some boiled rice, and then the head, with the right foreleg in the mouth, is placed before the shrine on a flat wicker basket, with the rice and blood on another basket just below it. A lighted lamp is placed on the head, and then another Mādigā carries it on his own head round the village, with a new cloth dipped in the blood of the victim tied round his neck. This is regarded here and elsewhere as a very inauspicious and dangerous office; and the headman of the village has to offer considerable inducements to persuade a Mādigā to undertake it. Ropes are tied round his body and arms and held fast by men walking behind him, as he goes round, to prevent his being carried off by evil spirits, and limes are cut in half and thrown into the air, so that the demons may catch at them instead of at the man. It is believed that gigantic demons sit on the tops of tall trees ready to swoop down and carry him away, in

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order to get the rice and the buffalo's head. The idea of carrying the head and rice round a village, so the people said, is to draw a kind of cordon on every side of it and prevent the entrance of the evil spirits. Should any one in the town refuse to subscribe for the festival, his house is omitted from the procession, and left to the tender mercies of the devils. This procession is called *bali haranam*;[1] and in this district *inams*, rent-free lands, are held from Government by certain families of Mādigās for performing it. Besides the buffalo, large numbers of sheep and goats and fowls are sacrificed, each householder giving at least one animal. The head Mādigā who kills the animals takes the carcass and distributes the flesh among the members of his family. Often cases come into the courts to decide who has the right to kill them. As the sacrifice cannot wait for the tedious processes of the law, the elders of the village settle the question at once, pending an appeal to the courts. But in the town of Masulipatam, a Mādigā is specially licensed by the Municipality for the purpose, and all disputes are avoided.

Cocanada. At Cocanada there is only one Grāma-Devatā, Nukalamma (from Nuku, a Tamil word, meaning "to beat"); but she is very ill-tempered, they told me, and gives much trouble. Curiously enough, the present pūjārī is a woman of the fisherman caste. The office was hereditary in her family and she is the only surviving member of it. A male relative acts as deputy-pūjārī. Offerings are made to Nukalamma every day, doubtless on account of her temper. One custom I found observed here, which is not uncommon in these parts. When a victim's head has been cut off, it is put before the shrine and water poured on it. The offerer then waits to see whether the mouth opens. If it does, it is a sign that the sacrifice is accepted.[2] Another ceremony observed here is significant and, doubtless, a relic of the primitive idea

[1] Sanksrit for "presentation of the offering."
[2] See p. 55 n. 1, above.

doors of the shrine are kept shut for three days. On the fourth day the doors are opened, the coagulated mass of blood, grain, and gram is carefully washed, and the grain and gram are separated on the ground behind the shrine, in order to see which of the various kinds of grain has sprouted. All the ryots eagerly assemble to watch the result, and whichever is found to have sprouted, is regarded as marked out by the goddess as the right kind of grain to sow that year. This method of determining which crop to sow is common in both the Godavari and Masulipatam districts. In these sacrifices to Nukalamma, too, the application of the blood is specially noticeable. As soon as the victim is killed, a small quantity of the blood is smeared on the sides of the door-posts of the shrine; the deputy-pūjārī dips his finger in the blood and applies it to his forehead; then all the other people present do the same; and afterwards some boiled rice and some turmeric powder are mixed with the blood, and a little of the mixture is sprinkled on the head of the Mādigā who holds the basin to catch the blood.

When an epidemic of cholera breaks out, another goddess, called Maridiamma, is installed in the place of the Nukalamma. A log of margosa wood, about three feet high and six inches in diameter, is cut and roughly carved at the top into the shape of a head, and then fixed in the ground with a pandal of leaves and cloths over it. Then the procession of the earthen pot half filled with buttermilk and rice is conducted, very much in the same way as at Masulipatam,[1] every day till the epidemic subsides. After that, some ten or twelve small carts are made, about six feet square, with three pointed stakes standing up on each side, on which live animals are impaled, as in other parts of the Telugu country.[2] The carts are partly filled with boiled rice and curry stuff prepared at the shrine, the blood of the victims sacrificed being poured over the rice. I was told that live animals were only impaled if a cart did

[1] See p. 62 above. [2] See p. 58 above.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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not move properly as it was dragged to the boundary, since that is regarded as a sign that the goddess is angry and needs to be appeased.

Ellore. The number of victims slaughtered at some of these festivals is enormous. At Ellore, which is a town of considerable size and importance, I was told that at the annual festival of Mahālakshmī about a thousand animals are killed in one day, rich people sending as many as twenty or thirty. The blood then flows down into the fields behind the place of sacrifice in a regular flood, and carts full of sand are brought to cover up what remains on the spot. The heads are piled up in a heap about fifteen feet high in front of the shrine, and a large earthen basin about one-and-a-half feet in diameter is then filled with gingelly oil and put on the top of the heap, a thick cotton wick being placed in the basin and lighted. The animals are all worshipped with the usual *namaskāram*, *i.e.* folded hands raised to the forehead, before they are killed. This slaughter of victims goes on all day.

At midnight about twenty or twenty-five buffaloes are sacrificed. Their heads are cut off by a Mādigā pūjārī and with their carcasses are thrown upon large heaps of rice which have been presented to the goddess, till the rice is soaked with blood.

The subsequent ceremonies illustrate again the varieties of local custom. The rice is collected in about ten or fifteen large baskets, and, instead of being carried by a Mādigā, is carried on a large cart drawn by buffaloes or bullocks, with the Mādigā pūjārī seated on it. As the cart moves along, Mādigās sprinkle the rice on the streets and on the walls of the houses shouting "Poli! Poli!" ("Food! Food!"). A large body of men of different castes, Śūdras, Kommas, and Outcastes, go with the procession: but only the Mādigās and Mālās (the two sections of the Outcastes) shout "Poli," the rest following in silence. They have only two or three torches to show them the way, and no tom-toms nor music. Apparently the idea is that, if they make a noise or display a blaze of light, they will attract the evil spirits,

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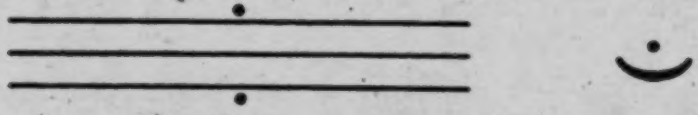
the house outside with cow-dung and make three horizontal lines with kunkuma (a red paste of turmeric and lime), with a dot above and below, and a semi-circle on the right side with a dot in the middle, thus:—



The symbol on the right represents the sun and moon: that on the left is the Śaivite sectarian mark. They sacrifice to these symbols sheep, goats, and fowls. It is curious that, in these private sacrifices at home, they pour water on the sheep and goats to see whether they shiver, as a sign of acceptance,[1] though this is not done in the public sacrifices at Ellore.

Dharmaja-Gudem, near Ellore. At a village called Dharmaja-Gudem, about sixteen miles from Ellore, while the main features of the festivals are the same as those found elsewhere, there are two or three peculiarities, which deserve notice. The ordinary grāma-devatās of the village are Ellaramma, Gaṅgamma, Mutyalamma, and Ravelamma, who are represented by four stone pillars about six feet high, with figures of women carved on them, standing in an open field on the outskirts of the village: but when an epidemic breaks out, Mutyalamma, Gaṅgamma, Aṅkamma and Mahālakshmīamma are the deities propitiated, and special images are made of them. Those of the first three are made of clay, but that of Mahālakshmīamma is made of turmeric kneaded into a paste. Then, again, it is noticeable that a Brāhman acts as pūjārī of Mahālakshmī, a washerman as pūjārī of Gaṅgamma, and a potter as pūjārī of Aṅkamma. The Brāhman pūjārī presides over the worship for the greater part of the festival, which lasts for about three months, and during that time the people come almost every day and offer flowers, fruits, cocoanuts, camphor and incense, but no animal sacrifices. All this time, too, some nautch-

[1] See p. 55 above.

25: Whitehead M-S (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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776 to the shrine and presented in a heap before the image,
796 with a lighted lamp on the top of it, made of rice flour
241 kneaded into a paste, and holding about one pint of oil.[1]
782 Some toddy is poured on the ground to the east of the rice by the washerman; incense and camphor are burnt; while the people make namaskāram (salutation with folded hands raised to the forehead) to the image. As many as two hundred sheep and goats are then killed, and fowls are brought by the poorer people. In this festival, the rice soaked in the blood of the victims is not sprinkled on the streets of the village nor over the houses, but each ryot gives a handful of it to one of his field servants (an Outcaste), who takes and sprinkles it over his master's fields. Three handfuls of the crop are cut on the same day to inaugurate the harvest. No buffaloes are sacrificed during this festival.

755 On the other hand, when an epidemic breaks
776 out, there is a special festival, in which five or six buffaloes
782 are sacrificed as well as about three hundred sheep and goats. The buffaloes are killed last of all. One special buffalo, called *Pedda-Veta*, great sacrifice, is reserved to the end, and killed at about ten p.m. Nothing special is done with the blood of the other buffaloes nor with that of the sheep and goats, but the blood of the Pedda-Veta is allowed to flow on to some of the rice, as soon as the head is severed, and both head and carcass are placed upon the rice heap. The head, as usual, has the right foreleg put in the mouth, with fat smeared over the face and a lighted lamp above it.

At about eleven p.m. the head is carried by aMālā, not by a Mādigā in this village, on his own head three times round the boundaries of the village site, and the rice soaked in blood is sprinkled by the Mālās on the ground, as they go, and on any cattle they happen to meet, accompanied by the same weird and excited procession as elsewhere.

778 The illustration facing this page represents a shrine of Poshamma, a goddess worshipped by the Mālās. On the top of the shrine stands an earthenware lamp.

[1] See p. 39.

[P 71]

CHAPTER V

MODES OF WORSHIP IN THE CANARESE COUNTRY

171 THE Canarese are closely allied ethnologically to the Telugus,[1] and we should naturally expect, therefore, to find a close connexion between the ceremonies used by the two peoples in the worship of their village goddesses. A brief account of the ceremonies used in different parts of the Canarese country will show how far this is actually the case.

776 796 *Bellary District.* In the Bellary district Durgamma,[1] Suṅkalamma, and Uramma are very commonly worshipped. Uramma means simply the village goddess, and is equivalent to the general term grāma-devatā. Her festival is not celebrated annually, but when there is a specially good crop, or when cholera or plague break out. The following account of it was given me by an Asādi of a village near Bellary, and may be taken as describing fairly the general type of such festivals and sacrifices throughout the district.

776 We will suppose that cholera has broken out in the village. The villagers then make vows to offer the sacrifice if the epidemic ceases. The day appointed for the festival is invariably a Tuesday, and on the previous Tuesday a basin-shaped earthen lamp, filled with oil and furnished with a stout cotton wick, is placed in the house of the *Reddy* (village magistrate) and kept lighted till the festival and all the ceremonies are ended. The carpenter, also, prepares beforehand a wooden image of the goddess and a small cart, while

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[1] Durgā is one of the many names of Kālī, the wife of Śiva.

THE SETTING

871 Children of all communities now go to school, and the old prejudice against admitting untouchable students is dying out. In recent years some Mala and Madiga boys joined the school, but most of them attended only in name, playing truant so consistently that they derived little benefit and eventually stopped going altogether. The school is ill-equipped, having some miserable-looking furniture, a few charts and maps and the inevitable blackboard. The master still wields his stick, and among other reasons this explains perhaps the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the lower-class children and their parents for the school.

743 The dispensary is housed in a small room and its adjoining
757 verandah. The rest of the building is used as living-quarters by the Medical Officer. This small dispensary was started by one of the Jagirdars, and has had a succession of Medical Officers who had no qualifications for the job. The present incumbent too is not properly qualified, for he is not even a medical licenciate. He is paid Rs. 45 per month and is supplied with a small quantity of drugs by the Medical Department of the Hyderabad Government.

[172] As a result of contact with the cities, the villagers have developed a great liking for injections, expecting them to work like magic and provide quick and certain cure for all ailments. The Medical Officer, although he is not authorized to give injections, does so in the course of his limited private practice. People go to the dispensary only for the treatment of common ailments, such as scabies, cough and malaria. For want of proper equipment and a qualified medical practitioner, the dispensary at Shamirpet has very few patients. In addition to the allopathic dispensary there are several elderly people in the village who administer herbal preparations according to Indian indigenous systems of medicine.

755 Magic and divination are also employed to a considerable extent by all sections of the people. 'Where herbs and medicines do not work, proper chants and spells do not fail us', the people often say. Indeed, for certain categories of disease and difficulties recourse
757 to divination is often regarded as the only proper remedy. It must be added that increased contact with the cities and the influence of education have greatly enhanced the value of modern medicine in the eyes of the people. There is now practically no prejudice against vaccination, although some people are still afraid of plague and cholera inoculations because they cause pain and fever. A minority of the villagers take advantage of the qualified doctors

1; Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available.

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission.

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village.

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals.

The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; in return for the service, the government grants them the use of certain rent-free lands. 27

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

RITUAL STRUCTURE

5. RELIGION IN DISEASE AND DIFFICULTY

In the two preceding sections an attempt has been made to present the ritual cycle of the community covering firstly the festivals and ceremonies within a normal calendar year, and secondly, the rites and observances concerning the major crises of life. These cycles are rigidly observed, as their observance constitutes the *dharma* or the appropriate way of life, and leads to the prosperity and well-being of the family as well as to a desirable future for the individual after death. With the exception of these festivals, under normal conditions of life, there is very little spiritual or devotional activity in the community. But persistent difficulties, uncommon diseases, and frequent deaths turn the people's thoughts to supernatural factors; events are interpreted in terms of supernatural interferences, and are sought to be remedied by magico-religious procedures.

Most of the common diseases are interpreted as a 'fault in the physical system', and are treated with herbal medicines or modern drugs obtained from the dispensary. Common colds, headaches, fever, stomach-ache, scabies, gonorrhoea and syphilis are regarded as natural diseases, and an effort is made to cure them with medicines. But persistent headaches, intermittent fevers, continued stomach disorders, rickets and other wasting diseases among children, menstrual troubles, repeated abortions, etc., are attributed to supernatural forces. In all such cases medicinal cures as well as propitiation of the 'unseen powers' are attempted simultaneously. Similarly, such calamities as the failure of crops, total blindness, repeated failures in undertakings, deaths of children in quick succession and too many deaths in the family within a short time are taken to indicate 'misfortune' and 'the handiwork of malevolent supernatural forces'. Smallpox, cholera and plague are always attributed to the wrath of various goddesses. For these diseases worship is regarded as the only remedy; and no medicines are administered to the patients.

What are the major factors that cause these difficulties, distresses and deaths? In the village community they are attributed to one or more of the following:

(i) The wrath of ancestor-spirits.
(ii) Unfavourable stars.
(iii) Ghosts and spirits.
(iv) The wrath of gods.
(v) Black magic and witchcraft.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

THE CHANGING SCENE

Changes in tools and technical processes are also important. Barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths are now using factory-made tools and instruments. The village tailor has a sewing machine. It is significant that there has been no mentionable change in agricultural tools. In farming methods, however, some changes have taken place. Improved seeds are being used by many cultivators. The value of green manure is realized by an increasing number of agriculturists. Oil cakes, castor, ammonium sulphate, and a special concoction of chemical fertilizers known as 'paddy mixture' are now being used. More attention is given to growing vegetables. A greater percentage of cultivators is now growing 'cash crops'.

Communications too have now improved. Many persons take advantage of the bus service. There are six private bicycles in the village. A shop-keeper has four more which can be hired. The headman of the village has recently bought a 1928 model Ford. The traditional bullock carts are still largely used for transportation of goods, and also for travel.

The opening of a small dispensary in the village, and the availability of excellent facilities of modern medical treatment in the city have considerably changed the attitude of the people towards diseases and their treatment. Although people still believe that smallpox and cholera are the result of the wrath of two goddesses and annually organize ceremonies in their honour on behalf of the village, the old fear of vaccination and inoculation has now practically disappeared. People no longer run away from the village on the appearance of the vaccinator, nor do they offer him bribes or threats for being spared the cruelty of vaccination. Divination, protective magic, chants and spells are all still employed to ward off disease and difficulty, but at the same time increasing use is being made of modern medicine. Age-old prescriptions of indigenous herbs are generally used for fevers and other common ailments. But when the disease takes a serious turn the patient may even be removed to a hospital in the city. Injections which were greatly feared a few decades ago are now eagerly sought as they are believed to give quick and sure relief from all ailments. Some people keep a limited stock of some of the popular and cheap patent medicines. Medicines for virility and strength prominently advertised in newspapers are obtained by post.

The social structure of the community is basically the same,

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

178 advantages perceived, responsibilities recognized.'[1] Extending this approach to technical and organizational changes in peasant communities, we can attribute some changes in the life-ways of the people to State compulsion and legal prescription. In some spheres, particularly in material culture and technology, utility, convenience, availability and price determine to a great extent
178 the adoption of new elements and traits. The prestige factor too is
554 significant, for any externally induced or internally inspired change in the system of status evaluation brings in its wake significant modifications in the organization and life-ways of society. Innovation, variety and change for its own sake can also account for substantial variation from established norms in social behaviour at a given point of time. In a small rural community such as Shamirpet, which is situated near a big and modern city and is in everyday contact with it, the prevailing climate of opinion in social, economic and political matters in the city is bound to influence its general outlook and ways, for apart from their practical value city-ways are gradually coming to be regarded as more 'respectable' and 'progressive'.

178 So far State compulsion has been instrumental in bringing about
[151] little social and cultural change in the village community. Compulsory vaccination as well as inoculation at the time of an epidemic appear to be the only significant measures enforced by the State which have been accepted in the everyday life of the com-
[783] munity. Although untouchability has been abolished by law, in actual practice it only gives to the hitherto untouchables an equal share in public utilities, for considerations of pollution bar all effective interaction between the high and the low castes especially in the social spheres of inter-dining and inter-marriage. Symbolic as it is, this gesture of the State has nevertheless brought about a considerable modification in the inter-group attitudes between the clean and untouchable castes.

178 The factors of utility, convenience and availability have played
757 a more important role in bringing several new elements into the life of the community. Although indigenous herbs and magico-religious practices are still continued in the treatment of diseases, the efficacy and utility of allopathic drugs and injections have greatly changed the attitude of the people towards modern medicine. I have pointed out earlier that they eagerly seek these

[1] Raymond Firth, *Elements of Social Organization* (London, 1951), p. 85.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

medicines and injections. The old beliefs and practices survive, partly because of the non-availability of quick and efficient modern treatment, and partly also because of its prohibitive cost. Besides the two systems do not conflict, and in order to be doubly sure, most people continue magico-religious practices along with modern medicinal treatment. Adoption of several new tools and instruments for occupational work, as well as of several other items of Western technology, such as buses, railways, razors, and electric torches, introduced in the comparatively recent times is due to their efficiency and utility. In the matter of dress and ornament other factors must also be taken into account. Mill-made cloth was not regarded only as cheap and more durable; it came to be looked upon as more respectable also. The coarse handloom cloth was regarded as rustic, the finer mill-cloth, on the other hand, was more refined and dignified. Further, mill-made cloth allowed a wider range of choice in the matter of colours, designs and patterns. The style of dress was influenced by a variety of factors. Under Muslim rule the style of dress of the rulers became fashionable. With Congress in power there was a sudden switch from the Muslim court-dress to Congress-patronized national dress. Modern Indian—as well as Western-style clothes—cigarettes, sun-glasses and tea are not only popular because of their utility, they possess a great prestige value as well.

Influence of the city has brought about adjustment and modification in several spheres, but the need of balancing different extremes in the organization of the community has so far prevented any drastic structural change in village communities. Under the impact of the new socio-economic factors the family ties have weakened, the kin-group has lost some of its characteristic strength and in the system of status evaluation achieved-status is competing with traditionally ascribed status; but the society still continues to be caste-structured as caste plays a vital role in its social, economic and ritual organization. Democracy has brought in its wake party organization and elections which demand group formation and group allegiance: in several rural areas no new groups have emerged, the loyalties of the people have only been re-affirmed to the pre-existing caste groups. While no important social or economic projects and reforms have so far been put into operation, the first major political change—the

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

426 poorer classes, when they find that their debts have overgrown their income, generally hand over their lands to the lenders of money.

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165 The village statistics show 480 children born in the five years
759 from 1911 to 1915, 321 under 14 years of age dying during these years. The record of births is probably very defective, but the rate of mortality among infants and young children is certainly terribly high. There is no effective medical assistance available. The quack doctors of the village are merely deceitful and ignorant and practice the trade with no schooling or knowledge. Men following various occupations, who do not earn much at their proper calling, are the doctors of the village, who administer red or black powders to the patient one after another, call the fever this and that, starve the patient for 15 or 20 days, keep him in comfortable delusions all the while, and having made up 20 or 30 rupees send him to an untimely grave. The villagers prefer to entrust their lives to these doctors than to risk them in the hands of an English trained doctor. The hospital assistant near by has not won a good name for English medicine.

The wife of the barber is the nurse for all cases of pregnancy, and the general authority on all cases of feminine complaints.

● 758 For want of education, people do not observe the elementary principles of sanitation. For instance in times of epidemic diseases they do not isolate patients. They spread the disease by cleaning all kinds of cloth in village tanks. They do not reveal the disease immediately after the attack. They keep the patients in crowded houses and move and eat and sleep very close to them. Even for ordinary fevers, the patient is starved for 5 or 6 days, so that he will be weak and useless for work for a number of days afterwards.

511 The poorer classes are often subjected to disease for want of
356 healthy and sufficient food, and clean surroundings. Every poor man has two or three cattle at least; and their huts being crowded, with limited space, it happens generally that the cattle are kept

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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361 489 station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

465 [804] *Economic condition.*—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

435 Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee	
Ragi	...	...	...	10	,, ,,
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10	,, ,,
Cholam	...	...	...	9	,, ,,
Tamarind		...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*	
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6	,,
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8	,,

426 The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

[452] There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

435 Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

796 *Expenditure on religious festivals.*—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

164 [759] [743] *Sanitary condition.*—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

562 Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

364 Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

312 For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¼ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzalu or cholam about 1¼ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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426 Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

435 Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

426 Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

796 *Festivals.*—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gownipalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, [782] wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. [781] The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease ● 759 people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest [743] hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

352 All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

582 No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.

[582] All Muhammadans observe purdah.

310 Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

871 *Education.*—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

is worshipped. Incense is burnt by putting *ghee* (clarified butter) on a fire in front of Vishnu's image. Two red threads are tied by the Brahmin, first to the arms of the image, and a little later, after being removed therefrom, to his own arm.

Petramasa. The last day of the dark fortnight in the month of Bhadrapada is dedicated to ceremonies in honour of the ancestors and the deceased members of the household. In fact the whole fortnight preceding this day is occupied by this activity, for water must be offered to the dead on the *tithi* (the lunar day corresponding to that of their death). Among the higher castes, if the family can afford it, the Brahmin is invited to officiate at these rites. Those who cannot afford it, and people of the lower castes, manage it themselves. On the Petramasa day itself cooked rice, curds and several other preparations are offered to the deceased members of the lineage. Gifts of money, grain and vegetables are made to the Brahmin and the Jangam.

If there was a death in the family in the preceding year, during the Petramasa fortnight on the lunar day of death, an elaborate rite is performed to call home the spirit of the deceased and lodge it with other ancestor-spirits in one corner of the house. For these rites different branches of a family gather together under one main roof.

The Malas and Madigas as well as Vaddars and Erkalas do not have an elaborate observance. However, the first two make small gifts of money to the Jangam in honour of their dead, if the Jangam visits their houses.

Dasara. This festival is observed in the village both individually and collectively. All Hindus bath early in the morning. The Brahmin and the Komti worship a bunch of *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*) leaves along with the images of gods; others worship only the deities. Observed on the tenth day of Ashvina, Dasara is regarded as a non-vegetarian festival. With the exception of Brahmins and Komtis, who are vegetarians, the other non-vegetarian castes make it a point to cook some meat dish on this day. At midday people worship the gods in their houses.

In the afternoon the Brahmin visits the Deshmukh's house, and worships a bunch of *shami* leaves and the headman's ancestral weapons. In the meantime a flag is hoisted on the central flag post near the police station. Madigas beat their drums and people start collecting. When all the responsible village elders assemble

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Muslims
Hindus

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586 clauses pertaining to alimony are embodied in the written marriage contract. In actual practice, in all cases of desertion and 'running away' these conditions are not adhered to very strictly, and compensation when paid is substantially less than the figure mentioned
585 in the contract. As pointed out earlier the marriage rites are conducted by the *kazi*, who is invited from the city for this purpose.

761 *Death.* Both Hindus and Muslims understand the physiological causes of death. It is generally attributed to natural causes, such as disease or old age; but in all cases where the circumstances or manner of death are unusual it is attributed to supernatural factors, such as wrath of gods and ancestor-spirits, witchcraft and black magic.

764 Among all the Hindu castes, the dead children are buried. The Brahmin and the Komti as a rule cremate their dead, except in cases of death from snake-bite and smallpox. Among the other higher castes both cremation and burial are practised. It is usual to cremate the aged as well as the rich and the influential. In the lower castes such as the Sakali, the Mangali and the Erkala, as well as among the untouchable Malas and Madigas, burial is more common. Soon after a death, word is sent round to relations and friends in the village and also in the neighbouring villages. The corpse is washed, clothed and tied on to a wooden or bamboo bier. It is covered with a new cloth, and decorated with flowers. If the family can afford it Madigas are called to play their musical instruments, which they do walking at the head of the procession. The bier is carried by four people on their shoulders. As they proceed slowly towards the graveyard or the cremation ground, people keep on repeating some solemn slogans, such as 'the name of God alone is true' or 'be truthful and your salvation will be assured'. When a person is to be cremated, his or her son, or in the absence of a son a younger brother or some other near kin, carries an earthen pot with fire in it. Midway between the house and the burial ground the bier is placed on the earth for a few minutes' 'rest', and then carried on. Before putting it on the funeral pyre or in the grave, the son, or a near relation of the deceased, goes round the pyre (or grave) three times sprinkling water all around it. The body is then put on the pyre with the bier, or is taken from it and put in the grave. A near kinsman sets fire to the pyre, or

RITUAL STRUCTURE

5. RELIGION IN DISEASE AND DIFFICULTY

In the two preceding sections an attempt has been made to present the ritual cycle of the community covering firstly the festivals and ceremonies within a normal calendar year, and secondly, the rites and observances concerning the major crises of life. These cycles are rigidly observed, as their observance constitutes the *dharma* or the appropriate way of life, and leads to the prosperity and well-being of the family as well as to a desirable future for the individual after death. With the exception of these festivals, under normal conditions of life, there is very little spiritual or devotional activity in the community. But persistent difficulties, uncommon diseases, and frequent deaths turn the people's thoughts to supernatural factors; events are interpreted in terms of supernatural interferences, and are sought to be remedied by magico-religious procedures.

Most of the common diseases are interpreted as a 'fault in the physical system', and are treated with herbal medicines or modern drugs obtained from the dispensary. Common colds, headaches, fever, stomach-ache, scabies, gonorrhoea and syphilis are regarded as natural diseases, and an effort is made to cure them with medicines. But persistent headaches, intermittent fevers, continued stomach disorders, rickets and other wasting diseases among children, menstrual troubles, repeated abortions, etc., are attributed to supernatural forces. In all such cases medicinal cures as well as propitiation of the 'unseen powers' are attempted simultaneously. Similarly, such calamities as the failure of crops, total blindness, repeated failures in undertakings, deaths of children in quick succession and too many deaths in the family within a short time are taken to indicate 'misfortune' and 'the handiwork of malevolent supernatural forces'. Smallpox, cholera and plague are always attributed to the wrath of various goddesses. For these diseases worship is regarded as the only remedy; and no medicines are administered to the patients.

What are the major factors that cause these difficulties, distresses and deaths? In the village community they are attributed to one or more of the following:

(i) The wrath of ancestor-spirits.
(ii) Unfavourable stars.
(iii) Ghosts and spirits.
(iv) The wrath of gods.
(v) Black magic and witchcraft.

LIVING TOGETHER

up man; but his child bride was unable to take her place as his wife for some three years more. To keep her son away from eloping with a young woman, E. R. not only tolerated but encouraged—some people say she actually brought it about—Y.'s liaison with a woman of the same caste living in the neighbourhood. For three or four years everything went on well and the relations between the mother and child were most cordial. Trouble started when Y.'s wife came to live with them. E. R. had expected that her son's amours with the other woman would end shortly. In this she was wrong. The young wife failed to win the affection of her husband, who remained deeply attached to his former mistress. E. R. could not tolerate this. She tried different methods to dissuade her son, and with every failure her relations with him were more embittered. Quarrels between them became frequent. Tired of the incessant flow of criticism and bitter remarks from her, one day Y. struck her—with fists first and later with a stick. He also perhaps pulled her hair. All this happened so suddenly, and E. R.'s husband was at the time so overcome that he found himself helpless and could not intervene in the matter. Infuriated by this E. R. ran into the street and started wailing and cursing loudly. Very soon this attracted a large crowd. Her husband tried to pacify her, but E. R. would not let him come near her. She said to him, 'You claim to be a man! Do you? You could see your son beating me in your very presence and did not lift even your little finger. For me you are dead. Go, go away—for me you are dead. Did you hear that?' Saying this she started breaking her glass bangles. This was quite serious for a Hindu woman breaks her bangles only when she is widowed. The crowd tried to pacify her. Sympathizers made efforts to find out what the matter was. For over an hour E. R. continued cursing her son and husband, spitting 'at their name' and throwing dust, signifying their burial. Then she gave a detailed and rather exaggerated account of the happenings of that evening. Three elders who were present at the spot immediately summoned the son and asked him to touch the feet of his mother and apologize to her. This he did readily, although with a sullen face. But E. R. reacted with another spurt of abuse and foul language. After a while people took them home. The gravity of the matter demanded its consideration by the full village council. Once again the son had to apologize to the mother, and in addition had to pay a small fine for his unbecoming behaviour.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

the death of Kemal Yar Jung the property came under the administration of the Court of Wards. In the meantime, vast changes were taking place in Hyderabad. After the Police Action of 1948, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Republic. With the inauguration of the democratic order the Nizam has become a constitutional ruler and the feudal system within the State has been abolished. In consequence Shamirpet now comes under the jurisdiction of the normal district administration.

Shamirpet is situated at a distance of about a furlong from the north-bound road which runs between Hyderabad and Karimnagar. An unmetalled road links the village with the main road, from which some of the houses in the village are clearly visible. Between the road and the village there is a flat and fairly level patch of ground, and in the centre of this ground there is a tree around which the Muslims bury their dead. At the junction of the main road and the diversion leading to the village there is a small shelter for passengers awaiting the buses, built in stone and lime. A little way down to the north stands the Inspection Bungalow of the State Public Works Department. It is intended for the use of touring government officials, and can also be used by occasional visitors, who have to make a small payment for its use. Further north, at a distance of about two and a half furlongs, is the tank, which in its setting of barren rocks and tall trees provides a beautiful landscape. Between the tank and the road now lie the ruins of the 'summer house' which was built on the tank-bund by the last feudal landlord of the village. In his time it was provided with an electric generator, pipe lines and modern sanitary fittings, but after the Nawab's death it was deserted and is now a melancholy but romantic sight.

The village itself is not built according to a definite plan. A wide main street lies in the centre and runs almost parallel to and roughly a furlong away from the main road. As we proceed northwards down this street we find on the right a number of whitewashed stone buildings housing the various government offices, and on the left there are a number of small tea and betel shops. On the right there are also the residential quarters of the sub-inspector of police who is in charge of the police station, a government granary, living quarters of the police constables, the village dispensary, the school and the post office. Lanes branch off both right and left from the street, and on either side of these lanes are

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puts a few handfuls of earth in the grave. In the case of a burial all persons present at the spot take a hand in filling the grave. When the pyre is burnt half-way, or when the grave is filled up, the people return home, bathing on the way. 764

What happens to the soul of the dead? If the death is on an auspicious day and time, the soul goes straight to the Supreme Being; ordinarily it hovers round the house—mainly on the roof, above the main entrance—for eleven to thirteen days. This is the stereotype description; but further analysis reveals a rather diffused belief-pattern: (i) near the place of burial or cremation the person dwells in a ghost-like form; (ii) the soul goes to God, where according to the deeds of the deceased in his life-time it is sent to heaven or hell; (iii) it takes re-birth, often within a few days of the death—as a human being or in some other species; (iv) it can be called back through prescribed ritual to reside with the other ancestor-spirits in the house. Some of these explanations appear to be contradictory, but people believe in them all at once. 775

On the third day after death the first purificatory rites take place, involving the cleansing of the house, washing of all household linen and clothes, and the throwing away of all earthen pots used for cooking or for storing water. On the eleventh or thirteenth day further purificatory rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of members of the household. On this day food and water are offered to the soul of the deceased, near relations have a hair-cut and bath (on the death of the father or mother all the hair on the head as well as moustache and beard must be shaved) and a feast is given. Among the higher castes a Brahmin belonging to one of the nearby villages comes and conducts the rites on this day; others follow their own caste customs. These higher castes collect the bones from the cremation ground and immerse them in a holy river—generally in the Godavari, which is the nearest to Shamirpet, but in exceptional cases in the Ganges, which is regarded as the holiest of all rivers by the Hindus all over India. As pointed out earlier, in the Petramasa fortnight water is offered to the ancestor-spirits; and during the first Petramasa after death the soul of the deceased is invited to 'come back' and is lodged with the spirits of the other ancestors in one corner of the house. 768 765 769

Abnormal deaths require a special treatment. A woman dying 000

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Abnormal deaths ... special treatment. A woman dying
766 in pregnancy, a young man dying without sexual satisfaction, or a person dying without having satisfied any of his deep cravings, will all experience difficulty in their rehabilitation in the supernatural world, and their souls will keep on returning to the world
[775] of the living periodically. These are the persons who often turn into ghosts, reside permanently in the village and create difficulties in the normal life of the community. To undo their evil special skills must be employed.

764 Muslim death customs differ from those of the Hindus. The toes of the corpse are tied together with a cord; and a small bundle of salt is placed on the stomach to prevent its swelling. Friends and relations gather together and make preparations for the funeral. A new cloth, to cover the body, is bought, and the communal wooden box used for carrying the dead to the graveyard is requisitioned. The corpse of a man is covered with three pieces of cloth; that of a woman with five pieces. Camphor powder is sprinkled on the forehead, eyes, palms and legs of the deceased. It is customary to sprinkle some perfume also. Relations and friends have a last look at the deceased, and then put the corpse in the wooden box. The box is lifted by four men, and carried to the mosque by the male relations and friends. As they go, people keep on repeating, 'There is no god except Allah'. Funeral prayers are said there, and the procession resumes its journey towards the graveyard. The corpse is put in the grave, passages from the Koran are read, and then the grave is filled up. All those who accompany the bier put some earth in the grave, reciting passages from the Koran. When this has been done, all step forty paces from the burial place, and return to it again saying prayers (*fatiha*) for
[illegible] the deceased and invoking the Almighty's blessings for him. For two days after the death 'there must be no fire in the hearth', and food for the bereaved family is sent by near relations. On the third day prayers are said in the mosque and, later, flowers are placed on the grave by the relations of the deceased. This is done on the tenth day also. On the fortieth day all those who have participated in the funeral assemble together. Prayers are said again, and some people go to lay flowers on the grave. This is followed by a dinner. On the occasion of the death anniversary, flowers are again laid on the grave, prayers said, and a dinner is given in memory of the deceased.

443 where they could sit and deal in their goods. The anxiety of Panchayats to auction their market receipts to the highest bidder would never go further enough to make them realise their concomittant responsibilities for this fruitful source of income and those who contributed to it. The sheds were provided for in Attili and Akividu in West Godavari, Razole in East Godavari, and Dharmavaram in Anantapur. These were only rare exceptions rather than the rule in each and every district. If that was the situation in major Panchayats, the minor Panchayats could not naturally do more.

●764 **Burning and Burial Grounds—Construction and Maintenance :** Practically very few Panchayats seemed to be doing anything towards this obligation. Except in a few places like, Tanuku and Bhimavaram in West Godavari, and Amalapuram in East Godavari, most of the other Panchayats did not reveal recurrent attention or expenditure on this item which was one of their obligatory duties.

While informal enquiries made in Panchayats visited, revealed an abiding interest in this matter, there was no regular expenditure incurred on this item. None of the Panchayats usually provided pendals or some erections to give shade to those who had to go there. Neither the Panchayats nor their supervisory staff ever seemed to have insisted on the careful observance of this obligation.

365 **Night Lighting in Streets :** Provision of lights for the convenience of the passers-by in the streets in villages was done in most of the Panchayats. They were either kerosene or petromax, gas or electric lights. Where there was no electricity, the number of lights compared to pre-war times had been less. Except in some places where either the Panchayat was superseded or the Panchayat was in no way able to meet this obligation, the lighting facilities were always provided either it was a 1st, 2nd or 3rd grade Panchayat. The situation in the minor Panchayats was a bit different and most of them were not able to provide this facility, not so much because they could not afford it, but beacuse there was no effective power to enforce this obligation.

The following table gives the numbet of lights now used and existed prior to the rationing of kerosene oil.

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 367

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sale. 443

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

Management of fairs and festivals was done by a few minor or major Panchayats, but, without exploiting their privileged position by means of a pilgrim tax or a tax on the vendors. 543

Optional functions like plantation of trees, provision of cart and bus stands, radio sets for listeners, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, etc. were done only by very few Panchayats. 623

The attendance of the members at the meetings of Panchayats was so irregular that there was often no quorum. Sometimes the Panchayats held no meetings at all for a long time or the members absented themslves continuously without any action being taken against them.

Panchayats were superseded and special officers were appointed to administer them for a year or two, when Panchayats could not work properly either due to local factions or opposition to taxation or any other undesirable features. Fresh Panchayat was ushered in only after the prevailing irregularities were removed and when the prospects of its smooth working were tolerably certain. 687 623

1: Duke E-5 (1961-62) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus

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On the third day after death the first purificatory rites take place, involving the cleansing of the house, washing of all household linen and clothes, and the throwing away of all earthen pots used for cooking or for storing water. On the eleventh or thirteenth day further purificatory rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of members of the household. On this day food and water are offered to the soul of the deceased, near relations have a hair-cut and bath (on the death of the father or mother all the hair on the head as well as moustache and beard must be shaved) and a feast is given. Among the higher castes a Brahmin belonging to one of the nearby villages comes and conducts the rites on this day; others follow their own caste customs. These higher castes collect the bones from the cremation ground and immerse them in a holy river—generally in the Godavari, which is the nearest to Shamirpet, but in exceptional cases in the Ganges, which is regarded as the holiest of all rivers by the Hindus all over India. As pointed out earlier, in the Petramasa fortnight water is offered to the ancestor-spirits; and during the first Petramasa after death the soul of the deceased is invited to 'come back' and is lodged with the spirits of the other ancestors in one corner of the house. 768 765 769

Abnormal deaths require a special treatment. A woman dying 800

RITUAL STRUCTURE

Abnormal deaths & special treatment, A woman dying
766 in pregnancy, a young man dying without sexual satisfaction, or a person dying without having satisfied any of his deep cravings, will all experience difficulty in their rehabilitation in the supernatural world, and their souls will keep on returning to the world [775] of the living periodically. These are the persons who often turn into ghosts, reside permanently in the village and create difficulties in the normal life of the community. To undo their evil special skills must be employed.

764 Muslim death customs differ from those of the Hindus. The toes of the corpse are tied together with a cord; and a small bundle of salt is placed on the stomach to prevent its swelling. Friends and relations gather together and make preparations for the funeral. A new cloth, to cover the body, is bought, and the communal wooden box used for carrying the dead to the graveyard is requisitioned. The corpse of a man is covered with three pieces of cloth; that of a woman with five pieces. Camphor powder is sprinkled on the forehead, eyes, palms and legs of the deceased. It is customary to sprinkle some perfume also. Relations and friends have a last look at the deceased, and then put the corpse in the wooden box. The box is lifted by four men, and carried to the mosque by the male relations and friends. As they go, people keep on repeating, 'There is no god except Allah'. Funeral prayers are said there, and the procession resumes its journey towards the graveyard. The corpse is put in the grave, passages from the Koran are read, and then the grave is filled up. All those who accompany the bier put some earth in the grave, reciting passages from the Koran. When this has been done, all step forty paces from the burial place, and return to it again saying prayers (*fatiha*) for
765 the deceased and invoking the Almighty's blessings for him. For two days after the death 'there must be no fire in the hearth', and food for the bereaved family is sent by near relations. On the third day prayers are said in the mosque and, later, flowers are placed on the grave by the relations of the deceased. This is done on the tenth day also. On the fortieth day all those who have participated in the funeral assemble together. Prayers are said again, and some people go to lay flowers on the grave. This is followed by a dinner. On the occasion of the death anniversary, flowers are again laid on the grave, prayers said, and a dinner is given in memory of the deceased.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus
Muslims

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RITUAL STRUCTURE

Moharram. On the tenth day in the month of Moharram, Imam Hussain, the grandson of Mohammed, was put to death in the plains of Karbala after being denied food and water for three days. Moharram is observed in honour of this martyr and his associates. On the Moharram day symbols of Imam Hussain and his family, known as *alums*, are taken out by the Muslims in a procession to a nearby river or tank. All along the route they beat their breasts and cry aloud 'O, son of Ali' or 'Hussain, Hussain' and wail over the martyr's death. *Tajia* or large paper models of his tomb are also taken out and immersed in water. In all Muslim households a sweet drink either of water and sugar, or of milk and sugar, is prepared and distributed among friends and relations. The giving of alms and charity on this day is believed to contribute greatly towards ensuring one's future.

Meelad Sharif. Unlike Moharram, which calls for mourning, Meelad Sharif is an occasion for rejoicing, as the Prophet Mohammed was born on the twelfth day of the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal. On the eleventh and twelfth days of this month people observe a fast. Muslim priests visit their homes, and passages from the Koran are read. Flowers and sweets are distributed in the name of Mohammed. The celebrations are continued for a month; although the festivities are at their peak on the two days mentioned above.

Giarwin Sharif. This is an important festival for the Sunni sect of the Muslims. It is observed in honour of Abdul Kader Geelani who belonged to Mohammed's generation, and was regarded as a very pious and holy figure. On the eleventh day of the month of Rabi-us-sani, the Muslims of Shamirpet fly the flag of Abdul Kader on their houses, and offer sweets, flowers and prayers in the name of their hero.

Shabe Miraj. On the twenty-sixth day of Rajjub, accompanied by an angel, Mohammed is believed to have visited the seven heavens and hell. Later it is said that he had an audience with Allah himself. To celebrate this event, this day is expected to be spent in meditation and prayer. If possible people keep awake for the whole night saying prayers and asking for Allah's blessings.

Shabe Barat. On the night of the fourteenth day of Shaban, Muslims offer sweets and bread in the name of their deceased kin. They visit their graves and offer flowers and prayers. It is believed

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769 that on this day the spirits of the dead come out to see their relations and to receive presents from them. Later all Muslims—men and women (if they are not in their menstrual period)—say their prayers and ask for God's blessing for their long life. Also they read the Koran. This night is important in that it is now that Allah determines the course of the lives of his followers for the coming year.

796 *Ramzan.* Ramzan is the most important month in the religious year of the Muslims. As far as possible, people try to fast for the whole month. They can have food before dawn and after dusk, but in between even a drop of water is not permitted. During these days one should devote as much time as possible to meditation and prayer. The twenty-sixth day of the month is specially important because it was on this day that 'Mohammed received the Koran from Allah'. People wear new clothes on this day, read the Koran and say their prayers. There is considerable enthusiasm in evidence as all Muslims—men, women and children—say their prayers and seek God's blessings. The month-long fasting ends on the day they see the new moon. The next day is spent in festivity and is known as 'Id-ul-fitr'. People breakfast early and wear their best—possibly new—clothes. The men go to the mosque for their Id prayers. After the prayers they go round to their friends' houses meeting and greeting them. On this day and on the two days following a sweet preparation consisting of vermicelli, milk and dates is made, and portions of it are sent to friends and relations. It is desirable that those who can afford it should distribute 2½ seers of grain per head to the poor and the needy.

[735]

Id-uz-zuha. This festival is celebrated on the tenth day of the month of Zilhij. People get up early in the morning and without breakfast go to the mosque for their prayers. When they return home they sacrifice goats in the name of God. The general rule is that one goat is sacrificed in the name of each member of the family; but if this is not possible financially, a goat each may be sacrificed for each adult member of the household. Of course, even this is too much for many of the poorer Muslims, who sacrifice just one goat on behalf of the whole family. The meat of the sacrificed animals is cooked and people have their breakfast. Then they go round to meet and greet their friends. Delicacies and meat dishes are prepared in fairly large quantities and distributed among friends and relations.

I: Dube E-5 (1961-62) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
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RITUAL STRUCTURE

If ancestor-spirits are ignored and 'not given their due' they warn the family by causing some minor—but noticeable—trouble. It is for the members of the family to take this 'timely warning' and remove the cause of the ancestors' anger. Failure in this often leads to serious consequences and irreparable losses. Ill-luck and misfortunes persist all along the way of a person whose 'stars are unfavourable'. Hysteria, fits and 'possession by spirits' are the result of hostility of spirits and ghosts. The village goddesses are known for their violent temperament and retaliate quickly and severely, even for minor offences against them. The all-India gods are comparatively pacific; and punish people only for 'gross disrespect' shown towards them. Enmity may lead to the use of black magic or witchcraft, which may be the root cause of the trouble in many cases of persistent disease and ill-luck.

Most of the cases need the diagnosis of a specialist. Sometimes the ancestor-spirits convey their anger in dreams to some member of the family. Often the ghost possessing an individual reveals its identity through its victim. But in other cases a proper diagnosis is necessary. Why is the ancestor-spirit angry? What should be done to pacify it? How could the evil influence of unlucky stars be averted? Only the Brahmin or a local seer can answer these questions. For undoing the evil influence of spirits and ghosts the services of a competent specialist must be sought. Similarly, the hostile magician or witch must be matched by a more powerful magician.

The ancestor-spirits are not very difficult to please. When the cause of their anger is known, an apology followed by worship is often enough to appease them. Fasting, repentance and food offerings are generally enough to please the gods. Goddesses are more difficult, and require the sacrifice of a fowl or goat. Unfavourable stars require fasting, worship and certain ceremonies following the recommendations of the Brahmin. The giving of alms to the Brahmin and the poor generally follows these ceremonies. Several different techniques can be employed to keep ghosts and spirits in check, and for counteracting black magic and witchcraft. As far as possible, 'all the reasonable demands of a ghost should be fulfilled', but if it still persists in its mischief 'it should be tied down' and 'kept in captivity'. Against sorcery and witchcraft drastic steps are required. For action under both these categories, i.e. against ghosts, as well as against black magic and witchcraft, three

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

natural and necessary. Only morons and cripples remain single. Though it is rare for people to renounce their home and property in old age, old men and women excessively attached to material goods come in for a good deal of criticism, and people often remark about them, 'Will they carry their wealth with them to the other world when they die?' It is at this time that their thoughts turn more to religion and to the destiny of their souls in the future life, and it is now that they generally undertake pilgrimages to holy places. In a sense the broad essentials of the philosophy of the *ashramas* can be said to permeate the life and thought of the Hindu villagers. The village Muslims share these social attitudes with their Hindu neighbours. With conversion to Islam they have changed their religious faith, but in the socio-cultural spheres of life they still continue to have more or less the same basic attitudes as the Hindus. In their family ethics and ideals the two groups demonstrate considerable similarity.

To the village people the necessity of both marriage and family is self-evident. It is necessary that the family line should be continued. A male heir must be left. An unmarried person past the marriage age is an object of pity. A couple without a son are unhappy. Childlessness and inability to produce a male child on the part of a woman often lead to a polygynous household. Marriage is regarded as essential among all the castes and social groups in the village. In a community of 2,494 persons, demographic survey reveals the presence of only two single persons—both women. One of these is a deaf-mute; the other has been a victim of epileptic fits from her childhood and has in addition the unenviable reputation of being a thief. For the clean-caste Hindus the continuity of the family line is necessary for a further reason. A male child must make a ceremonial offering of water to the spirits of his deceased parents and ancestors, without which their souls may not have peace. The untouchable castes as well as the semi-tribal groups also have this ritual in a modified form. The Muslims neither have this belief nor any attendant ritual, but they too share with the Hindus the sentiment against childlessness.

1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

The patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint family is the normal type of family unit met with in this part of rural India.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER FOUR

Ritual Structure

I. THE CHARACTER OF RELIGION

A TEXT-BOOK knowledge of the religious lore of India, and an acquaintance with her ancient classics and their modern expositions will hardly give us a true picture of the actual religious beliefs, thoughts, feelings and practices of the people now living in the countryside. A classification of their religious beliefs and ritual is not an easy task. Folklore and myths, religious teachings of saint-poets, and contacts with persons having knowledge of scriptures and popular religious books have all influenced their religious ideology, and consequently their religion is a mixture of animism, animatism and polytheism, with the occasional appearance of monotheism also. To these must be added a living faith in spirits, ghosts, demons, witches and magic. The complex of all these diverse factors constitutes the picture of the supernatural world as it is understood by the people in the countryside. Tenets of classical Hinduism having an all-India spread are mingled with the regional religious beliefs and forms of worship current among the Hindus of the Deccan plateau. Several cults and worships of a purely local nature add further to the complexity of the beliefs and ritual system of the community. A wide variety of cults is observed by the family, some by the village as a whole; and still others by individual caste groups.

What is the attitude of the individual towards religion in general? And what is his attitude towards the rituals and cults organized by the different units of the community? An attempt to answer these questions will greatly help our understanding of the character of religion as accepted and practised by the people.

Shamirpet is predominantly a Hindu village. The Muslim sec-

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The Muslim section of the population belongs to the Sunni sect and follows the religious pattern laid down in the Koran as interpreted by the founders of this sect. A devout Muslim is expected to offer prayers five times a day. In Shamirpet this would be the exception rather than the general rule. Some of the Muslim elders offer prayers twice a day, some only once and the rest are contented with their weekly prayers on Friday. The Mulla, the Muslim priest in the village, is the only person who offers the prescribed prayers every day. Fasting during the month of Ramzan is undertaken by a very large number of Muslims, but those maintaining it without a break until the end of the month would not total even a quarter of that number. The Muslims have a high degree of community-consciousness, but in Shamirpet it does not find expression in the form of intense religious devotion among the adherents of the Islamic faith.

With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti castes, the Hindus have no fixed time for daily worship. The number of people who visit a temple or shrine every day is negligible. But festivals and ceremonies are observed with unfailing regularity. Otherwise the gods are remembered only at times of disease or difficulty. As a rule, only some of the elderly people devote themselves to 'the daily duty of remembering the creator'; the younger people 'have much else to do'. They participate in ceremonies, partake of the festival feasts, and assemble to listen to the reading of the holy books and to the recitation of mythological legends by professionals when they happen to visit the village. The tasks of remembrance and repentance are postponed for old age. Among both men and women, only the elders seem to talk about 'the change of times' and 'the decline in the religious attitudes and ethical standards of the people'. In the everyday thought and speech of the younger generation there is very little of religion; and little conscious effort at seeking any deep religious experience or thrill is to be found among them. In the life of the community under observation, we noticed only two exceptions to this. One of these is the *Urs*, a semi-religious fair, commemorating Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine with some reputation for being a holy man. This fair is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also. The second is the annual worship of a village goddess organized by the village. On both these occasions several people are temporarily possessed by the spirit

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

of Jalal Miyan or by one of the goddesses. Going into a trance these people speak for the spirit which possesses them. The other people who are present there make offerings to them, seek solutions of their pressing problems and difficulties, and request them to remedy their ills and worries. Considerable enthusiasm is in evidence among them at this time. With these exceptions there is very little religious thought, talk or worship in normal life.

However, both Hindus and Muslims have a degree of fatalism and demonstrate a spirit of resignation towards predestined facts ordained for them by the supernatural forces of the world beyond. People can often be heard to remark, 'If it is written in our fate, we must submit to it. Human effort cannot alter the will of God. What is predestined must have its course.' But this fatalism makes its appearance only when the people have tried their best to solve the problem and having spared no effort still find themselves no nearer a solution. Coupled with this concept of fate is the Hindu doctrine of *karma*. According to this concept, which takes for granted the phenomenon of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth, our actions in the past life determine the character of our present life, and our actions in this life will determine the character of our future life. The village people clearly reconcile and synthesize these two views into a practical precept: the course of our present life is largely predestined on the basis of our acts in the past life, but by acting 'rightly' in this life we can materially influence the course of our life after death.

The rural ethic lays great emphasis on 'acting rightly', that is on the observance of traditional norms; because it is the only way to achieve happiness and prosperity in this life, and more than that to ensure the destiny of the soul after death. The problem of the future plays a very significant part in the ordering of life. Both Hindus and Muslims believe that death is not the end; there is something beyond it. Both attach great importance to the destiny of the soul after death. While the Muslim expects to remain in his grave until the Resurrection, when on the Day of Judgement he will be assigned to heaven (*jannat*) or hell (*jahannum*) according to his deeds, for the Hindu life is practically an unending process. After death one either goes to heaven (*swarga*) or to hell (*narka*), or one takes re-birth. Depending on one's actions in the past life, one may be born into one of the castes higher or lower than one's caste in the previous life, or even into some other lower species

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bath or wash is necessary to remove the impurity caused by the act. Non-observance of these rules will have a polluting effect; and according to the nature and degree of pollution purificatory rites will have to be undertaken.

Belief in ghosts and spirits is universal. They are feared and propitiated. Strange mystical power pervading certain objects is recognized, and fetishes and amulets are eagerly sought. Witchcraft is often suspected, and three or four people in the community are believed to possess magical powers.

Clearly, Hinduism as it is practised in the village is not the Hinduism of the classical philosophical systems of India, for it possesses neither the metaphysical heights nor the abstract content of the latter. It is a religion of fasts, feasts and festivals, in which prescribed rituals cover all the major crises of life. Worship and propitiation of gods and spirits follow the annual round of festivals and the ritual of the human life-cycle. Disease and difficulty may also necessitate invoking assistance from these sources.

In early childhood religious instruction through legendary tales and anecdotes exercises its influence on the developing mind of the child in whose thoughts and world of fancy these ideas linger on. Youth brings in its wake a more worldly and materialistic outlook towards life and its pleasures. Thoughts are turned to religion when the evening of life approaches, partly to postpone the final moment of departure as long as it could be, and partly to ensure the future lying beyond the point of death. Analysis of life-histories reveals that spiritualism cannot be said to be the keynote in the life of the community; far from it the religion appears to be a practical one. It strengthens and fortifies the individual and the group in situations where technical competence and practical intelligence are of no avail, and at the same time acts as a bond of cohesion for maintaining the structural unity of the society.

2: BELIEF: GODS AND DEITIES

The Muslims believe in one God, and follow the way of life laid down for them by their Prophet. They all belong to the Sunni division, and as such differ from the Shias and other splinter divisions of Islam in respect of the interpretation of their holy book as well as in several details of belief, ritual and ceremonial. Almost all the Muslims of Shamirpet have been converted to Islam from Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations.

RITUAL STRUCTURE

795 Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations. They
776 do not believe in any of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, nor in any of the later incarnations; but they share with the Hindus a living faith in the existence of malevolent ghosts, spirits and witches. They participate with the rest of the community in village ceremonies and sacrifices. To ward off cholera, plague and smallpox, they too think that it is necessary to propitiate the local deities and goddesses.

779 Village Hinduism is not easy to describe. It is an extremely
184 elastic religion, and within its all-India framework admits of a
614] considerable degree of regional and local variation. In his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, M. N. Srinivas has introduced the useful concept of 'spread', and split up village Hinduism into 'All India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and 'Local Hinduism'.

776 The people of Shamirpet worship all the major gods of the
171 Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his
771 numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. The
171 concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their consequences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth also have such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

778 All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

½ [The Muslims — Analyst]

RITUAL STRUCTURE

5. RELIGION IN DISEASE AND DIFFICULTY

In the two preceding sections an attempt has been made to present the ritual cycle of the community covering firstly the festivals and ceremonies within a normal calendar year, and secondly, the rites and observances concerning the major crises of life. These cycles are rigidly observed, as their observance constitutes the *dharma* or the appropriate way of life, and leads to the prosperity and well-being of the family as well as to a desirable future for the individual after death. With the exception of these festivals, under normal conditions of life, there is very little spiritual or devotional activity in the community. But persistent difficulties, uncommon diseases, and frequent deaths turn the people's thoughts to supernatural factors; events are interpreted in terms of supernatural interferences, and are sought to be remedied by magico-religious procedures.

Most of the common diseases are interpreted as a 'fault in the physical system', and are treated with herbal medicines or modern drugs obtained from the dispensary. Common colds, headaches, fever, stomach-ache, scabies, gonorrhoea and syphilis are regarded as natural diseases, and an effort is made to cure them with medicines. But persistent headaches, intermittent fevers, continued stomach disorders, rickets and other wasting diseases among children, menstrual troubles, repeated abortions, etc., are attributed to supernatural forces. In all such cases medicinal cures as well as propitiation of the 'unseen powers' are attempted simultaneously. Similarly, such calamities as the failure of crops, total blindness, repeated failures in undertakings, deaths of children in quick succession and too many deaths in the family within a short time are taken to indicate 'misfortune' and 'the handiwork of malevolent supernatural forces'. Smallpox, cholera and plague are always attributed to the wrath of various goddesses. For these diseases worship is regarded as the only remedy; and no medicines are administered to the patients.

What are the major factors that cause these difficulties, distresses and deaths? In the village community they are attributed to one or more of the following:

(i) The wrath of ancestor-spirits.
(ii) Unfavourable stars.
(iii) Ghosts and spirits.
(iv) The wrath of gods.
(v) Black magic and witchcraft.

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of Jalal Miyan or by one of the goddesses. Going into a trance these people speak for the spirit which possesses them. The other people who are present there make offerings to them, seek solutions of their pressing problems and difficulties, and request them to remedy their ills and worries. Considerable enthusiasm is in evidence among them at this time. With these exceptions there is very little religious thought, talk or worship in normal life.

However, both Hindus and Muslims have a degree of fatalism and demonstrate a spirit of resignation towards predestined facts ordained for them by the supernatural forces of the world beyond. People can often be heard to remark, 'If it is written in our fate, we must submit to it. Human effort cannot alter the will of God. What is predestined must have its course.' But this fatalism makes its appearance only when the people have tried their best to solve the problem and having spared no effort still find themselves no nearer a solution. Coupled with this concept of fate is the Hindu doctrine of *karma*. According to this concept, which takes for granted the phenomenon of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth, our actions in the past life determine the character of our present life, and our actions in this life will determine the character of our future life. The village people clearly reconcile and synthesize these two views into a practical precept: the course of our present life is largely predestined on the basis of our acts in the past life, but by acting 'rightly' in this life we can materially influence the course of our life after death.

The rural ethic lays great emphasis on 'acting rightly', that is on the observance of traditional norms; because it is the only way to achieve happiness and prosperity in this life, and more than that to ensure the destiny of the soul after death. The problem of the future plays a very significant part in the ordering of life. Both Hindus and Muslims believe that death is not the end; there is something beyond it. Both attach great importance to the destiny of the soul after death. While the Muslim expects to remain in his grave until the Resurrection, when on the Day of Judgement he will be assigned to heaven (*jannat*) or hell (*jahannum*) according to his deeds, for the Hindu life is practically an unending process. After death one either goes to heaven (*swarga*) or to hell (*narka*), or one takes re-birth. Depending on one's actions in the past life, one may be born into one of the castes higher or lower than one's caste in the previous life, or even into some other lower species

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

of the animal kingdom. One should therefore endeavour to go to heaven or to secure re-birth in a respectable caste and good family. In the course of our investigations we found very few people who had even a hazy notion regarding the higher Hindu concept of *moksha* or salvation which secures the emancipation of the soul from all worldly obligations and ensures that it shall cease to take birth again and again in different shapes and forms. But the desire to go to heaven or to ensure a better birth is universal. From one's childhood, one keeps on hearing, often colourful and dramatic, accounts of heaven and hell. 'We shall have to account for our actions before God. We can deceive our family, our village, our caste, and even the established authority, but we can never deceive God. He has the record of every little thing that we do, and after death His agents will decide whether we go to heaven or to hell', is the refrain in the talk of most of the people when they are asked to explain their belief regarding the future of man after death. Descriptions of heaven and hell are vivid and imaginative. 'In heaven you have only to desire a thing and the next moment you find it there', said one of our informants. 'There is peace and plenty in heaven. All people live in luxurious palaces where an army of countless servants looks after all their comforts. There you have the choicest foods, and the best of everything,' explained a Reddi cultivator. A Madiga's picture of heaven was somewhat different. He said, 'When you go to heaven you have a comfortable house fitted with chairs, soft beds and velvet cushions. And you get all the rice that you want to eat, and all the sweets. And you can do what you like for there are no administrative or village officials to curse you and abuse you.' The descriptions of hell are fairly standardized. 'Hell is an awful place. It has several compartments, each one worse than the other. In one compartment roaring fires are kept eternally burning, in another there are deadly snakes, scorpions and crocodiles; then there is a large tank—several miles long—filled with pus and foul-smelling blood, swarming with maggots and hideous insects; and there are hundreds and hundreds of such compartments each with a different torture and punishment awaiting the sinners. According to the nature of their sins, wrong-doers are thrown into one of these sections to suffer the penalties for what they have done. They cry and scream and weep, but the warders in God's prison are merciless. The more the sinners cry, the more they are tortured.' The

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The concept of *dharma* is also important, as it covers all the phases of the human life-cycle and fixes several details of intra- and inter-group life. *Dharma* has often been translated by Western writers as 'religion', but this translation hardly conveys the original meaning. It will perhaps be more appropriate to describe it as '*the* way of life' or 'that which is right'. Acceptance of caste traditions and the general rules of piety, observance of fasts and feasts, rigidly following the norms governing the *rites de passage* and undertaking pilgrimages to places of worship or for bathing in holy rivers, can generally be said to constitute the *dharma* of the people. Special worship and rituals may be performed to attain certain special ends. It is through *dharma* that one can look forward to shaping one's destiny. The concepts of *pap* (sin) and *punya* (merit), and of ritual pollution are fundamental to the wider concept of *dharma*. Certain things must not be done by any member of the community irrespective of his caste because they are sinful. Murder, extreme cruelty and violence, and incest can be placed under this category. There are certain other things which must not be done by certain castes, or by certain individuals in particular conditions. Sexual relations or inter-dining with a person of lower caste will lead to impurity. A woman in menses or a family immediately after childbirth and death remains in a state of ritual impurity for a specified period. After certain bodily excretions such as those of fæces, urine or semen, a prescribed

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CHAPTER V

MODES OF WORSHIP IN THE CANARESE COUNTRY

171 THE Canarese are closely allied ethnologically to the Telugus,[1] and we should naturally expect, therefore, to find a close connexion between the ceremonies used by the two peoples in the worship of their village goddesses. A brief account of the ceremonies used in different parts of the Canarese country will show how far this is actually the case.

776 796 *Bellary District.* In the Bellary district Durgamma,[1] Suṅkalamma, and Uramma are very commonly worshipped. Uramma means simply the village goddess, and is equivalent to the general term grāma-devatā. Her festival is not celebrated annually, but when there is a specially good crop, or when cholera or plague break out. The following account of it was given me by an Asādi of a village near Bellary, and may be taken as describing fairly the general type of such festivals and sacrifices throughout the district.

776 755 772 We will suppose that cholera has broken out in the village. The villagers then make vows to offer the sacrifice if the epidemic ceases. The day appointed for the festival is invariably a Tuesday, and on the previous Tuesday a basin-shaped earthen lamp, filled with oil and furnished with a stout cotton wick, is placed in the house of the *Reddy* (village magistrate) and kept lighted till the festival and all the ceremonies are ended. The carpenter, also, prepares beforehand a wooden image of the goddess and a small cart, while

[1] Durgā is one of the many names of Kāli, the wife of Śiva.

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1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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1: Duke E-8 (1961-62) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus

puts a few handfuls of earth in the grave. In the case of a burial all persons present at the spot take a hand in filling the grave. When the pyre is burnt half-way, or when the grave is filled up, the people return home, bathing on the way. 764

What happens to the soul of the dead? If the death is on an auspicious day and time, the soul goes straight to the Supreme Being; ordinarily it hovers round the house—mainly on the roof, above the main entrance—for eleven to thirteen days. This is the stereotype description; but further analysis reveals a rather diffused belief-pattern: (i) near the place of burial or cremation the person dwells in a ghost-like form; (ii) the soul goes to God, where according to the deeds of the deceased in his life-time it is sent to heaven or hell; (iii) it takes re-birth, often within a few days of the death—as a human being or in some other species; (iv) it can be called back through prescribed ritual to reside with the other ancestor-spirits in the house. Some of these explanations appear to be contradictory, but people believe in them all at once. 775

On the third day after death the first purificatory rites take place, involving the cleansing of the house, washing of all household linen and clothes, and the throwing away of all earthen pots used for cooking or for storing water. On the eleventh or thirteenth day further purificatory rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of members of the household. On this day food and water are offered to the soul of the deceased, near relations have a hair-cut and bath (on the death of the father or mother all the hair on the head as well as moustache and beard must be shaved) and a feast is given. Among the higher castes a Brahmin belonging to one of the nearby villages comes and conducts the rites on this day; others follow their own caste customs. These higher castes collect the bones from the cremation ground and immerse them in a holy river—generally in the Godavari, which is the nearest to Shamirpet, but in exceptional cases in the Ganges, which is regarded as the holiest of all rivers by the Hindus all over India. As pointed out earlier, in the Petramasa fortnight water is offered to the ancestor-spirits; and during the first Petramasa after death the soul of the deceased is invited to 'come back' and is lodged with the spirits of the other ancestors in one corner of the house. 768 765 769

Abnormal deaths require a special treatment. A woman dying 800

RITUAL STRUCTURE

Abnormal deaths ... special treatment. A woman dying
766 in pregnancy, a young man dying without sexual satisfaction, or a person dying without having satisfied any of his deep cravings, will all experience difficulty in their rehabilitation in the supernatural world, and their souls will keep on returning to the world
• [775] of the living periodically. These are the persons who often turn into ghosts, reside permanently in the village and create difficulties in the normal life of the community. To undo their evil special skills must be employed.

764 Muslim death customs differ from those of the Hindus. The toes of the corpse are tied together with a cord; and a small bundle of salt is placed on the stomach to prevent its swelling. Friends and relations gather together and make preparations for the funeral. A new cloth, to cover the body, is bought, and the communal wooden box used for carrying the dead to the graveyard is requisitioned. The corpse of a man is covered with three pieces of cloth; that of a woman with five pieces. Camphor powder is sprinkled on the forehead, eyes, palms and legs of the deceased. It is customary to sprinkle some perfume also. Relations and friends have a last look at the deceased, and then put the corpse in the wooden box. The box is lifted by four men, and carried to the mosque by the male relations and friends. As they go, people keep on repeating, 'There is no god except Allah'. Funeral prayers are said there, and the procession resumes its journey towards the graveyard. The corpse is put in the grave, passages from the Koran are read, and then the grave is filled up. All those who accompany the bier put some earth in the grave, reciting passages from the Koran. When this has been done, all step forty paces from the burial place, and return to it again saying prayers (*fatiha*) for
765 the deceased and invoking the Almighty's blessings for him. For two days after the death 'there must be no fire in the hearth', and food for the bereaved family is sent by near relations. On the third day prayers are said in the mosque and, later, flowers are placed on the grave by the relations of the deceased. This is done on the tenth day also. On the fortieth day all those who have participated in the funeral assemble together. Prayers are said again, and some people go to lay flowers on the grave. This is followed by a dinner. On the occasion of the death anniversary, flowers are again laid on the grave, prayers said, and a dinner is given in memory of the deceased.

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techniques are employed: *mantram* (chants and spells), *yantram* (use of secret formulae and designs) and *chetla kriya* (counter black magic). Amateur practitioners succeed in some cases, but all difficult cases require the intervention of an established specialist. The techniques of these specialists are their closely guarded secrets.

In Shamirpet eleven people claim some knowledge of these techniques; although only three were recognized as having 'real and effective powers'. One person who claimed to be an expert in *chetla kriya*—powerful enough to use black magic as well as to counteract it—died, when this research was in progress.

Fourteen women had some suspicion of witchcraft against them, only two being regarded as established witches. A census of ghosts was difficult, but we listed more than forty of them. Four ghosts were particularly feared. The hillock to the north-west of the village was believed to be the abode of innumerable ghosts, but now it is inhabited by the ghost of a Reddi woman who died in pregnancy. She is known to have attacked several women and children. A Madiga woman who committed suicide by jumping in the well of their settlement also became a ghost. At first she went out of the village and troubled her daughter, but on being 'driven away' from there she is believed to have come back to Shamirpet. The dread of the village, however, is the ghost of a Reddi agriculturist who dwells in the eastern side of the village. Even tough young people are afraid to go 'to his place' at mid-day, dusk or late at night. A young Muslim who died without sex experience is alleged to have interfered with many young women. No effective checks have been improvised so far to keep these ghosts under control. Many others 'have been tamed'. They were the ghosts of persons from the following categories:

(*a*) Persons too much attached to sex, wealth and children.
(*b*) Persons dying without satisfying their sexual cravings.
(*c*) Pregnant women.
(*d*) Persons meeting an accidental death, by falling from a tree, drowning or by lightning.
(*e*) Persons committing suicide.
(*f*) Persons dying with an intense hatred for someone.
(*g*) Persons who have been murdered.

Serious difficulties created by supernatural agencies call for some of the measures enumerated above. For getting over minor

1: Dube
776

AW17 Telugu AW17

[For additional information on deities see category 116, pp. 98-108 and 111-115.]

non-Aryan groups was taking place in Indian society and Hinduism was consolidating itself. The highly organized craftsmen's guilds of those days may perhaps have succeeded in maintaining their integrity and exclusiveness for a long time, but had ultimately to yield; yet the tension created by their resistance remained, and even when they were absorbed into the fold of Hindu society they were not admitted as equals to the groups of comparable social status and in consequence probably continued to maintain their age-long exclusiveness.

All the castes whose relative positions in the caste-hierarchy have been shown in the accompanying table are endogamous. There is a permanent social distance between them; the individual is born into a caste, and a subsequent change in status is, except to the very lowest strata of society, equally impossible upwards or downwards.[1] In general it may be said that people accept food at the hands of all castes occupying a higher level in this hierarchy, the only exception being that of the Vaddar, who do not accept food from the highly placed Sakali and Mangali. Without exception people on a higher level refuse food from those on a lower level. Each caste has a traditional occupation sanctioned by religion, and these monopolies should not be infringed upon, except in the case of agriculture, which all may pursue.

Mention should here be made of the Jangam and the Katike castes, of each of which there is one family in Shamirpet. The Jangam are a semi-priestly caste ritually attached to the Baljas, for whom they tie the 'lingam'—a phallic symbol representing Shiva—and function as priests on the occasion of weddings. On the days of *Pitra Moksha Amavasya*[2] and *Shivaratri*,[3] they visit Hindu houses, particularly of those peasants who follow the Shaivite[4]

[1] When a person is excommunicated or out-casted he is not down-graded and pushed into a lower caste; he is merely denied the privileges of equal participation in the socio-religious life of the community.

[2] The night of the New Moon in the Hindu month of Bhadrapada (August–September).

[3] The day on which Shiva is believed to have drunk the world's poison, retaining it in his throat, and thereby saving mankind from possible harm from this poison.

[4] Of the great gods of the Hindu 'trinity' Brahma is not worshipped because of his sinful infatuation for his own daughter, whilst Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped. Those who principally worship the former, usually in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, are known as Vaishnava; those worshipping the latter as Shaiva or Shaivite. Cf. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London, 1950), pp. 56–59, 296–300, 360–362.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

bath or wash is necessary to remove the impurity caused by the act. Non-observance of these rules will have a polluting effect; and according to the nature and degree of pollution purificatory rites will have to be undertaken.

Belief in ghosts and spirits is universal. They are feared and propitiated. Strange mystical power pervading certain objects is recognized, and fetishes and amulets are eagerly sought. Witchcraft is often suspected, and three or four people in the community are believed to possess magical powers.

Clearly, Hinduism as it is practised in the village is not the Hinduism of the classical philosophical systems of India, for it possesses neither the metaphysical heights nor the abstract content of the latter. It is a religion of fasts, feasts and festivals, in which prescribed rituals cover all the major crises of life. Worship and propitiation of gods and spirits follow the annual round of festivals and the ritual of the human life-cycle. Disease and difficulty may also necessitate invoking assistance from these sources.

In early childhood religious instruction through legendary tales and anecdotes exercises its influence on the developing mind of the child in whose thoughts and world of fancy these ideas linger on. Youth brings in its wake a more worldly and materialistic outlook towards life and its pleasures. Thoughts are turned to religion when the evening of life approaches, partly to postpone the final moment of departure as long as it could be, and partly to ensure the future lying beyond the point of death. Analysis of life-histories reveals that spiritualism cannot be said to be the keynote in the life of the community; far from it the religion appears to be a practical one. It strengthens and fortifies the individual and the group in situations where technical competence and practical intelligence are of no avail, and at the same time acts as a bond of cohesion for maintaining the structural unity of the society.

2. BELIEF: GODS AND DEITIES

The Muslims believe in one God, and follow the way of life laid down for them by their Prophet. They all belong to the Sunni division, and as such differ from the Shias and other splinter divisions of Islam in respect of the interpretation of their holy book as well as in several details of belief, ritual and ceremonial. Almost all the Muslims of Shamirpet have been converted to Islam from

Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations.

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Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations. They do not believe in any of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, nor in any of the later incarnations; but they share with the Hindus a living faith in the existence of malevolent ghosts, spirits and witches. They participate with the rest of the community in village ceremonies and sacrifices. To ward off cholera, plague and smallpox, they too think that it is necessary to propitiate the local deities and goddesses.

Village Hinduism is not easy to describe. It is an extremely elastic religion, and within its all-India framework admits of a considerable degree of regional and local variation. In his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, M. N. Srinivas has introduced the useful concept of 'spread', and split up village Hinduism into 'All India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and 'Local Hinduism'.

The people of Shamirpet worship all the major gods of the Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. The concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their consequences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth also have such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

[The Muslims — Analyst]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

mention in Hindu scriptures. Being the most important river of the Deccan region its significance is very great to the Hindus of this area.

Along with the great gods of all-India Hinduism the people also continue to observe cults associated with regional and local deities and goddesses. The nature and characteristics of these goddesses differ widely in the different culture-areas of the land. Some of the goddesses listed below are commonly found in the Telugu-speaking areas, particularly in the Telangana districts of Hyderabad. Their main characteristics according to the residents of Shamirpet have also been mentioned.

They are:

1. Pochamma—goddess of smallpox.
2. Mutyalamma—goddess of chickenpox.
3. Balamma—goddess of fertility whose wrath causes sterility in women.
4. Mahakalamma—goddess of cholera.
5. Durgamma—goddess presiding over the destinies and welfare of the village.
6. Maisamma—goddess protecting the village boundaries.

Besides the above, certain other goddesses are also worshipped. Important among them are Ellamma (for the cure of boils), Pinamma (when naming a child after one of his deceased grandparents), and minor goddesses of the fields who protect the crops. To these must be added several other named and unnamed deities and goddesses whose worship is confined only to the village of Shamirpet.

All the characteristics of Hinduism having an all-India spread, described above, are in evidence in the religion of the people of Shamirpet. There is a small Shiva temple near the house of the Brahmin; another with several images on a hillock by the side of the Deshmukh's house. There are two platforms in the village on which the monkey-god Hanuman[1] is lodged. In many clean caste houses there are images or pictures of some of these gods. Those

[1] Hanuman, the 'Son of the Winds', was one of the monkey helpers of Rama in his search for Sita when she was abducted by the demon Ravana (according to the epic poem *Ramayana*). Modern tradition seeks to interpret the Monkeys and Bears of this story as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Deccan at the turn of the Christian era.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

is worshipped. Incense is burnt by putting *ghee* (clarified butter) on a fire in front of Vishnu's image. Two red threads are tied by the Brahmin, first to the arms of the image, and a little later, after being removed therefrom, to his own arm.

Petramasa. The last day of the dark fortnight in the month of Bhadrapada is dedicated to ceremonies in honour of the ancestors and the deceased members of the household. In fact the whole fortnight preceding this day is occupied by this activity, for water must be offered to the dead on the *tithi* (the lunar day corresponding to that of their death). Among the higher castes, if the family can afford it, the Brahmin is invited to officiate at these rites. Those who cannot afford it, and people of the lower castes, manage it themselves. On the Petramasa day itself cooked rice, curds and several other preparations are offered to the deceased members of the lineage. Gifts of money, grain and vegetables are made to the Brahmin and the Jangam.

If there was a death in the family in the preceding year, during the Petramasa fortnight on the lunar day of death, an elaborate rite is performed to call home the spirit of the deceased and lodge it with other ancestor-spirits in one corner of the house. For these rites different branches of a family gather together under one main roof.

The Malas and Madigas as well as Vaddars and Erkalas do not have an elaborate observance. However, the first two make small gifts of money to the Jangam in honour of their dead, if the Jangam visits their houses.

Dasara. This festival is observed in the village both individually and collectively. All Hindus bath early in the morning. The Brahmin and the Komti worship a bunch of *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*) leaves along with the images of gods; others worship only the deities. Observed on the tenth day of Ashvina, Dasara is regarded as a non-vegetarian festival. With the exception of Brahmins and Komtis, who are vegetarians, the other non-vegetarian castes make it a point to cook some meat dish on this day. At midday people worship the gods in their houses.

In the afternoon the Brahmin visits the Deshmukh's house, and worships a bunch of *shami* leaves and the headman's ancestral weapons. In the meantime a flag is hoisted on the central flag post near the police station. Madigas beat their drums and people start collecting. When all the responsible village elders assemble

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583 regarded as breaches of the established rules of society and treated accordingly.

585 It is difficult to summarize the rites and observances involved in a Hindu marriage, for they differ greatly from caste to caste, and from family to family. Here only a very general outline can be given.

The wedding takes place in the bride's house, on an auspicious day fixed by the two parties on the advice of the Brahmin priest. The bridegroom's party, consisting of relations and friends, leave their village in good time to arrive in the bride's village at least a day before the actual date of the marriage. On arrival they are received with great ceremony by the bride's people, and are lodged in a house kept vacant and clean for their use. In the courtesies that are exchanged it is necessary to make some special effort to keep the bridegroom's mother and sisters pleased for any dissatisfaction to them is likely to lead to trouble which may hold up further rites. While the bridegroom's party try to settle down in their house, the bride's people finalize the arrangements for the first dinner. When everything is ready word is sent to the bridegroom's party. After the dinner nothing remains to be done on that day. The guests return to their temporary abode; the hosts get busy to make everything ready for the rites of the next day. [515] When the next day arrives the bride's mother and other female relations carry water and twigs to the groom's mother and other guests so that 'they may wash their mouths'. A little later breakfast [776] is sent to them. The first major rite for the day is the worship of the bride's *kula-devata* or family god. In this both the bride and the bridegroom participate. The second major rite is known as *lagnam*, which must be performed at an auspicious hour determined by the Brahmin on the basis of his astrological calculations. The bride's party go in a procession to bring the guests to the marriage shed. At the appointed hour the *lagnam* is performed by chanting religious verses. The bridegroom ties a necklace of black beads round the bride's neck. This necklace symbolizes her married status, and she should not be without it unless she is widowed. He also puts rings on the second toes of her feet. Before the tying of *mangalsutra* (black beads) the two have to promise to stand by each other through all phases of life, for the mutual satisfaction of bodily, economic and spiritual needs. But the marriage is not yet complete. To put the seal of religious authority on it, the important

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CHAPTER IV

MODES OF WORSHIP IN THE TELUGU COUNTRY

755 Let us suppose that an attack of cholera or small-pox has broken out in a village of South India. We will take a village in the Telugu country, in one of the more backward districts, where life is lived under more primitive conditions than in places where large towns and railways and the influence of the Brāhmans have tended to change old-fashioned ideas and customs.

• 776 755 782 *A Telugu Village.* The village deity, in this particular village, is called Peddamma, the great mother. The epidemic is a sign that she is angry and requires to be propitiated. So a collection is made for the expenses of a festival, or a rich man offers to pay all expenses, and a propitious day is selected, which in this village may be any day except Sunday or Thursday. Then the potter of the village is instructed to make a clay image of the great mother, and the carpenter to make a small wooden cart, and a buffalo is chosen as the chief victim for the sacrifice.

When the appointed day arrives, the buffalo is sprinkled all over with yellow *turmeric*,[1] while garlands of margosa leaves are hung round its neck and tied to its horns. At about two p.m. it is conducted round the village in procession to the sound of music and the beating of tom-toms. The two sections of the Outcastes, the Mālās and the Mādigās, take the leading

[1] *Curcuma longa* is an Indian plant from the rootstock of which a powder called turmeric is extracted. This powder is used as a dye and also as one of the ingredients of curry-powder.

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part in the sacrifice, and conduct the buffalo from house to house. One Mādigā goes on ahead, with a tom-tom, to announce that "the buffalo devoted to the goddess is coming." The people then come out from their houses, bow down to worship the buffalo, and pour water over his feet, and also give some food to the Mālās and Mādigās, who form the procession. By about eight p.m. this ceremony is finished, and the buffalo is brought to an open spot in the village and tied up near a small canopy of cloths supported on bamboo poles, which has been set up for the reception of the goddess. All the villagers then assemble at the same place, and at about ten p.m. they go in procession, with music and tom-toms and torches, to the house of the potter, where the clay image is ready prepared. On arriving at his house, they pour about two and a half measures of rice on the ground and put the image on the top of it, adorned with a new cloth and jewels. All who are present then worship the image, and a ram is killed, its head being cut off with a large chopper, and the blood sprinkled on the top of the image, as a kind of consecration. The potter then takes up the idol and carries it out of the house for a little distance, and gives it to a washerman, who carries it to the place where the canopy has been set up to receive it. During the procession the people flourish sticks and swords and spears to keep off the evil spirits, and, for the same purpose, cut limes in half and throw them up in the air. The idea is that the greedy demons will clutch at the golden limes and carry them off, and so be diverted from any attack on the man who carries the image. When the idol has been duly deposited under the canopy, another procession is made to the house of the toddy-drawer. He is the man who climbs the palm trees and draws off the juice which is made into toddy. At his house some rice is cooked, and a pot of toddy and a bottle of *arrack*[1] are produced and duly smeared with yellow turmeric and a red paste, constantly used in religious

[1] Arrack is a native intoxicant.

755 worship among the Hindus and called *kunkuma*.[1] The
•776 cooked rice is put in front of the pot of toddy and bottle
782 of arrack, a ram is killed in sacrifice, and then the
toddy-drawer worships the pot and the bottle. The
[465] village officials pay him his fee, three-eighths of a measure of rice, three-eighths of a measure of *cholam*[2] and four annas, and then he carries the pot and bottle in procession, and places them under the canopy near the image of Peddamma. Then comes yet another procession. The people go off to the house of the chief official, the Reddy, and bring from it some cooked rice in a large earthenware pot, some sweet cakes, and a lamb. A large quantity of margosa leaves are spread on the ground in front of the image, the rice from the Reddy's house is placed upon them in a heap, and a large heap of rice, from one hundred to three hundred measures, according to the amount of the subscriptions, is poured in a heap a little farther away.

All these elaborate proceedings form only the preparations for the great sacrifice, which is now about to begin. The lamb is first worshipped and then sacrificed by having its throat cut and its head cut off. A ram is next brought and stood over the first large heap of rice, and is there cut in two, through the back, with a heavy chopper, by one of the village washermen. The blood pours out over the rice and soaks it through. One half of the ram is then taken up and carried to a spot a few yards off, where a body of Asādis are standing ready to begin their part in the ceremonies. The other half of the ram is left lying on the rice. The Asādis then begin to sing a long chant in honour of the deity. Meanwhile, the chief sacrifice is made. The buffalo is brought forward, and the Mādigās kill it by cutting its throat (in some villages its head is cut off). Some water is first poured over the blood, and then the pool of blood and water is covered up carefully with earth, lest any outsider from another

[1] Made of turmeric mixed with lime.
[2] A coarse grain, the staple food of the villagers.
4 [ie, the toddy-drawer--Analyst]

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755 village should come and steal it. The idea is that if
• 776 any man from another village should take away and
782 carry home even a small part of the blood, that village would get the benefit of the sacrifice. The head of the buffalo is then cut off and placed before the image, with a layer of fat from its entrails smeared over the forehead and face, so as to cover entirely the eyes and nose. The right foreleg is cut off and placed crosswise in the mouth, some boiled rice is placed upon the fat on the forehead, and on it an earthenware lamp, which is kept alight during the whole of the festival. Why the right foreleg should be cut off and placed in the mouth, and what the meaning of it is, I have never been able to discover nor can I conjecture. When I have asked the villagers, they only reply, "It is the custom." But I have found the custom prevailing in all parts of South India, among Tamils, Telugus, and Canarese alike, and I have been informed that exactly the same custom prevails in the Southern Marāṭhā country. It seems to be a very ancient part of the ritual of sacrifice prevailing in South India.[1] This completes the presentation of the sacrifice to the goddess, who is supposed to delight in the food offered, and especially in the blood. A great deal of the food offered is, as a matter of fact, taken

[1] Maharaja Sir V. S. Raṅga Rao Bahadur, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., writes in *The Asiatic Review* for January, 1919: "The Lord Bishop wishes to know why the leg of an animal is put crosswise in its mouth after it has been sacrificed before the village god [695] dess. Among the menial castes of a village there is the practice of a guilty man putting a piece of dry grass crosswise in his mouth when he goes to the head of his village to ask his pardon. It denotes that he has committed a wrong act, as a beast. In places where grass is not available, the person in question puts the first finger of his right hand crosswise in his mouth with the same idea or purpose. Here the animals are sacrificed before the village gods and goddesses by the people in the expectation, or rather with the firm belief, that their sins will be forgiven by those deities, and that their consequences will be thus averted by means of those sacrifices. Instead of putting their fingers in their mouths, as stated before, they put the animal's leg (generally the right leg) crosswise in its mouth. Though I am not sure that this is the explanation of this practice, I presume that it must be along these lines, as no other ground is traceable."

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755 away by the people and eaten in their homes, but the
• 776 idea is that the goddess takes the essence and leaves
782 the worshippers the material substance. This takes till about three a.m. next morning; and then begins another important part of the ceremonies.

Some of the rice from the heap, over which the ram was sacrificed and its blood poured out, is taken and put in a flat basket, and some of the entrails of the buffalo are mixed with it. The intestines of the lamb, which was first killed, are put over the neck of a Mālā, and its liver is placed in his mouth,[1] while another Mālā takes the basket of rice soaked in blood and mixed with the entrails of the buffalo. A procession is then formed
[786] with these two weird figures in the middle. The man with the liver in his mouth is worked up into a state of frantic excitement and is supposed to be inspired by the goddess. He has to be held by men on either side of him, or kept fast with ropes, to prevent his rushing away; and all round him are the *ryots*, *i.e.* the small farmers, and the Mālās, flourishing clubs and swords, and throwing limes into the air, to drive away the evil spirits. As the procession moves through the village, the people shout out "Food! Food!" and the man who carries the basket sprinkles the rice soaked in blood over the houses to protect them from evil spirits. As he walks along, he shouts out, at intervals, that he sees the evil spirits, and falls down in a faint. Then lambs have to be sacrificed on the spot and limes thrown into the air and cocoanuts broken, to drive away the demons and bring the man to his senses. And so the procession moves through the village, amid frantic excitement, till, as the day dawns, they return to the canopy, where the great mother is peacefully reposing.

At about ten a.m. a fresh round of ceremonies begins. Some meat is cut from the carcass of the buffalo and cooked with some cholam, and then given to five little Mālā boys, *siddhalu*, the innocents, as they are called. They are all covered over with a large cloth,

[1] Cf. pp. 109, 148 below

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and eat the food entirely concealed from view, probably to prevent the evil spirits from seeing them, or the evil eye from striking them. And then some more food is served to the Asādis, who have been for many hours, during the ceremonies of the night, chanting the praises of the goddess. After this the villagers bring their offerings. The Brāhmans, who may not kill animals, bring rice and cocoanuts, and other castes bring lambs, goats, sheep, fowls, and buffaloes, which are all killed by the washermen, by cutting their throats, except the buffaloes, which are always killed by the Mādigās, the lowest class of Outcastes. The heads are all cut off and presented to the goddess. This lasts till about three p.m., when the people go off to the house of the village carpenter, who has got ready a small wooden cart. On their arrival some cooked rice is offered to the cart, and a lamb sacrificed before it, and a new cloth and eight annas are given to the carpenter as his fee. The cart is then dragged by the washermen, to the sound of horns and tom-toms, to the place of sacrifice. The heads and carcasses of the animals already sacrificed are first removed by the Mālās and Mādigās, except the head of the buffalo first offered, which remains in its place till all the ceremonies are finished, when the shrine is removed.

At about seven p.m. another series of ceremonies begins. First a lamb is sacrificed before the goddess, and its blood mixed with some cooked rice, and at the same time a pig is buried up to the neck in a pit at the entrance of the village, with its head projecting above the earth. The villagers go in procession to the spot, while one of the Mādigās carries the rice, soaked in the blood of the lamb, in a basket. All the cattle of the village are then brought to the place and driven over the head of the unhappy pig,[1] which is, of course, trampled to death; and, as they pass over the pig, the blood and rice are sprinkled upon them to preserve them from disease. Then, after this, follows the final ceremony.

[1] Cf. p 58 below.

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755 776 782 The image of the goddess is taken from the canopy by the washerman, and a Mādigā takes the head of the buffalo with its foreleg in the mouth, the forehead and nostrils all smeared over with fat, and the earthen lamp still lighted on the top. They then all go in procession to the boundary of the village, first the men carrying the buffalo's head, next the washerman with the image, and last the small wooden cart. When the procession arrives at the extreme limit of the village lands, they go on, for about a furlong, into the lands of the neighbouring village. [533] There the Asādis first chant the praises of the goddess, then some turmeric is distributed to all the people, and finally the image is divested of all its ornaments and solemnly placed upon the ground and left there. The light on the head of the buffalo is extinguished, and the head itself carried off by the Mādigā, who takes it for a feast to his own house. The object of transporting the goddess to the lands of the next village is to transfer to that village the wrath of the deity, a precaution which does not show much faith in the temper of the goddess, nor much charity towards their neighbours!

Gudivada, near Masulipatam. A somewhat different form of ceremonial prevails in some of the villages of the Telugu country nearer the coast. The village of Gudivada, about twenty miles from the important town of Masulipatam, may be taken as a good specimen of a well-to-do village in a prosperous district, and the ceremonies prevailing there are a fair sample of the cult of the village deities in these parts.

[778] [531] The name of the village deity at Gudivada is Pallalamma. Her image is the figure of a woman with four arms, and a leopard's head under her right foot, carved in bas-relief on a flat stone about three feet high, standing in an open compound, surrounded by a low stone wall. The pūjārī, who is a Śūdra, gave me a full account of the rites and ceremonies. Weekly offerings are made every Sunday, when the pujari washes the image with water and soap-nut seeds early in the morning, and smears it with turmeric

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and kunkuma, offers incense, breaks a cocoanut, and cooks and presents to the image about a seer of rice, which he afterwards eats himself. The rice is provided daily by the villagers. Occasionally fowls and sheep are offered on the Sunday by villagers who have made vows in time of sickness or other misfortunes. When a sheep is sacrificed, it is first purified by washing. The animal is simply killed in front of the image by a Mādigā, who cuts off its head with a large chopper. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground and nothing special is done with it. The head becomes the perquisite of the pūjārī, and the offerer takes away the carcass for a feast in his house. In many villages, both in the Telugu and Tamil districts, water is poured over the sheep's back to see whether it shivers. If it shivers, it is a sign that the goddess has accepted it.[1] Where the people are economical, they keep on pouring water till it does shiver, to avoid the expense of providing a second victim, but, where they are more scrupulous, if it does not shiver, it is taken as a sign that the goddess will not accept it and it is taken away.

A public festival is held whenever an epidemic breaks out. The headman of the village then gets a new earthenware pot, besmears it with turmeric and kunkuma and puts inside some clay bracelets, some necklaces, and ear-rings, three pieces of charcoal, three pieces of turmeric, three pieces of incense, a piece of dried cocoanut, a woman's cloth, and two annas' worth of coppers—a strange collection of miscellaneous charms and offerings. The pot is then hung up in a tree near the image, as a pledge that, if the epidemic disappears, the people will celebrate a festival.

When it does disappear, a thatched shed of palmyra leaves is built near the image, and a special image of clay, adorned with turmeric and kunkuma, is put inside, and beneath it an earthen pot filled with buttermilk and boiled rice. This pot is also smeared with turmeric and

[1] For this widespread superstition see Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, I, 19. Cf. pp. 63, 68, 69, 73, 99, below.

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kunkuma, adorned with margosa leaves, covered with an earthenware saucer, and carried in procession through the village during the day, to the exhilarating sound of pipes, horns, and tom-toms, by the village potter, who takes the rice and buttermilk for his perquisite and renews it every morning of the festival at the public expense. The duration of the festival depends on the amount of the subscriptions, but it always lasts for an odd number of days, excluding all numbers with a seven in them, *e.g.* 7, 17, 27, etc. During the night the barbers of the village chant the praises of the goddess, and the Mādigās beat tom-toms near the image.

On the night before the day appointed for the offering of animal sacrifices by the villagers, a male buffalo, called Devara Potu, *i.e.* devoted to the deity, is sacrificed on behalf of the whole village. First, the buffalo is washed with water, smeared with yellow turmeric and red kunkuma, and then garlanded with flowers and the leaves of the sacred margosa tree. It is brought before the image; and a Mādigā cuts off its head, if possible at one blow, over a heap of boiled rice, which becomes soaked with the blood. The right foreleg is then cut off and placed crosswise in its mouth, according to the widespread custom prevailing in South India, the fat of the entrails is smeared over the eyes and forehead, and the head is placed in front of the image. A lighted lamp is placed, not as in the other villages on the head itself, but on the heap of rice soaked with blood. This rice is then put into a basket; and a Mādigā, the village *vetty* or sweeper, carries it round the site of the village, sprinkling it on the ground as he goes. The whole village goes with him, but there is no music or tom-toms. The people shout out as they go "Poli! Poli!" *i.e.* "Food! Food!" and clap their hands and wave their sticks above their heads to keep off the evil spirits. The rice offered to the goddess, but not soaked with blood, is then distributed to the people. What spirits the rice soaked in blood is supposed to feed is not clear, but the object of sprinkling the blood is evidently to ward off evil spirits

and prevent them from coming near the village, and apparently the present idea is that they will be satiated with rice and blood and not want to do any mischief. The original idea was possibly quite different; but this seems to be the intention of the ceremony in modern times.

On the next day, early in the morning, the clay image and the pot are washed and smeared afresh with turmeric and kunkuma. Incense and boiled rice are then offered as on other days, and the pot is taken in procession round the village. When this has been done, about midday, each householder brings his offering of boiled rice, cakes, fruits and flowers, and, in addition, the village as a whole contributes about two hundred or more seers of rice, which is boiled near the pandal. All these offerings are placed in a heap before the image. Then, first, a sheep or a buffalo is offered on behalf of the whole village. Having been duly washed, and smeared with turmeric and kunkuma, and decorated with margosa leaves, its head is cut off by a Mādigā. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground, and some loose earth is thrown upon it to cover it up. The head is offered to the image by the headman of the village. After this various householders, even Brāhmans and Bunniahs, bring animals for sacrifice. All are killed by a Mādigā, and then the heads are all presented and placed in a heap before the goddess. Sometimes an extraordinary number of animals is sacrificed on occasions of this kind, as many as a thousand sheep on a single day. In a village like Gudivada the number of victims is, of course, far less. The question of precedence in the offering of victims constantly gives rise to quarrels among the leading villagers. When I was once visiting Gudivada, there was a case pending before the *tahsildar*, *i.e.* the sub-divisional magistrate, between a *zamindar*, landowner, and a village *munsiff*, *i.e.* a village magistrate, about this knotty point. The heads are taken away by the pūjārīs, potters, washermen, barbers, Mālās and Mādigās, and others who take any official part in the sacrifice. The carcasses of the

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755 776 782 private sacrifices are taken away by the offerers, and that of the public victim belongs to the headman of the village. The rice, fruit, etc., are distributed among the various officials. The function lasts from about ten a.m. to five p.m.

In the evening, a cart is brought to the image with nine pointed stakes standing upright in it, two at each of the four corners and one in the centre: on each stake a young pig, a lamb, or a fowl is impaled alive. A Mālā, called a *Pambala*, *i.e.* hereditary priest, then sits in the cart dressed in female attire, holding in his hand the clay image of the goddess which was made for the festival. The cart is dragged with ropes to the extreme boundary of the village lands, and both cart and ropes are left beyond the boundary. The Pambalas take away the animals, which all die during the procession, as their share of the offerings.

796 776 782 785 *Living animals impaled in many villages.* This cruel ceremony of impaling live animals is quite common in the eastern part of the Telugu country,[1] and I have come across it in many villages that I have visited. The Rev. F. N. Alexander, the veteran C.M.S. missionary, who lived over fifty years at Ellore, told me that he witnessed it in the town of Ellore the first year that he went there, and wrote a letter to the *Madras Mail* describing it. As a result of his letter, the practice was forbidden by the Government. So now at Ellore the animals are tied on to the stakes without being impaled; but in many villages near Ellore the custom still survives of impaling the unfortunate animals alive. Sometimes there are only four stakes on the cart, sometimes five, and sometimes more. It is not often that there are as many as nine. In one of the villages of the Kurnool district, I found that a similar barbarity was practised in connexion with the hook-swinging ceremony. On the fifth day of the festival in honour of Aṅkalamma, a large car is constructed, with an arrangement of poles projecting

[1] Cf. pp. 59, 65, 69.

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about 20 feet in the air. A sheep is then suspended from the pole by iron hooks fastened through the muscles of its back and a band round its middle, and swung round and round. Two or three of the older men in the village said that they had often seen men swing like this with iron hooks fastened into their backs,[1] and that it did not hurt. As soon as the sheep is swung up, buffaloes, sheep and goats are sacrificed, and the car is then dragged in procession through the village.

A cruel pig sacrifice. Sometimes, when there is cattle disease, a pig is buried up to its neck at the boundary of the village, a heap of boiled rice is deposited near the spot, and then all the cattle of the village are driven over the unhappy pig.[2] It is not the custom at Gudivada to sprinkle anything on the cattle as they pass over the poor animal, as is done elsewhere.

There is a remarkable parallel to this form of sacrifice in a description quoted by Mr. E. Thurston, in his *Ethnographical Notes in Southern India*,[3] of an ancient custom among the Lambadis, a wandering tribe of South India:

> "In former times, the Lambadis, before setting out on a journey, used to procure a little child and bury it in the ground up to its shoulders, and then drive their loaded bullocks over the unfortunate victim. In proportion to the bullocks thoroughly trampling the child to death, so their belief in a successful journey increased."

It is possible that this custom of driving the cattle over the head of a buried pig may be connected with the worship of an agricultural goddess, since in ancient Greece the pig was sacred to agricultural deities, *e.g.* Aphrodite, Adonis, and Demeter; but it may also be a survival of some former custom of infanticide or human sacrifice such as prevailed among the Lambadis.

An old man in the Kurnool district once described to me the account that he had received from his fore-

[1] This is the practice in the Hindu *dola-jātra*, swing-festival, celebrated in honour of Durgā, the wife of Śiva. Cf pp. 61, 76, 82, 83.

[2] See p. 53, 60.

[3] P. 507.

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fathers of the ceremonies observed when founding a new village. An auspicious site is selected and an auspicious day, and then in the centre of the site is dug a large hole, in which are placed different kinds of grain, small pieces of the five metals, gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead, and a large stone, called *boddu-rayee*, *i.e.* navel-stone, standing about three and a half feet above the ground, very like the ordinary boundary stones seen in the fields. And then, at the entrance of the village, in the centre of the main street, where most of the cattle pass in and out on their way to and from the fields, they dig another hole and bury a pig alive. This ceremony would be quite consistent with either of the explanations suggested as to the origin of pig-burying. The pig may be buried at the entrance to the village as the emblem of fertility and strength, to secure the prosperity of the agricultural community, the fertility of the fields, and the health and fecundity of the cattle. Or it may equally be a substitute for an original human sacrifice. The idea that a new building or institution must be inaugurated by the sacrifice of a human life is very common all over India. To this day there is often a panic among the villagers who live near the banks of a river where a bridge is about to be built, because they think that one or more of their babies are sure to be required to bury under the foundations of the first pier. On one of my visits to Kalasapad, in the Cuddapah district, the missionary told me that, when a new ward was opened for their local mission dispensary, no one would go into it, because the people imagined that the first to go in would be the needful sacrifice. Their fears were allayed by a religious service at the opening of the ward; but had it been a Hindu hospital, probably a goat or a sheep would have been killed as a substitute for the human victim.

The idea of substitution, too, is quite common in India. In the hook-swinging ceremony described above,[1]

[1] P. 59.

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it is common both in the Telugu and Tamil districts to substitute a sheep for a man, and to fasten the iron hooks in the muscles of its back.

Alleged infanticide among Todas. I have been told that, among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, it was formerly the custom to place female children, whom it was not desired to rear, on the ground at the entrance of the mund, *i.e.* a group of huts, and drive buffaloes over them. If they survived this ordeal, they were allowed to live.

It is only fair to add that the Todas themselves deny that this custom ever existed. To quote Mr. Thurston again:[1]

"The practice of infanticide, as it prevailed among the Todas of the Nilgiris, is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall (*A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, 1873): 'I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (*putkŭli*), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? Those tell lies who say we laid it before the open buffalo-pen so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears and mouth with a cloth thus (here pantomimic action). It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The kelachi got a present of four annas (4d.) for the deed.' The old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance of a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not."

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Masulipatam. At Masulipatam, where ceremonies are performed very similar to those at Gudivada

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

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during an epidemic, a washerman carries the earthenware pot, half full of buttermilk and adorned with margosa leaves, round the village to the sound of tom-toms. As it goes round, the washerman stops at each house and the wife comes out and pours water beside the pot on the ground and does reverence to the pot, imploring the goddess not to let any evil spirit come to the house; and then she puts more rice and buttermilk into it. When it is full, it is taken back to the shrine and another brought in its place. As this procession continues for fifteen days, the accumulation of rice and buttermilk must be considerable. It is ultimately consumed by the washermen, potters, Mālās and Mādigās, who take part in the festival. The real sacrifice begins on the sixteenth day and lasts for a month. Cotton-thread and all the rice and buttermilk collected from the villagers are offered to the image. The images themselves are smeared with turmeric, and dots of kunkuma are put on them, and finally on the last day a male buffalo, called *Devara-Potu*, *i.e.* devoted to the goddess, is brought before the image and its head cut off by the head Mādigā of the town. The blood is caught in a vessel and sprinkled over some boiled rice, and then the head, with the right foreleg in the mouth, is placed before the shrine on a flat wicker basket, with the rice and blood on another basket just below it. A lighted lamp is placed on the head, and then another Mādigā carries it on his own head round the village, with a new cloth dipped in the blood of the victim tied round his neck. This is regarded here and elsewhere as a very inauspicious and dangerous office; and the headman of the village has to offer considerable inducements to persuade a Mādigā to undertake it. Ropes are tied round his body and arms and held fast by men walking behind him, as he goes round, to prevent his being carried off by evil spirits, and limes are cut in half and thrown into the air, so that the demons may catch at them instead of at the man. It is believed that gigantic demons sit on the tops of tall trees ready to swoop down and carry him away, in

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order to get the rice and the buffalo's head. The idea of carrying the head and rice round a village, so the people said, is to draw a kind of cordon on every side of it and prevent the entrance of the evil spirits. Should any one in the town refuse to subscribe for the festival, his house is omitted from the procession, and left to the tender mercies of the devils. This procession is called *bali haranam*;[1] and in this district *inams*, rent-free lands, are held from Government by certain families of Mādigās for performing it. Besides the buffalo, large numbers of sheep and goats and fowls are sacrificed, each householder giving at least one animal. The head Mādigā who kills the animals takes the carcass and distributes the flesh among the members of his family. Often cases come into the courts to decide who has the right to kill them. As the sacrifice cannot wait for the tedious processes of the law, the elders of the village settle the question at once, pending an appeal to the courts. But in the town of Masulipatam, a Mādigā is specially licensed by the Municipality for the purpose, and all disputes are avoided.

Cocanada. At Cocanada there is only one Grāma-Devatā, Nukalamma (from Nuku, a Tamil word, meaning "to beat"); but she is very ill-tempered, they told me, and gives much trouble. Curiously enough, the present pūjārī is a woman of the fisherman caste. The office was hereditary in her family and she is the only surviving member of it. A male relative acts as deputy-pūjārī. Offerings are made to Nukalamma every day, doubtless on account of her temper. One custom I found observed here, which is not uncommon in these parts. When a victim's head has been cut off, it is put before the shrine and water poured on it. The offerer then waits to see whether the mouth opens. If it does, it is a sign that the sacrifice is accepted.[2] Another ceremony observed here is significant and, doubtless, a relic of the primitive idea

[1] Sanksrit for "presentation of the offering."
[2] See p. 55 n. 1, above.

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of sacrifice. As soon as the victim is killed, the offerer dips his finger in the blood and puts it on his own forehead.

The annual festival of this goddess[1] lasts for a whole month, ending on the New Year's day of the Telugu calendar. During this festival the procession of pots is observed with special ceremony. Six brass pots, each about two feet high, with the figure of a cobra springing from below the neck and rising over the mouth of the pot, are draped with women's cloths and carried round the town on men's head. Nothing is put inside them, but, as they go round, the women of each house come out, pour water on the feet of the bearers, and make offerings of rice and fruit. These are solemnly presented to the pots by the bearers, and some powder is applied to the two small feet that project at the base of each pot, and form a sort of frame fitting on the bearer's head. The bearer then takes a little of the turmeric powder, that is already on the foot of the pot, and puts it into the dish in which the offering was brought, with a few margosa leaves from a bundle that he carries with him. The dish is returned to the woman who offered the gifts, which become the property of the pūjārī. The women and children of the family mark their foreheads with the turmeric, and put the margosa leaves in their hair. This is called *Amma-vari-Prasādam*.[1] As they go round, the pūjārīs dance to the sound of tom-toms.

On the last day of the festival, when a buffalo is sacrificed, a curious ceremony takes place which is said to be very common in the villages of this district. After the head is cut off by the vetty,[2] who is a Mādigā, the blood is collected in a basin and nine kinds of grain and *gram*[3] are put into it. The basin is then put before the idol inside the shrine, and the

[1] The turmeric and the margosa leaves are a gift of grace (Sanskrit *prasāda*, grace) from the goddess. Food and water from the table of a Hindu god given to the worshippers in the temple are called *prasāda*.

[2] See above p. 56. [3] *Gram* is coarse lentils.

[i.e. Nukalamma, at Cocanada -- Analyst]

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doors of the shrine are kept shut for three days. On the fourth day the doors are opened, the coagulated mass of blood, grain, and gram is carefully washed, and the grain and gram are separated on the ground behind the shrine, in order to see which of the various kinds of grain has sprouted. All the ryots eagerly assemble to watch the result, and whichever is found to have sprouted, is regarded as marked out by the goddess as the right kind of grain to sow that year. This method of determining which crop to sow is common in both the Godavari and Masulipatam districts. In these sacrifices to Nukalamma, too, the application of the blood is specially noticeable. As soon as the victim is killed, a small quantity of the blood is smeared on the sides of the door-posts of the shrine; the deputy-pūjārī dips his finger in the blood and applies it to his forehead; then all the other people present do the same; and afterwards some boiled rice and some turmeric powder are mixed with the blood, and a little of the mixture is sprinkled on the head of the Mādigā who holds the basin to catch the blood.

When an epidemic of cholera breaks out, another goddess, called Maridiamma, is installed in the place of the Nukalamma. A log of margosa wood, about three feet high and six inches in diameter, is cut and roughly carved at the top into the shape of a head, and then fixed in the ground with a pandal of leaves and cloths over it. Then the procession of the earthen pot half filled with buttermilk and rice is conducted, very much in the same way as at Masulipatam,[1] every day till the epidemic subsides. After that, some ten or twelve small carts are made, about six feet square, with three pointed stakes standing up on each side, on which live animals are impaled, as in other parts of the Telugu country.[2] The carts are partly filled with boiled rice and curry stuff prepared at the shrine, the blood of the victims sacrificed being poured over the rice. I was told that live animals were only impaled if a cart did

[1] See p. 62 above. [2] See p. 58 above.

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not move properly as it was dragged to the boundary, since that is regarded as a sign that the goddess is angry and needs to be appeased.

Ellore. The number of victims slaughtered at some of these festivals is enormous. At Ellore, which is a town of considerable size and importance, I was told that at the annual festival of Mahālakshmī about a a thousand animals are killed in one day, rich people sending as many as twenty or thirty. The blood then flows down into the fields behind the place of sacrifice in a regular flood, and carts full of sand are brought to cover up what remains on the spot. The heads are piled up in a heap about fifteen feet high in front of the shrine, and a large earthen basin about one-and-a-half feet in diameter is then filled with gingelly oil and put on the top of the heap, a thick cotton wick being placed in the basin and lighted. The animals are all worshipped with the usual *namaskāram*, *i.e.* folded hands raised to the forehead, before they are killed. This slaughter of victims goes on all day.

At midnight about twenty or twenty-five buffaloes are sacrificed. Their heads are cut off by a Mādigā pūjārī and with their carcasses are thrown upon large heaps of rice which have been presented to the goddess, till the rice is soaked with blood.

The subsequent ceremonies illustrate again the varieties of local custom. The rice is collected in about ten or fifteen large baskets, and, instead of being carried by a Mādigā, is carried on a large cart drawn by buffaloes or bullocks, with the Mādigā pūjārī seated on it. As the cart moves along, Mādigās sprinkle the rice on the streets and on the walls of the houses shouting "Poli! Poli!" ("Food! Food!"). A large body of men of different castes, Śūdras, Kommas, and Outcastes, go with the procession: but only the Mādigās and Mālās (the two sections of the Outcastes) shout "Poli," the rest following in silence. They have only two or three torches to show them the way, and no tom-toms nor music. Apparently the idea is that, if they make a noise or display a blaze of light, they will attract the evil spirits,

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who will swoop down on them and do them some injury; though in other villages it is supposed that a great deal of noise and flourishing of sticks will keep the evil spirits at bay. Before this procession starts, the heads of the buffaloes are placed in front of the shrine, with the right foreleg in the mouth, the fat from the entrails smeared about half an inch thick over the whole face, and a large earthen lamp on the top of each head. The Pambalas[1] play tom-toms and chant a long story about Gangamma till daybreak. About eight a.m. they put the buffalo heads with the lighted lamps upon them into separate baskets; and these are carried in procession through the town to the sound of tom-toms. All castes follow, shouting and singing. In former times, I was told, there was a good deal of fighting and disturbance during this procession, but now the police maintain order. When the procession arrives at the municipal limits, the heads are thrown over the boundary, and left there. The people then all bathe in the canal and return home.

On the last day of the festival, which, I may remark, lasts for about three months, a small cart is made of margosa wood and a stake is fixed at each of the four corners. A pig and a fowl are tied to each stake, while a fruit, called *dubakaya*, is impaled on it instead of the animal. A yellow cloth, sprinkled with the blood of the buffaloes, is tied round the sides of the cart, and some margosa leaves are tied round the cloth. A Pambala sits on the cart, to which are fastened two large ropes, each about 200 yards long. Then men of all castes, without distinction, lay hold of the ropes and drag the cart round the town to the sound of tom-toms and music. Finally it is brought outside the municipal limits and left there, the Outcastes taking away the animals and fruits.

Sometimes, I was told, animals are sacrificed to Gangamma by the people in Ellore in the courtyards of their own houses. They then clean the wall of

See p. 58 above.

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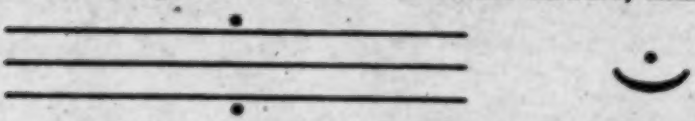
the house outside with cow-dung and make three horizontal lines with kunkuma (a red paste of turmeric and lime), with a dot above and below, and a semi-circle on the right side with a dot in the middle, thus:—



The symbol on the right represents the sun and moon: that on the left is the Śaivite sectarian mark. They sacrifice to these symbols sheep, goats, and fowls. It is curious that, in these private sacrifices at home, they pour water on the sheep and goats to see whether they shiver, as a sign of acceptance,[1] though this is not done in the public sacrifices at Ellore.

Dharmaja-Gudem, near Ellore. At a village called Dharmaja-Gudem, about sixteen miles from Ellore, while the main features of the festivals are the same as those found elsewhere, there are two or three peculiarities, which deserve notice. The ordinary grāma-devatās of the village are Ellaramma, Gaṅgamma, Mutyalamma, and Ravelamma, who are represented by four stone pillars about six feet high, with figures of women carved on them, standing in an open field on the outskirts of the village: but when an epidemic breaks out, Mutyalamma, Gaṅgamma, Aṅkamma and Mahālakshmiamma are the deities propitiated, and special images are made of them. Those of the first three are made of clay, but that of Mahālakshmiamma is made of turmeric kneaded into a paste. Then, again, it is noticeable that a Brāhman acts as pūjārī of Mahālakshmī, a washerman as pūjārī of Gaṅgamma, and a potter as pūjārī of Aṅkamma. The Brāhman pūjārī presides over the worship for the greater part of the festival, which lasts for about three months, and during that time the people come almost every day and offer flowers, fruits, cocoanuts, camphor and incense, but no animal sacrifices. All this time, too, some nautch-

[1] See p. 55 above.

All this time [illegible], some nautch—
girls come and dance in a booth erected in front of the image and work themselves up into a state of frenzy, during which they are supposed to be inspired by the deities, and utter oracles to the worshippers. When the epidemic begins to abate, the Brāhman pūjārī closes his part of the proceedings and departs.

Then, on that afternoon and evening, animal sacrifices are offered under the booth. On the first animal killed, which is generally a goat, water is poured from a brass vessel, to see if it shivers.[1] If it does, it is taken as a good omen that the goddess is propitiated and the disease will disappear. Then other animals are brought and, in accordance with a very common division of functions in the Telugu country, a washerman kills the sheep, goats, and fowls, and a Mādigā the buffaloes. The heads of the sheep and goats, as well as of the buffaloes, have the right forelegs put crosswise in the mouths, the faces smeared with fat from the entrails, and a lighted lamp placed above them. The blood is caught in a basket full of boiled rice, and the rice and blood are sprinkled round the village, while a Mādigā carries on his own head the head of a buffalo exactly as is done elsewhere. Here, too, great care is taken to prevent any person from another village taking away any of the rice and blood, lest the other village should get all the benefit of the sacrifice, and evils of all kinds descend on the unhappy villagers who have offered it. The ceremony of impaling live animals on stakes fixed round a wooden car,[2] and dragging them off to the boundary of the village is also practised here.

Bhīmadole, near Ellore. At another village, called Bhīmadole, about twenty miles from Ellore, I came across one of the few instances I have met with of any direct connexion between the harvest and the worship of a village goddess. There is an annual festival held there about harvest time, in November or December, lasting one day, which is always a Tuesday. About half a ton of rice is boiled in the middle of the village, taken

[1] See page 55. [2] See p. 58.

[See cat 116, p 68 -- ANALYST]

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776 to the shrine and presented in a heap before the image,
796 with a lighted lamp on the top of it, made of rice flour
241 kneaded into a paste, and holding about one pint of oil.[1]
782 Some toddy is poured on the ground to the east of the rice by the washerman; incense and camphor are burnt; while the people make namaskāram (salutation with folded hands raised to the forehead) to the image. As many as two hundred sheep and goats are then killed, and fowls are brought by the poorer people. In this festival, the rice soaked in the blood of the victims is not sprinkled on the streets of the village nor over the houses, but each ryot gives a handful of it to one of his field servants (an Outcaste), who takes and sprinkles it over his master's fields. Three handfuls of the crop are cut on the same day to inaugurate the harvest. No buffaloes are sacrificed during this festival.

755 On the other hand, when an epidemic breaks
776 out, there is a special festival, in which five or six buffaloes
782 are sacrificed as well as about three hundred sheep and goats. The buffaloes are killed last of all. One special buffalo, called *Pedda-Veta*, great sacrifice, is reserved to the end, and killed at about ten p.m. Nothing special is done with the blood of the other buffaloes nor with that of the sheep and goats, but the blood of the Pedda-Veta is allowed to flow on to some of the rice, as soon as the head is severed, and both head and carcass are placed upon the rice heap. The head, as usual, has the right foreleg put in the mouth, with fat smeared over the face and a lighted lamp above it.

At about eleven p.m. the head is carried by aMālā, not by a Mādigā in this village, on his own head three times round the boundaries of the village site, and the rice soaked in blood is sprinkled by the Mālās on the ground, as they go, and on any cattle they happen to meet, accompanied by the same weird and excited procession as elsewhere.

778 The illustration facing this page represents a shrine of Poshamma, a goddess worshipped by the Mālās. On the top of the shrine stands an earthenware lamp.

[1] See p. 39.

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CHAPTER V

MODES OF WORSHIP IN THE CANARESE COUNTRY

171 THE Canarese are closely allied ethnologically to the Telugus,[1] and we should naturally expect, therefore, to find a close connexion between the ceremonies used by the two peoples in the worship of their village goddesses. A brief account of the ceremonies used in different parts of the Canarese country will show how far this is actually the case.

776 796 *Bellary District.* In the Bellary district Durgamma,[1] Sunkalamma, and Uramma are very commonly worshipped. Uramma means simply the village goddess, and is equivalent to the general term grāma-devatā. Her festival is not celebrated annually, but when there is a specially good crop, or when cholera or plague break out. The following account of it was given me by an Asādi of a village near Bellary, and may be taken as describing fairly the general type of such festivals and sacrifices throughout the district.

776 755 772 We will suppose that cholera has broken out in the village. The villagers then make vows to offer the sacrifice if the epidemic ceases. The day appointed for the festival is invariably a Tuesday, and on the previous Tuesday a basin-shaped earthen lamp, filled with oil and furnished with a stout cotton wick, is placed in the house of the *Reddy* (village magistrate) and kept lighted till the festival and all the ceremonies are ended. The carpenter, also, prepares beforehand a wooden image of the goddess and a small cart, while

[1] Durgā is one of the many names of KĀLI, the wife of Śiva.

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of Jalal Miyan or by one of the goddesses. Going into a trance these people speak for the spirit which possesses them. The other people who are present there make offerings to them, seek solutions of their pressing problems and difficulties, and request them to remedy their ills and worries. Considerable enthusiasm is in evidence among them at this time. With these exceptions there is very little religious thought, talk or worship in normal life.

However, both Hindus and Muslims have a degree of fatalism and demonstrate a spirit of resignation towards predestined facts ordained for them by the supernatural forces of the world beyond. People can often be heard to remark, 'If it is written in our fate, we must submit to it. Human effort cannot alter the will of God. What is predestined must have its course.' But this fatalism makes its appearance only when the people have tried their best to solve the problem and having spared no effort still find themselves no nearer a solution. Coupled with this concept of fate is the Hindu doctrine of *karma*. According to this concept, which takes for granted the phenomenon of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth, our actions in the past life determine the character of our present life, and our actions in this life will determine the character of our future life. The village people clearly reconcile and synthesize these two views into a practical precept: the course of our present life is largely predestined on the basis of our acts in the past life, but by acting 'rightly' in this life we can materially influence the course of our life after death.

The rural ethic lays great emphasis on 'acting rightly', that is on the observance of traditional norms; because it is the only way to achieve happiness and prosperity in this life, and more than that to ensure the destiny of the soul after death. The problem of the future plays a very significant part in the ordering of life. Both Hindus and Muslims believe that death is not the end; there is something beyond it. Both attach great importance to the destiny of the soul after death. While the Muslim expects to remain in his grave until the Resurrection, when on the Day of Judgement he will be assigned to heaven (*jannat*) or hell (*jahannum*) according to his deeds, for the Hindu life is practically an unending process. After death one either goes to heaven (*swarga*) or to hell (*narka*), or one takes re-birth. Depending on one's actions in the past life, one may be born into one of the castes higher or lower than one's caste in the previous life, or even into some other lower species

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

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5. RELIGION IN DISEASE AND DIFFICULTY

In the two preceding sections an attempt has been made to present the ritual cycle of the community covering firstly the festivals and ceremonies within a normal calendar year, and secondly, the rites and observances concerning the major crises of life. These cycles are rigidly observed, as their observance constitutes the *dharma* or the appropriate way of life, and leads to the prosperity and well-being of the family as well as to a desirable future for the individual after death. With the exception of these festivals, under normal conditions of life, there is very little spiritual or devotional activity in the community. But persistent difficulties, uncommon diseases, and frequent deaths turn the people's thoughts to supernatural factors; events are interpreted in terms of supernatural interferences, and are sought to be remedied by magico-religious procedures.

Most of the common diseases are interpreted as a 'fault in the physical system', and are treated with herbal medicines or modern drugs obtained from the dispensary. Common colds, headaches, fever, stomach-ache, scabies, gonorrhoea and syphilis are regarded as natural diseases, and an effort is made to cure them with medicines. But persistent headaches, intermittent fevers, continued stomach disorders, rickets and other wasting diseases among children, menstrual troubles, repeated abortions, etc., are attributed to supernatural forces. In all such cases medicinal cures as well as propitiation of the 'unseen powers' are attempted simultaneously. Similarly, such calamities as the failure of crops, total blindness, repeated failures in undertakings, deaths of children in quick succession and too many deaths in the family within a short time are taken to indicate 'misfortune' and 'the handiwork of malevolent supernatural forces'. Smallpox, cholera and plague are always attributed to the wrath of various goddesses. For these diseases worship is regarded as the only remedy; and no medicines are administered to the patients.

What are the major factors that cause these difficulties, distresses and deaths? In the village community they are attributed to one or more of the following:

(i) The wrath of ancestor-spirits.
(ii) Unfavourable stars.
(iii) Ghosts and spirits.
(iv) The wrath of gods.
(v) Black magic and witchcraft.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

bath or wash is necessary to remove the impurity caused by the act. Non-observance of these rules will have a polluting effect; and according to the nature and degree of pollution purificatory rites will have to be undertaken.

Belief in ghosts and spirits is universal. They are feared and propitiated. Strange mystical power pervading certain objects is recognized, and fetishes and amulets are eagerly sought. Witchcraft is often suspected, and three or four people in the community are believed to possess magical powers.

Clearly, Hinduism as it is practised in the village is not the Hinduism of the classical philosophical systems of India, for it possesses neither the metaphysical heights nor the abstract content of the latter. It is a religion of fasts, feasts and festivals, in which prescribed rituals cover all the major crises of life. Worship and propitiation of gods and spirits follow the annual round of festivals and the ritual of the human life-cycle. Disease and difficulty may also necessitate invoking assistance from these sources.

In early childhood religious instruction through legendary tales and anecdotes exercises its influence on the developing mind of the child in whose thoughts and world of fancy these ideas linger on. Youth brings in its wake a more worldly and materialistic outlook towards life and its pleasures. Thoughts are turned to religion when the evening of life approaches, partly to postpone the final moment of departure as long as it could be, and partly to ensure the future lying beyond the point of death. Analysis of life-histories reveals that spiritualism cannot be said to be the keynote in the life of the community; far from it the religion appears to be a practical one. It strengthens and fortifies the individual and the group in situations where technical competence and practical intelligence are of no avail, and at the same time acts as a bond of cohesion for maintaining the structural unity of the society.

2. BELIEF: GODS AND DEITIES

The Muslims believe in one God, and follow the way of life laid down for them by their Prophet. They all belong to the Sunni division, and as such differ from the Shias and other splinter divisions of Islam in respect of the interpretation of their holy book as well as in several details of belief, ritual and ceremonial. Almost all the Muslims of Shamirpet have been converted to Islam from

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776 do not believe in any of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, nor in any of the later incarnations; but they share with the Hindus a living faith in the existence of malevolent ghosts, spirits and witches.
[621] They participate with the rest of the community in village ceremonies and sacrifices. To ward off cholera, plague and smallpox, they too think that it is necessary to propitiate the local deities and goddesses.

779 Village Hinduism is not easy to describe. It is an extremely
184 elastic religion, and within its all-India framework admits of a
614] considerable degree of regional and local variation. In his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, M. N. Srinivas has introduced the useful concept of 'spread', and split up village Hinduism into 'All India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and 'Local Hinduism'.

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171 Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his
771 numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. The
171 concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their consequences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth also have such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

778 All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

½ [The Muslims _ Analyst]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

mention in Hindu scriptures. Being the most important river of the Deccan region its significance is very great to the Hindus of this area.

Along with the great gods of all-India Hinduism the people also continue to observe cults associated with regional and local deities and goddesses. The nature and characteristics of these goddesses differ widely in the different culture-areas of the land. Some of the goddesses listed below are commonly found in the Telugu-speaking areas, particularly in the Telangana districts of Hyderabad. Their main characteristics according to the residents of Shamirpet have also been mentioned.

They are:

1. Pochamma—goddess of smallpox.
2. Mutyalamma—goddess of chickenpox.
3. Balamma—goddess of fertility whose wrath causes sterility in women.
4. Mahakalamma—goddess of cholera.
5. Durgamma—goddess presiding over the destinies and welfare of the village.
6. Maisamma—goddess protecting the village boundaries.

Besides the above, certain other goddesses are also worshipped. Important among them are Ellamma (for the cure of boils), Pinamma (when naming a child after one of his deceased grandparents), and minor goddesses of the fields who protect the crops. To these must be added several other named and unnamed deities and goddesses whose worship is confined only to the village of Shamirpet.

All the characteristics of Hinduism having an all-India spread, described above, are in evidence in the religion of the people of Shamirpet. There is a small Shiva temple near the house of the Brahmin; another with several images on a hillock by the side of the Deshmukh's house. There are two platforms in the village on which the monkey god Hanuman[1] is lodged. In many clean caste houses there are images or pictures of some of these gods. Those

[1] Hanuman, the 'Son of the Winds', was one of the monkey helpers of Rama in his search for Sita when she was abducted by the demon Ravana (according to the epic poem *Ramayana*). Modern tradition seeks to interpret the Monkeys and Bears of this story as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Deccan at the turn of the Christian era.

778 346 782 who have images of deities bathe them every day and make offerings of food. They are often described as 'family' or household gods. The pictures are worshipped on the occasions of festivals. In the neighbouring village of Aliyabad there is a temple of Rama. Besides these, there are several shrines of the village goddesses. Eight of these are important. Two shrines are dedicated to Maisamma—the *Gadi Maisamma* protects the house and dependants of the village headman, and the *Katta Maisamma* lodged near the tank protects the village boundaries and presides over the agricultural prosperity of the community. Pochamma too has two shrines—one near the houses of the Vaddars and another between the living quarters of the Madigas and the Erkalas. The shrine of Dugamma near the village post office is also important. There is one shrine each for Mahakalamma, Mutyalamma, and Pinamma.

788 People eagerly take the opportunities of attending religious fairs, and of going to holy places for a dip in one of the sacred rivers. The major centre of pilgrimage in the Telugu-speaking parts of Hyderabad is Bhadrachalam where there is an old and impressive temple by the side of Godavari. Those who can afford to and have the inclination go to the other places of pilgrimage having country-wide recognition, such as Allahabad (Prayag) and Benares (Kashi).

3. THE RELIGIOUS YEAR

796 Three major types of religious ceremonies and festivals are observed in the community; family ceremonies, village ceremonies, and caste ceremonies. The Muslim section of the village population has its own family festivals and some communal ceremonies. As pointed out earlier, they participate with their Hindu neighbours in the observance of common village ritual.

HINDU FESTIVALS

Feasts and fasts form an important part of Hindu religious life. Festivals are spread evenly over the whole year. Apart from village ceremonies, agricultural ritual, and special worships organized by some castes individually, there are several festivals which may be observed by most Hindu families, irrespective of their caste

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India TELUGU AW7

The image of the goddess is taken from the canopy by the washerman, and a Mādigā takes the head of the buffalo with its foreleg in the mouth, the forehead and nostrils all smeared over with fat, and the earthen lamp still lighted on the top. They then all go in procession to the boundary of the village, first the men carrying the buffalo's head, next the washerman with the image, and last the small wooden cart. When the procession arrives at the extreme limit of the village lands, they go on, for about a furlong, into the lands of the neighbouring village. There the Asādis first chant the praises of the goddess, then some turmeric is distributed to all the people, and finally the image is divested of all its ornaments and solemnly placed upon the ground and left there. The light on the head of the buffalo is extinguished, and the head itself carried off by the Mādigā, who takes it for a feast to his own house. The object of transporting the goddess to the lands of the next village is to transfer to that village the wrath of the deity, a precaution which does not show much faith in the temper of the goddess, nor much charity towards their neighbours!

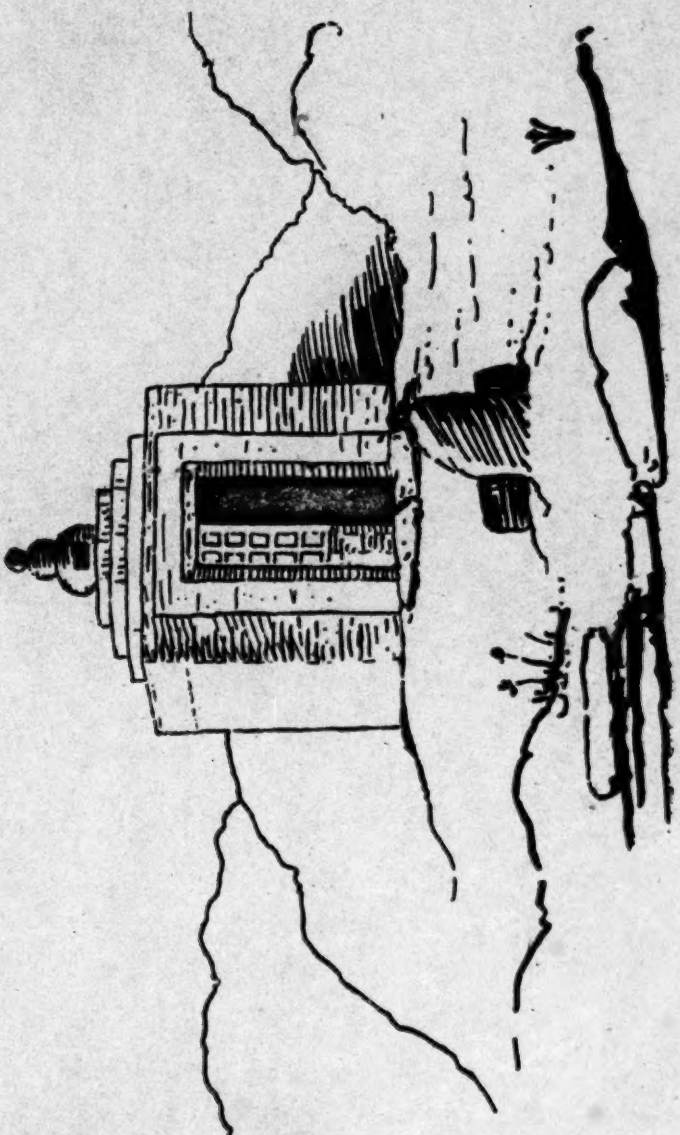
Gudivada, near Masulipatam. A somewhat different form of ceremonial prevails in some of the villages of the Telugu country nearer the coast. The village of Gudivada, about twenty miles from the important town of Masulipatam, may be taken as a good specimen of a well-to-do village in a prosperous district, and the ceremonies prevailing there are a fair sample of the cult of the village deities in these parts.

The name of the village deity at Gudivada is Pallalamma. Her image is the figure of a woman with four arms, and a leopard's head under her right foot, carved in bas-relief on a flat stone about three feet high, standing in an open compound, surrounded by a low stone wall. The pūjārī, who is a Śūdra, gave me a full account of the rites and ceremonies. Weekly offerings are made every Sunday, when the pujarī washes the image with water and soap-nut seeds early in the morning, and smears it with turmeric

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India TELUGU AW17

PLATE IX

• 778



SHRINE OF POSHAMMA

[facing p. 70]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

to the shrine and presented in a heap before the image, with a lighted lamp on the top of it, made of rice flour kneaded into a paste, and holding about one pint of oil.[1] Some toddy is poured on the ground to the east of the rice by the washerman; incense and camphor are burnt; while the people make namaskāram (salutation with folded hands raised to the forehead) to the image. As many as two hundred sheep and goats are then killed, and fowls are brought by the poorer people. In this festival, the rice soaked in the blood of the victims is not sprinkled on the streets of the village nor over the houses, but each ryot gives a handful of it to one of his field servants (an Outcaste), who takes and sprinkles it over his master's fields. Three handfuls of the crop are cut on the same day to inaugurate the harvest. No buffaloes are sacrificed during this festival.

On the other hand, when an epidemic breaks out, there is a special festival, in which five or six buffaloes are sacrificed as well as about three hundred sheep and goats. The buffaloes are killed last of all. One special buffalo, called *Pedda-Veta*, great sacrifice, is reserved to the end, and killed at about ten p.m. Nothing special is done with the blood of the other buffaloes nor with that of the sheep and goats, but the blood of the Pedda-Veta is allowed to flow on to some of the rice, as soon as the head is severed, and both head and carcass are placed upon the rice heap. The head, as usual, has the right foreleg put in the mouth, with fat smeared over the face and a lighted lamp above it.

At about eleven p.m. the head is carried by aMālā, not by a Mādigā in this village, on his own head three times round the boundaries of the village site, and the rice soaked in blood is sprinkled by the Mālās on the ground, as they go, and on any cattle they happen to meet, accompanied by the same weird and excited procession as elsewhere.

The illustration facing this page represents a shrine of Poshamma, a goddess worshipped by the Mālās. On the top of the shrine stands an earthenware lamp.

[1] See p. 39.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

CHAPTER FOUR

Ritual Structure

1. THE CHARACTER OF RELIGION

A TEXT-BOOK knowledge of the religious lore of India, and an acquaintance with her ancient classics and their modern expositions will hardly give us a true picture of the actual religious beliefs, thoughts, feelings and practices of the people now living in the countryside. A classification of their religious beliefs and ritual is not an easy task. Folklore and myths, religious teachings of saint-poets, and contacts with persons having knowledge of scriptures and popular religious books have all influenced their religious ideology, and consequently their religion is a mixture of animism, animatism and polytheism, with the occasional appearance of monotheism also. To these must be added a living faith in spirits, ghosts, demons, witches and magic. The complex of all these diverse factors constitutes the picture of the supernatural world as it is understood by the people in the countryside. Tenets of classical Hinduism having an all-India spread are mingled with the regional religious beliefs and forms of worship current among the Hindus of the Deccan plateau. Several cults and worships of a purely local nature add further to the complexity of the beliefs and ritual system of the community. A wide variety of cults is observed by the family, some by the village as a whole; and still others by individual caste groups.

What is the attitude of the individual towards religion in general? And what is his attitude towards the rituals and cults organized by the different units of the community? An attempt to answer these questions will greatly help our understanding of the character of religion as accepted and practised by the people.

Shamirpet is predominantly a Hindu village. The Muslim sec-

1: Dube E-8 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

The Muslim section of the population belongs to the Sunni sect and follows the religious pattern laid down in the Koran as interpreted by the founders of this sect. A devout Muslim is expected to offer prayers five times a day. In Shamirpet this would be the exception rather than the general rule. Some of the Muslim elders offer prayers twice a day, some only once and the rest are contented with their weekly prayers on Friday. The Mulla, the Muslim priest in the village, is the only person who offers the prescribed prayers every day. Fasting during the month of Ramzan is undertaken by a very large number of Muslims, but those maintaining it without a break until the end of the month would not total even a quarter of that number. The Muslims have a high degree of community-consciousness, but in Shamirpet it does not find expression in the form of intense religious devotion among the adherents of the Islamic faith.

With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti castes, the Hindus have no fixed time for daily worship. The number of people who visit a temple or shrine every day is negligible. But festivals and ceremonies are observed with unfailing regularity. Otherwise the gods are remembered only at times of disease or difficulty. As a rule, only some of the elderly people devote themselves to 'the daily duty of remembering the creator'; the younger people 'have much else to do'. They participate in ceremonies, partake of the festival feasts, and assemble to listen to the reading of the holy books and to the recitation of mythological legends by professionals when they happen to visit the village. The tasks of remembrance and repentance are postponed for old age. Among both men and women, only the elders seem to talk about 'the change of times' and 'the decline in the religious attitudes and ethical standards of the people'. In the everyday thought and speech of the younger generation there is very little of religion; and little conscious effort at seeking any deep religious experience or thrill is to be found among them. In the life of the community under observation, we noticed only two exceptions to this. One of these is the *Urs*, a semi-religious fair, commemorating Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine with some reputation for being a holy man. This fair is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also. The second is the annual worship of a village goddess organized by the village. On both these occasions several people are temporarily possessed by the spirit

RITUAL STRUCTURE

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796 these people speak for the spirit which possesses them. The other
787 people who are present there make offerings to them, seek solutions of their pressing problems and difficulties, and request them to remedy their ills and worries. Considerable enthusiasm is in evidence among them at this time. With these exceptions there is very little religious thought, talk or worship in normal life.

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1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

of the animal kingdom. One should therefore endeavour to go to heaven or to secure re-birth in a respectable caste and good family. In the course of our investigations we found very few people who had even a hazy notion regarding the higher Hindu concept of *moksha* or salvation which secures the emancipation of the soul from all worldly obligations and ensures that it shall cease to take birth again and again in different shapes and forms. But the desire to go to heaven or to ensure a better birth is universal. From one's childhood, one keeps on hearing, often colourful and dramatic, accounts of heaven and hell. 'We shall have to account for our actions before God. We can deceive our family, our village, our caste, and even the established authority, but we can never deceive God. He has the record of every little thing that we do, and after death His agents will decide whether we go to heaven or to hell', is the refrain in the talk of most of the people when they are asked to explain their belief regarding the future of man after death. Descriptions of heaven and hell are vivid and imaginative. 'In heaven you have only to desire a thing and the next moment you find it there', said one of our informants. 'There is peace and plenty in heaven. All people live in luxurious palaces where an army of countless servants looks after all their comforts. There you have the choicest foods, and the best of everything,' explained a Reddi cultivator. A Madiga's picture of heaven was somewhat different. He said, 'When you go to heaven you have a comfortable house fitted with chairs, soft beds and velvet cushions. And you get all the rice that you want to eat, and all the sweets. And you can do what you like for there are no administrative or village officials to curse you and abuse you.' The descriptions of hell are fairly standardized. 'Hell is an awful place. It has several compartments, each one worse than the other. In one compartment roaring fires are kept eternally burning, in another there are deadly snakes, scorpions and crocodiles; then there is a large tank—several miles long—filled with pus and foul-smelling blood, swarming with maggots and hideous insects; and there are hundreds and hundreds of such compartments each with a different torture and punishment awaiting the sinners. According to the nature of their sins, wrong-doers are thrown into one of these sections to suffer the penalties for what they have done. They cry and scream and weep, but the warders in God's prison are merciless. The more the sinners cry, the more they are tortured.' The

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

above account represents a fairly typical description of hell which one often hears in the village community. Through conversation, folktale, myth and legend these ideas are implanted fairly early into the minds of the village children, who start life with a fear of sin. But by the time they reach the age of undertaking wild adventures these fears are diluted, and the gruesome accounts of hell no longer hold their spell of horror over them. As old age approaches, bitter memories of failures and frustrations accumulate and the flesh does not have the energy to undertake fresh adventures; people slowly begin turning their attention to thoughts of life after death. As an illiterate informant pithily put it: 'While youth lasts, passions rule the actions of man. While property lasts, the glitter of gold makes a man blind. But in old age, man laments for what he did in his youth. With his dim vision, he can no longer see the maddening glitter of gold. Then his thoughts turn to religion.'

The concept of *dharma* is also important, as it covers all the phases of the human life-cycle and fixes several details of intra- and inter-group life. *Dharma* has often been translated by Western writers as 'religion', but this translation hardly conveys the original meaning. It will perhaps be more appropriate to describe it as '*the* way of life' or 'that which is right'. Acceptance of caste traditions and the general rules of piety, observance of fasts and feasts, rigidly following the norms governing the *rites de passage* and undertaking pilgrimages to places of worship or for bathing in holy rivers, can generally be said to constitute the *dharma* of the people. Special worship and rituals may be performed to attain certain special ends. It is through *dharma* that one can look forward to shaping one's destiny. The concepts of *pap* (sin) and *punya* (merit), and of ritual pollution are fundamental to the wider concept of *dharma*. Certain things must not be done by any member of the community irrespective of his caste because they are sinful. Murder, extreme cruelty and violence, and incest can be placed under this category. There are certain other things which must not be done by certain castes, or by certain individuals in particular conditions. Sexual relations or inter-dining with a person of lower caste will lead to impurity. A woman in menses or a family immediately after childbirth and death remains in a state of ritual impurity for a specified period. After certain bodily excretions such as those of fæces, urine or semen, a prescribed

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The people of Shamirpet worship all the major gods of the Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. The concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their consequences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth also have such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

½ [The Muslims — Analyst]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Muslim
Hindus

CHAPTER SIX

The Levels of Living

1. STATUS DIFFERENTIATION IN THE COMMUNITY

Six major factors contribute towards status differentiation in the village community of Shamirpet. They are: 554

i. Religion and caste.
ii. Landownership.
iii. Wealth.
iv. Position in government service and village organization.
v. Age.
vi. Distinctive personality traits.

Religion divides the community into two distinct groups: the Hindus and Muslims, standing out in marked contrast to each other. Hinduism is the older and longer established religion, and the majority of people in the village are Hindus. The Muslim group is largely composed of local converts, drawn from a number of castes—high and low. The Hindus naturally have a feeling of superiority regarding their religious faith and its antiquity, and do not view with favour the indiscriminate mixing of different castes in the Muslim community. But until 1948 they could not express these feelings openly as the Muslims had the backing of the State administration. The State was under Muslim rule, and being of the 'ruling race' the village Muslims were naturally in an advantageous position. They claimed superiority over the Hindus, and tried to dominate the village scene. While practical considerations forced the Hindus to remain silent, the Muslims aggressively denounced them as heathens. It had its reaction: after the Police Action, when Hyderabad was no longer a feudal 779 (621) 798

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus
Muslims

779 Muslim State, the Hindus had their revenge by pouring scorn
798 openly on Muslim religion and society. It was now the turn of the Muslims to observe silence, and tolerate humiliation and insults. At the time of our investigations, however, most of these passions had subsided, and no significant tensions were observed. As groups both Hindus and Muslims regard themselves as superior
[564] in point of religion. From the socio-economic point of view the Muslims can be regarded as an exclusive caste whose social standing is roughly equal to that of the agricultural castes.

564 Caste as a factor of social differentiation is more significant. It has been pointed out that in its structure, the caste system has definitely a hierarchical character. Between the highest and the lowest castes, there are several intermediate levels. The social status of a person is largely determined by his caste. The mere fact of birth in a particular caste gives a good initial start to some and puts obstacles in the way of others. In a subsequent chapter I propose to examine some of the stereotypes current in the village community regarding the qualities and characteristics of different castes; but notwithstanding these the relative position of the different castes in the village community is determined by the traditional scale.

554 Religion and caste are more or less fixed and permanent factors. While change of faith is possible, and under certain circumstances a person can even descend from one of the higher castes to the lowest, such changes are very rare. At any rate no one takes recourse to them to bring about a change in his social status.
[771] The only case of change of faith recorded by us in the village is that of the present headmaster of the school who was a Brahmin to begin with, but later embraced Islam. No case of change of caste came to our notice.

556 In a predominantly agricultural society it is natural to expect that possession of land and cattle would contribute greatly to an individual's social status. Birth into a family of landowners ensures that a person will grow up to be a respected member of the village community. Acquisition of land would very materially affect the social position even of a person of humble birth, and if he does not behave tactlessly it would greatly enhance his prestige. An untouchable Mala peasant is now counted among the influential cultivators of the village and is given a place of honour in its counsels. He is still an untouchable and would continue to remain

RITUAL STRUCTURE

The Muslim section of the population belongs to the Sunni sect and follows the religious pattern laid down in the Koran as interpreted by the founders of this sect. A devout Muslim is expected to offer prayers five times a day. In Shamirpet this would be the exception rather than the general rule. Some of the Muslim elders offer prayers twice a day, some only once and the rest are contented with their weekly prayers on Friday. The Mulla, the Muslim priest in the village, is the only person who offers the prescribed prayers every day. Fasting during the month of Ramzan is undertaken by a very large number of Muslims, but those maintaining it without a break until the end of the month would not total even a quarter of that number. The Muslims have a high degree of community-consciousness, but in Shamirpet it does not find expression in the form of intense religious devotion among the adherents of the Islamic faith.

With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti castes, the Hindus have no fixed time for daily worship. The number of people who visit a temple or shrine every day is negligible. But festivals and ceremonies are observed with unfailing regularity. Otherwise the gods are remembered only at times of disease or difficulty. As a rule, only some of the elderly people devote themselves to 'the daily duty of remembering the creator'; the younger people 'have much else to do'. They participate in ceremonies, partake of the festival feasts, and assemble to listen to the reading of the holy books and to the recitation of mythological legends by professionals when they happen to visit the village. The tasks of remembrance and repentance are postponed for old age. Among both men and women, only the elders seem to talk about 'the change of times' and 'the decline in the religious attitudes and ethical standards of the people'. In the everyday thought and speech of the younger generation there is very little of religion; and little conscious effort at seeking any deep religious experience or thrill is to be found among them. In the life of the community under observation, we noticed only two exceptions to this. One of these is the *Urs*, a semi-religious fair, commemorating Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine with some reputation for being a holy man. This fair is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also. The second is the annual worship of a village goddess organized by the village. On both these occasions several people are temporarily possessed by the spirit

323 564 closely at Shamirpet only in six were the relations finally broken off on account of dissatisfaction to either or both parties. Non-agriculturists and such occupational castes as do not have arrangements with the potter buy their requirements from him for a cash price. The Kummari families of Shamirpet have more clients and customers in some of the neighbouring villages which have no potters' families living in them.

THE GOLLA

[361] 233 564 476 The shepherds occupy a block of their own in the village. Some of them cultivate small land-holdings, but the major source of livelihood for all of them is their traditional occupation of keeping herds of goats and sheep. They may keep one or two cows and buffaloes besides these herds which are their livelihood. They have an elaborate lore regarding these animals, and they are experts in caring for quite large herds. They train country dogs to help them in this, and with their aid prevent the goats from going [782] astray when they are taken out for grazing in the forest. By turns the Golla families in the village contribute goats or sheep for sacrifice in the village ceremonies. For this they are not paid. With this exception, they carry on all other transactions with the village people in cash. When people buy goats and sheep, the owner of the animal is always paid in cash. For goat's milk they expect spot payment, but arrangements for weekly or monthly payments may be made in the case of regular buyers. However, in one respect they may also enter into an agreement with the agriculturists which may entitle them to a small share of each harvest. After the harvest, when all the crops have been reaped, the agriculturists ask the Gollas to graze their herds on their fields and keep them penned in during the night. As there is very little fodder in the fields, the shepherds take the goats and sheep out for grazing in the nearby forest, and during the night keep them in the field. [241] The urine and dung of the herd is believed to be good manure, and as such this service is much in demand by the agriculturists. The shepherds often fix days with the agriculturists, and each one has his turn only on a limited number of days. According to the nature of agreement between the cultivators and the shepherds, the payment is either in cash or the latter collect their dues from the fields at the time of harvesting.

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mention in Hindu scriptures. Being the most important river of the Deccan region its significance is very great to the Hindus of this area.

Along with the great gods of all-India Hinduism the people also continue to observe cults associated with regional and local deities and goddesses. The nature and characteristics of these goddesses differ widely in the different culture-areas of the land. Some of the goddesses listed below are commonly found in the Telugu-speaking areas, particularly in the Telangana districts of Hyderabad. Their main characteristics according to the residents of Shamirpet have also been mentioned.

They are:

1. Pochamma—goddess of smallpox.
2. Mutyalamma—goddess of chickenpox.
3. Balamma—goddess of fertility whose wrath causes sterility in women.
4. Mahakalamma—goddess of cholera.
5. Durgamma—goddess presiding over the destinies and welfare of the village.
6. Maisamma—goddess protecting the village boundaries.

Besides the above, certain other goddesses are also worshipped. Important among them are Ellamma (for the cure of boils), Pinamma (when naming a child after one of his deceased grandparents), and minor goddesses of the fields who protect the crops. To these must be added several other named and unnamed deities and goddesses whose worship is confined only to the village of Shamirpet.

All the characteristics of Hinduism having an all-India spread, described above, are in evidence in the religion of the people of Shamirpet. There is a small Shiva temple near the house of the Brahmin; another with several images on a hillock by the side of the Deshmukh's house. There are two platforms in the village on which the monkey god Hanuman[1] is lodged. In many clean caste houses there are images or pictures of some of these gods. Those

[1] Hanuman, the 'Son of the Winds', was one of the monkey helpers of Rama in his search for Sita when she was abducted by the demon Ravana (according to the epic poem *Ramayana*). Modern tradition seeks to interpret the Monkeys and Bears of this story as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Deccan at the turn of the Christian era.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

778 346 782 who have images of deities bathe them every day and make offerings of food. They are often described as 'family' or household gods. The pictures are worshipped on the occasions of festivals. In the neighbouring village of Aliyabad there is a temple of Rama. Besides these, there are several shrines of the village goddesses. Eight of these are important. Two shrines are dedicated to Maisamma—the *Gadi Maisamma* protects the house and dependants of the village headman, and the *Katta Maisamma* lodged near the tank protects the village boundaries and presides over the agricultural prosperity of the community. Pochamma too has two shrines—one near the houses of the Vaddars and another between the living quarters of the Madigas and the Erkalas. The shrine of Dugamma near the village post office is also important. There is one shrine each for Mahakalamma, Mutyalamma, and Pinamma.

788 People eagerly take the opportunities of attending religious fairs, and of going to holy places for a dip in one of the sacred rivers. The major centre of pilgrimage in the Telugu-speaking parts of Hyderabad is Bhadrachalam where there is an old and impressive temple by the side of Godavari. Those who can afford to and have the inclination go to the other places of pilgrimage having country-wide recognition, such as Allahabad (Prayag) and Benares (Kashi).

3. THE RELIGIOUS YEAR

796 Three major types of religious ceremonies and festivals are observed in the community; family ceremonies, village ceremonies, and caste ceremonies. The Muslim section of the village population has its own family festivals and some communal ceremonies. As pointed out earlier, they participate with their Hindu neighbours in the observance of common village ritual.

HINDU FESTIVALS

Feasts and fasts form an important part of Hindu religious life. Festivals are spread evenly over the whole year. Apart from village ceremonies, agricultural ritual, and special worships organized by some castes individually, there are several festivals which may be observed by most Hindu families, irrespective of their caste

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techniques are employed: *mantram* (chants and spells), *yantram* (use of secret formulae and designs) and *chetla kriya* (counter black magic). Amateur practitioners succeed in some cases, but all difficult cases require the intervention of an established specialist. The techniques of these specialists are their closely guarded secrets.

In Shamirpet eleven people claim some knowledge of these techniques; although only three were recognized as having 'real and effective powers'. One person who claimed to be an expert in *chetla kriya*—powerful enough to use black magic as well as to counteract it—died, when this research was in progress.

Fourteen women had some suspicion of witchcraft against them, only two being regarded as established witches. A census of ghosts was difficult, but we listed more than forty of them. Four ghosts were particularly feared. The hillock to the north-west of the village was believed to be the abode of innumerable ghosts, but now it is inhabited by the ghost of a Reddi woman who died in pregnancy. She is known to have attacked several women and children. A Madiga woman who committed suicide by jumping in the well of their settlement also became a ghost. At first she went out of the village and troubled her daughter, but on being 'driven away' from there she is believed to have come back to Shamirpet. The dread of the village, however, is the ghost of a Reddi agriculturist who dwells in the eastern side of the village. Even tough young people are afraid to go 'to his place' at mid-day, dusk or late at night. A young Muslim who died without sex experience is alleged to have interfered with many young women. No effective checks have been improvised so far to keep these ghosts under control. Many others 'have been tamed'. They were the ghosts of persons from the following categories:

(*a*) Persons too much attached to sex, wealth and children.
(*b*) Persons dying without satisfying their sexual cravings.
(*c*) Pregnant women.
(*d*) Persons meeting an accidental death, by falling from a tree, drowning or by lightning.
(*e*) Persons committing suicide.
(*f*) Persons dying with an intense hatred for someone.
(*g*) Persons who have been murdered.

Serious difficulties created by supernatural agencies call for some of the measures enumerated above. For getting over minor

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not move properly as it was dragged to the boundary, since that is regarded as a sign that the goddess is angry and needs to be appeased.

Ellore. The number of victims slaughtered at some of these festivals is enormous. At Ellore, which is a town of considerable size and importance, I was told that at the annual festival of Mahālakshmī about a a thousand animals are killed in one day, rich people sending as many as twenty or thirty. The blood then flows down into the fields behind the place of sacrifice in a regular flood, and carts full of sand are brought to cover up what remains on the spot. The heads are piled up in a heap about fifteen feet high in front of the shrine, and a large earthen basin about one-and-a-half feet in diameter is then filled with gingelly oil and put on the top of the heap, a thick cotton wick being placed in the basin and lighted. The animals are all worshipped with the usual *namaskāram*, *i.e.* folded hands raised to the forehead, before they are killed. This slaughter of victims goes on all day.

At midnight about twenty or twenty-five buffaloes are sacrificed. Their heads are cut off by a Mādigā pūjārī and with their carcasses are thrown upon large heaps of rice which have been presented to the goddess, till the rice is soaked with blood.

The subsequent ceremonies illustrate again the varieties of local custom. The rice is collected in about ten or fifteen large baskets, and, instead of being carried by a Mādigā, is carried on a large cart drawn by buffaloes or bullocks, with the Mādigā pūjārī seated on it. As the cart moves along, Mādigās sprinkle the rice on the streets and on the walls of the houses shouting "Poli! Poli!" ("Food! Food!"). A large body of men of different castes, Śūdras, Kommas, and Outcastes, go with the procession: but only the Mādigās and Mālās (the two sections of the Outcastes) shout "Poli," the rest following in silence. They have only two or three torches to show them the way, and no tom-toms nor music. Apparently the idea is that, if they make a noise or display a blaze of light, they will attract the evil spirits,

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who will swoop down on them and do them some injury; though in other villages it is supposed that a great deal of noise and flourishing of sticks will keep the evil spirits at bay. Before this procession starts, the heads of the buffaloes are placed in front of the shrine, with the right foreleg in the mouth, the fat from the entrails smeared about half an inch thick over the whole face, and a large earthen lamp on the top of each head. The Pambalas[1] play tom-toms and chant a long story about Gaṅgamma till daybreak. About eight a.m. they put the buffalo heads with the lighted lamps upon them into separate baskets; and these are carried in procession through the town to the sound of tom-toms. All castes follow, shouting and singing. In former times, I was told, there was a good deal of fighting and disturbance during this procession, but now the police maintain order. When the procession arrives at the municipal limits, the heads are thrown over the boundary, and left there. The people then all bathe in the canal and return home.

On the last day of the festival, which, I may remark, lasts for about three months, a small cart is made of margosa wood and a stake is fixed at each of the four corners. A pig and a fowl are tied to each stake, while a fruit, called *dubakaya*, is impaled on it instead of the animal. A yellow cloth, sprinkled with the blood of the buffaloes, is tied round the sides of the cart, and some margosa leaves are tied round the cloth. A Pambala sits on the cart, to which are fastened two large ropes, each about 200 yards long. Then men of all castes, without distinction, lay hold of the ropes and drag the cart round the town to the sound of tom-toms and music. Finally it is brought outside the municipal limits and left there, the Outcastes taking away the animals and fruits.

Sometimes, I was told, animals are sacrificed to Gaṅgamma by the people in Ellore in the courtyards of their own houses. They then clean the wall of

See p. 58 above.

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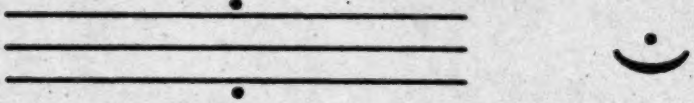
the house outside with cow-dung and make three horizontal lines with kunkuma (a red paste of turmeric and lime), with a dot above and below, and a semi-circle on the right side with a dot in the middle, thus:—



The symbol on the right represents the sun and moon: that on the left is the Śaivite sectarian mark. They sacrifice to these symbols sheep, goats, and fowls. It is curious that, in these private sacrifices at home, they pour water on the sheep and goats to see whether they shiver, as a sign of acceptance,[1] though this is not done in the public sacrifices at Ellore.

Dharmaja-Gudem, near Ellore. At a village called Dharmaja-Gudem, about sixteen miles from Ellore, while the main features of the festivals are the same as those found elsewhere, there are two or three peculiarities, which deserve notice. The ordinary grāma-devatās of the village are Ellaramma, Gaṅgamma, Mutyalamma, and Ravelamma, who are represented by four stone pillars about six feet high, with figures of women carved on them, standing in an open field on the outskirts of the village: but when an epidemic breaks out, Mutyalamma, Gaṅgamma, Aṅkamma and Mahālakshmīamma are the deities propitiated, and special images are made of them. Those of the first three are made of clay, but that of Mahālakshmīamma is made of turmeric kneaded into a paste. Then, again, it is noticeable that a Brāhman acts as pūjārī of Mahālakshmī, a washerman as pūjārī of Gaṅgamma, and a potter as pūjārī of Aṅkamma. The Brāhman pūjārī presides over the worship for the greater part of the festival, which lasts for about three months, and during that time the people come almost every day and offer flowers, fruits, cocoanuts, camphor and incense, but no animal sacrifices. All this time, too, some nautch-

[1] See p. 55 above.

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All this time[1] too, some nautch—
girls come and dance in a booth erected in front of the image and work themselves up into a state of frenzy, during which they are supposed to be inspired by the deities, and utter oracles to the worshippers. When the epidemic begins to abate, the Brāhman pūjārī closes his part of the proceedings and departs.

Then, on that afternoon and evening, animal sacrifices are offered under the booth. On the first animal killed, which is generally a goat, water is poured from a brass vessel, to see if it shivers.[1] If it does, it is taken as a good omen that the goddess is propitiated and the disease will disappear. Then other animals are brought and, in accordance with a very common division of functions in the Telugu country, a washerman kills the sheep, goats, and fowls, and a Mādigā the buffaloes. The heads of the sheep and goats, as well as of the buffaloes, have the right forelegs put crosswise in the mouths, the faces smeared with fat from the entrails, and a lighted lamp placed above them. The blood is caught in a basket full of boiled rice, and the rice and blood are sprinkled round the village, while a Mādigā carries on his own head the head of a buffalo exactly as is done elsewhere. Here, too, great care is taken to prevent any person from another village taking away any of the rice and blood, lest the other village should get all the benefit of the sacrifice, and evils of all kinds descend on the unhappy villagers who have offered it. The ceremony of impaling live animals on stakes fixed round a wooden car,[2] and dragging them off to the boundary of the village is also practised here.

Bhīmadole, near Ellore. At another village, called Bhīmadole, about twenty miles from Ellore, I came across one of the few instances I have met with of any direct connexion between the harvest and the worship of a village goddess. There is an annual festival held there about harvest time, in November or December, lasting one day, which is always a Tuesday. About half a ton of rice is boiled in the middle of the village, taken

[1] See page 55. [2] See p. 58.

[see cat 116, p 68--ANALYST]

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776 to the shrine and presented in a heap before the image,
796 with a lighted lamp on the top of it, made of rice flour
241 kneaded into a paste, and holding about one pint of oil.[1]
782 Some toddy is poured on the ground to the east of the rice by the washerman; incense and camphor are burnt; while the people make namaskāram (salutation with folded hands raised to the forehead) to the image. As many as two hundred sheep and goats are then killed, and fowls are brought by the poorer people. In this festival, the rice soaked in the blood of the victims is not sprinkled on the streets of the village nor over the houses, but each ryot gives a handful of it to one of his field servants (an Outcaste), who takes and sprinkles it over his master's fields. Three handfuls of the crop are cut on the same day to inaugurate the harvest. No buffaloes are sacrificed during this festival.

755 On the other hand, when an epidemic breaks
776 out, there is a special festival, in which five or six buffaloes
782 are sacrificed as well as about three hundred sheep and goats. The buffaloes are killed last of all. One special buffalo, called *Pedda-Veta*, great sacrifice, is reserved to the end, and killed at about ten p.m. Nothing special is done with the blood of the other buffaloes nor with that of the sheep and goats, but the blood of the Pedda-Veta is allowed to flow on to some of the rice, as soon as the head is severed, and both head and carcass are placed upon the rice heap. The head, as usual, has the right foreleg put in the mouth, with fat smeared over the face and a lighted lamp above it.

At about eleven p.m. the head is carried by aMālā, not by a Mādigā in this village, on his own head three times round the boundaries of the village site, and the rice soaked in blood is sprinkled by the Mālās on the ground, as they go, and on any cattle they happen to meet, accompanied by the same weird and excited procession as elsewhere.

778 The illustration facing this page represents a shrine of Poshamma, a goddess worshipped by the Mālās. On the top of the shrine stands an earthenware lamp.

[1] See p. 39.

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[p. 48]

CHAPTER IV

MODES OF WORSHIP IN THE TELUGU COUNTRY

755 LET us suppose that an attack of cholera or small-pox has broken out in a village of South India. We will take a village in the Telugu country, in one of the more backward districts, where life is lived under more primitive conditions than in places where large towns and railways and the influence of the Brāhmans have tended to change old-fashioned ideas and customs.

776 755 •782 *A Telugu Village.* The village deity, in this particular village, is called Peddamma, the great mother. The epidemic is a sign that she is angry and requires to be propitiated. So a collection is made for the expenses of a festival, or a rich man offers to pay all expenses, and a propitious day is selected, which in this village may be any day except Sunday or Thursday. Then the potter of the village is instructed to make a clay image of the great mother, and the carpenter to make a small wooden cart, and a buffalo is chosen as the chief victim for the sacrifice.

When the appointed day arrives, the buffalo is sprinkled all over with yellow *turmeric*,[1] while garlands of margosa leaves are hung round its neck and tied to its horns. At about two p.m. it is conducted round the village in procession to the sound of music and the beating of tom-toms. The two sections of the Outcastes, the Mālās and the Mādigās, take the leading

[1] *Curcuma longa* is an Indian plant from the rootstock of which a powder called turmeric is extracted. This powder is used as a dye and also as one of the ingredients of curry-powder.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

part in the sacrifice, and conduct the buffalo from house to house. One Mādigā goes on ahead, with a tom-tom, to announce that "the buffalo devoted to the goddess is coming." The people then come out from their houses, bow down to worship the buffalo, and pour water over his feet, and also give some food to the Mālās and Mādigās, who form the procession. By about eight p.m. this ceremony is finished, and the buffalo is brought to an open spot in the village and tied up near a small canopy of cloths supported on bamboo poles, which has been set up for the reception of the goddess. All the villagers then assemble at the same place, and at about ten p.m. they go in procession, with music and tom-toms and torches, to the house of the potter, where the clay image is ready prepared. On arriving at his house, they pour about two and a half measures of rice on the ground and put the image on the top of it, adorned with a new cloth and jewels. All who are present then worship the image, and a ram is killed, its head being cut off with a large chopper, and the blood sprinkled on the top of the image, as a kind of consecration. The potter then takes up the idol and carries it out of the house for a little distance, and gives it to a washerman, who carries it to the place where the canopy has been set up to receive it. During the procession the people flourish sticks and swords and spears to keep off the evil spirits, and, for the same purpose, cut limes in half and throw them up in the air. The idea is that the greedy demons will clutch at the golden limes and carry them off, and so be diverted from any attack on the man who carries the image. When the idol has been duly deposited under the canopy, another procession is made to the house of the toddy-drawer. He is the man who climbs the palm trees and draws off the juice which is made into toddy. At his house some rice is cooked, and a pot of toddy and a bottle of *arrack*[1] are produced and duly smeared with yellow turmeric and a red paste, constantly used in religious

[1] Arrack is a native intoxicant.

776 755 782 [273]

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PLATE VII

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BUFFALO SACRIFICE

[facing p. 50]

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worship among the Hindus and called *kunkuma*.[1] The cooked rice is put in front of the pot of toddy and bottle of arrack, a ram is killed in sacrifice, and then the toddy-drawer worships the pot and the bottle. The village officials pay him his fee, three-eighths of a measure of rice, three-eighths of a measure of *cholam*[2] and four annas, and then he carries the pot and bottle in procession, and places them under the canopy near the image of Peddamma. Then comes yet another procession. The people go off to the house of the chief official, the Reddy, and bring from it some cooked rice in a large earthenware pot, some sweet cakes, and a lamb. A large quantity of margosa leaves are spread on the ground in front of the image, the rice from the Reddy's house is placed upon them in a heap, and a large heap of rice, from one hundred to three hundred measures, according to the amount of the subscriptions, is poured in a heap a little farther away.

All these elaborate proceedings form only the preparations for the great sacrifice, which is now about to begin. The lamb is first worshipped and then sacrificed by having its throat cut and its head cut off. A ram is next brought and stood over the first large heap of rice, and is there cut in two, through the back, with a heavy chopper, by one of the village washermen. The blood pours out over the rice and soaks it through. One half of the ram is then taken up and carried to a spot a few yards off, where a body of Asādis are standing ready to begin their part in the ceremonies. The other half of the ram is left lying on the rice. The Asādis then begin to sing a long chant in honour of the deity. Meanwhile, the chief sacrifice is made. The buffalo is brought forward, and the Mādigās kill it by cutting its throat (in some villages its head is cut off). Some water is first poured over the blood, and then the pool of blood and water is covered up carefully with earth, lest any outsider from another

[1] Made of turmeric mixed with lime.
[2] A coarse grain, the staple food of the villagers.

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PLATE VIII

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HEAD OF SACRIFICIAL BUFFALO

[facing p. 51]

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755 776 782 village should come and steal it. The idea is that if any man from another village should take away and carry home even a small part of the blood, that village would get the benefit of the sacrifice. The head of the buffalo is then cut off and placed before the image, with a layer of fat from its entrails smeared over the forehead and face, so as to cover entirely the eyes and nose. The right foreleg is cut off and placed crosswise in the mouth, some boiled rice is placed upon the fat on the forehead, and on it an earthenware lamp, which is kept alight during the whole of the festival. Why the right foreleg should be cut off and placed in the mouth, and what the meaning of it is, I have never been able to discover nor can I conjecture. When I have asked the villagers, they only reply, "It is the custom." But I have found the custom prevailing in all parts of South India, among Tamils, Telugus, and Canarese alike, and I have been informed that exactly the same custom prevails in the Southern Marāṭhā country. It seems to be a very ancient part of the ritual of sacrifice prevailing in South India.[1] This completes the presentation of the sacrifice to the goddess, who is supposed to delight in the food offered, and especially in the blood. A great deal of the food offered is, as a matter of fact, taken

[695] [1] Maharaja Sir V. S. Raṅga Rao Bahadur, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., writes in *The Asiatic Review* for January, 1919: "The Lord Bishop wishes to know why the leg of an animal is put crosswise in its mouth after it has been sacrificed before the village goddess. Among the menial castes of a village there is the practice of a guilty man putting a piece of dry grass crosswise in his mouth when he goes to the head of his village to ask his pardon. It denotes that he has committed a wrong act, as a beast. In places where grass is not available, the person in question puts the first finger of his right hand crosswise in his mouth with the same idea or purpose. Here the animals are sacrificed before the village gods and goddesses by the people in the expectation, or rather with the firm belief, that their sins will be forgiven by those deities, and that their consequences will be thus averted by means of those sacrifices. Instead of putting their fingers in their mouths, as stated before, they put the animal's leg (generally the right leg) crosswise in its mouth. Though I am not sure that this is the explanation of this practice, I presume that it must be along these lines, as no other ground is traceable."

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755 776 782 away by the people and eaten in their homes, but the idea is that the goddess takes the essence and leaves the worshippers the material substance. This takes till about three a.m. next morning; and then begins another important part of the ceremonies.

Some of the rice from the heap, over which the ram was sacrificed and its blood poured out, is taken and put in a flat basket, and some of the entrails of the buffalo are mixed with it. The intestines of the lamb, which was first killed, are put over the neck of a Mālā, and its liver is placed in his mouth,[1] while another Mālā takes the basket of rice soaked in blood and mixed with the entrails of the buffalo. A procession is then formed [786] with these two weird figures in the middle. The man with the liver in his mouth is worked up into a state of frantic excitement and is supposed to be inspired by the goddess. He has to be held by men on either side of him, or kept fast with ropes, to prevent his rushing away; and all round him are the *ryots*, *i.e.* the small farmers, and the Mālās, flourishing clubs and swords, and throwing limes into the air, to drive away the evil spirits. As the procession moves through the village, the people shout out "Food! Food!" and the man who carries the basket sprinkles the rice soaked in blood over the houses to protect them from evil spirits. As he walks along, he shouts out, at intervals, that he sees the evil spirits, and falls down in a faint. Then lambs have to be sacrificed on the spot and limes thrown into the air and cocoanuts broken, to drive away the demons and bring the man to his senses. And so the procession moves through the village, amid frantic excitement, till, as the day dawns, they return to the canopy, where the great mother is peacefully reposing.

At about ten a.m. a fresh round of ceremonies begins. Some meat is cut from the carcass of the buffalo and cooked with some cholam, and then given to five little Mālā boys, *siddhalu*, the innocents, as they are called. They are all covered over with a large cloth,

[1] Cf. pp. 109, 148 below

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and eat the food entirely concealed from view, probably to prevent the evil spirits from seeing them, or the evil eye from striking them. And then some more food is served to the Asādis, who have been for many hours, during the ceremonies of the night, chanting the praises of the goddess. After this the villagers bring their offerings. The Brāhmans, who may not kill animals, bring rice and cocoanuts, and other castes bring lambs, goats, sheep, fowls, and buffaloes, which are all killed by the washermen, by cutting their throats, except the buffaloes, which are always killed by the Mādigās, the lowest class of Outcastes. The heads are all cut off and presented to the goddess. This lasts till about three p.m., when the people go off to the house of the village carpenter, who has got ready a small wooden cart. On their arrival some cooked rice is offered to the cart, and a lamb sacrificed before it, and a new cloth and eight annas are given to the carpenter as his fee. The cart is then dragged by the washermen, to the sound of horns and tom-toms, to the place of sacrifice. The heads and carcasses of the animals already sacrificed are first removed by the Mālās and Mādigās, except the head of the buffalo first offered, which remains in its place till all the ceremonies are finished, when the shrine is removed.

At about seven p.m. another series of ceremonies begins. First a lamb is sacrificed before the goddess, and its blood mixed with some cooked rice, and at the same time a pig is buried up to the neck in a pit at the entrance of the village, with its head projecting above the earth. The villagers go in procession to the spot, while one of the Mādigās carries the rice, soaked in the blood of the lamb, in a basket. All the cattle of the village are then brought to the place and driven over the head of the unhappy pig,[1] which is, of course, trampled to death; and, as they pass over the pig, the blood and rice are sprinkled upon them to preserve them from disease. Then, after this, follows the final ceremony.

[1] Cf. p 58 below.

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The image of the goddess is taken from the canopy by the washerman, and a Mādigā takes the head of the buffalo with its foreleg in the mouth, the forehead and nostrils all smeared over with fat, and the earthen lamp still lighted on the top. They then all go in procession to the boundary of the village, first the men carrying the buffalo's head, next the washerman with the image, and last the small wooden cart. When the procession arrives at the extreme limit of the village lands, they go on, for about a furlong, into the lands of the neighbouring village. There the Asādis first chant the praises of the goddess, then some turmeric is distributed to all the people, and finally the image is divested of all its ornaments and solemnly placed upon the ground and left there. The light on the head of the buffalo is extinguished, and the head itself carried off by the Mādigā, who takes it for a feast to his own house. The object of transporting the goddess to the lands of the next village is to transfer to that village the wrath of the deity, a precaution which does not show much faith in the temper of the goddess, nor much charity towards their neighbours!

Gudivada, near Masulipatam. A somewhat different form of ceremonial prevails in some of the villages of the Telugu country nearer the coast. The village of Gudivada, about twenty miles from the important town of Masulipatam, may be taken as a good specimen of a well-to-do village in a prosperous district, and the ceremonies prevailing there are a fair sample of the cult of the village deities in these parts.

The name of the village deity at Gudivada is Pallalamma. Her image is the figure of a woman with four arms, and a leopard's head under her right foot, carved in bas-relief on a flat stone about three feet high, standing in an open compound, surrounded by a low stone wall. The pūjārī, who is a Śūdra, gave me a full account of the rites and ceremonies. Weekly offerings are made every Sunday, when the pujarī washes the image with water and soap-nut seeds early in the morning, and smears it with turmeric

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and kunkuma, offers incense, breaks a cocoanut, and cooks and presents to the image about a seer of rice, which he afterwards eats himself. The rice is provided daily by the villagers. Occasionally fowls and sheep are offered on the Sunday by villagers who have made vows in time of sickness or other misfortunes. When a sheep is sacrificed, it is first purified by washing. The animal is simply killed in front of the image by a Mādigā, who cuts off its head with a large chopper. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground and nothing special is done with it. The head becomes the perquisite of the pūjārī, and the offerer takes away the carcass for a feast in his house. In many villages, both in the Telugu and Tamil districts, water is poured over the sheep's back to see whether it shivers. If it shivers, it is a sign that the goddess has accepted it.[1] Where the people are economical, they keep on pouring water till it does shiver, to avoid the expense of providing a second victim, but, where they are more scrupulous, if it does not shiver, it is taken as a sign that the goddess will not accept it and it is taken away.

A public festival is held whenever an epidemic breaks out. The headman of the village then gets a new earthenware pot, besmears it with turmeric and kunkuma and puts inside some clay bracelets, some necklaces, and ear-rings, three pieces of charcoal, three pieces of turmeric, three pieces of incense, a piece of dried cocoanut, a woman's cloth, and two annas' worth of coppers—a strange collection of miscellaneous charms and offerings. The pot is then hung up in a tree near the image, as a pledge that, if the epidemic disappears, the people will celebrate a festival.

When it does disappear, a thatched shed of palmyra leaves is built near the image, and a special image of clay, adorned with turmeric and kunkuma, is put inside, and beneath it an earthen pot filled with buttermilk and boiled rice. This pot is also smeared with turmeric and

[1] For this widespread superstition see Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, i, 19. Cf. pp. 63, 68, 69, 73, 99, below.

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kunkuma, adorned with margosa leaves, covered with an earthenware saucer, and carried in procession through the village during the day, to the exhilarating sound of pipes, horns, and tom-toms, by the village potter, who takes the rice and buttermilk for his perquisite and renews it every morning of the festival at the public expense. The duration of the festival depends on the amount of the subscriptions, but it always lasts for an odd number of days, excluding all numbers with a seven in them, *e.g.* 7, 17, 27, etc. During the night the barbers of the village chant the praises of the goddess, and the Mādigās beat tom-toms near the image.

On the night before the day appointed for the offering of animal sacrifices by the villagers, a male buffalo, called Devara Potu, *i.e.* devoted to the deity, is sacrificed on behalf of the whole village. First, the buffalo is washed with water, smeared with yellow turmeric and red kunkuma, and then garlanded with flowers and the leaves of the sacred margosa tree. It is brought before the image; and a Mādigā cuts off its head, if possible at one blow, over a heap of boiled rice, which becomes soaked with the blood. The right foreleg is then cut off and placed crosswise in its mouth, according to the widespread custom prevailing in South India, the fat of the entrails is smeared over the eyes and forehead, and the head is placed in front of the image. A lighted lamp is placed, not as in the other villages on the head itself, but on the heap of rice soaked with blood. This rice is then put into a basket; and a Mādigā, the village *vetty* or sweeper, carries it round the site of the village, sprinkling it on the ground as he goes. The whole village goes with him, but there is no music or tom-toms. The people shout out as they go "Poli! Poli!" *i.e.* "Food! Food!" and clap their hands and wave their sticks above their heads to keep off the evil spirits. The rice offered to the goddess, but not soaked with blood, is then distributed to the people. What spirits the rice soaked in blood is supposed to feed is not clear, but the object of sprinkling the blood is evidently to ward off evil spirits

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and prevent them from coming near the village, and apparently the present idea is that they will be satiated with rice and blood and not want to do any mischief. The original idea was possibly quite different; but this seems to be the intention of the ceremony in modern times.

On the next day, early in the morning, the clay image and the pot are washed and smeared afresh with turmeric and kunkuma. Incense and boiled rice are then offered as on other days, and the pot is taken in procession round the village. When this has been done, about midday, each householder brings his offering of boiled rice, cakes, fruits and flowers, and, in addition, the village as a whole contributes about two hundred or more seers of rice, which is boiled near the pandal. All these offerings are placed in a heap before the image. Then, first, a sheep or a buffalo is offered on behalf of the whole village. Having been duly washed, and smeared with turmeric and kunkuma, and decorated with margosa leaves, its head is cut off by a Mādigā. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground, and some loose earth is thrown upon it to cover it up. The head is offered to the image by the headman of the village. After this various householders, even Brāhmans and Bunniahs, bring animals for sacrifice. All are killed by a Mādigā, and then the heads are all presented and placed in a heap before the goddess. Sometimes an extraordinary number of animals is sacrificed on occasions of this kind, as many as a thousand sheep on a single day. In a village like Gudivada the number of victims is, of course, far less. The question of precedence in the offering of victims constantly gives rise to quarrels among the leading villagers. When I was once visiting Gudivada, there was a case pending before the *tahsildar*, *i.e.* the sub-divisional magistrate, between a *zamindar*, landowner, and a village *munsiff*, *i.e.* a village magistrate, about this knotty point. The heads are taken away by the pūjārīs, potters, washermen, barbers, Mālās and Mādigās, and others who take any official part in the sacrifice. The carcasses of the

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private sacrifices are taken away by the offerers, and that of the public victim belongs to the headman of the village. The rice, fruit, etc., are distributed among the various officials. The function lasts from about ten a.m. to five p.m.

In the evening, a cart is brought to the image with nine pointed stakes standing upright in it, two at each of the four corners and one in the centre: on each stake a young pig, a lamb, or a fowl is impaled alive. A Mālā, called a *Pambala*, *i.e.* hereditary priest, then sits in the cart dressed in female attire, holding in his hand the clay image of the goddess which was made for the festival. The cart is dragged with ropes to the extreme boundary of the village lands, and both cart and ropes are left beyond the boundary. The Pambalas take away the animals, which all die during the procession, as their share of the offerings.

Living animals impaled in many villages. This cruel ceremony of impaling live animals is quite common in the eastern part of the Telugu country,[1] and I have come across it in many villages that I have visited. The Rev. F. N. Alexander, the veteran C.M.S. missionary, who lived over fifty years at Ellore, told me that he witnessed it in the town of Ellore the first year that he went there, and wrote a letter to the *Madras Mail* describing it. As a result of his letter, the practice was forbidden by the Government. So now at Ellore the animals are tied on to the stakes without being impaled; but in many villages near Ellore the custom still survives of impaling the unfortunate animals alive. Sometimes there are only four stakes on the cart, sometimes five, and sometimes more. It is not often that there are as many as nine. In one of the villages of the Kurnool district, I found that a similar barbarity was practised in connexion with the hook-swinging ceremony. On the fifth day of the festival in honour of Ańkalamma, a large car is constructed, with an arrangement of poles projecting

[1] Cf. pp. 59, 65, 69.

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about 20 feet in the air. A sheep is then suspended from the pole by iron hooks fastened through the muscles of its back and a band round its middle, and swung round and round. Two or three of the older men in the village said that they had often seen men swing like this with iron hooks fastened into their backs,[1] and that it did not hurt. As soon as the sheep is swung up, buffaloes, sheep and goats are sacrificed, and the car is then dragged in procession through the village.

A cruel pig sacrifice. Sometimes, when there is cattle disease, a pig is buried up to its neck at the boundary of the village, a heap of boiled rice is deposited near the spot, and then all the cattle of the village are driven over the unhappy pig.[2] It is not the custom at Gudivada to sprinkle anything on the cattle as they pass over the poor animal, as is done elsewhere.

There is a remarkable parallel to this form of sacrifice in a description quoted by Mr. E. Thurston, in his *Ethnographical Notes in Southern India*,[3] of an ancient custom among the Lambadis, a wandering tribe of South India:

> "In former times, the Lambadis, before setting out on a journey, used to procure a little child and bury it in the ground up to its shoulders, and then drive their loaded bullocks over the unfortunate victim. In proportion to the bullocks thoroughly trampling the child to death, so their belief in a successful journey increased."

It is possible that this custom of driving the cattle over the head of a buried pig may be connected with the worship of an agricultural goddess, since in ancient Greece the pig was sacred to agricultural deities, *e.g.* Aphrodite, Adonis, and Demeter; but it may also be a survival of some former custom of infanticide or human sacrifice such as prevailed among the Lambadis.

An old man in the Kurnool district once described to me the account that he had received from his fore-

[1] This is the practice in the Hindu *dola-jātra*, swing-festival, celebrated in honour of Durgā, the wife of Śiva. Cf pp. 61, 76, 82, 83.

[2] See p. 53, 60.

[3] P. 507.

796 fathers of the ceremonies observed when founding
776 a new village. An auspicious site is selected and an
782 auspicious day, and then in the centre of the site is dug a large hole, in which are placed different kinds of grain, small pieces of the five metals, gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead, and a large stone, called *boddu-rayee*, *i.e.* navel-stone, standing about three and a half feet above the ground, very like the ordinary boundary stones seen in the fields. And then, at the entrance of the village, in the centre of the main street, where most of the cattle pass in and out on their way to and from the fields, they dig another hole and bury a pig alive. This ceremony would be quite consistent with either of the explanations suggested as to the origin of pig-burying. The pig may be buried at the entrance to the village as the emblem of fertility and strength, to secure the prosperity of the agricultural community, the fertility of the fields, and the health and fecundity of the cattle. Or it may equally be a substitute for an original human sacrifice. The idea that a new building or institution must be inaugurated by the sacrifice of a human life is very common all over India. To this day there is often a panic among the villagers who live near the banks of a river where a bridge is about to be built, because they think that one or more of their babies are sure to be required to bury under the foundations of the first pier. On one of my visits to Kalasapad, in the Cuddapah district, the missionary told me that, when a new ward was opened for their local mission dispensary, no one would go into it, because the people imagined that the first to go in would be the needful sacrifice. Their fears were allayed by a religious service at the opening of the ward; but had it been a Hindu hospital, probably a goat or a sheep would have
782 been killed as a substitute for the human victim.
796 The idea of substitution, too, is quite common in
785 India. In the hook-swinging ceremony described above,[1]

[1] P. 59.

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782
it is common both in the Telugu and Tamil districts to 796
substitute a sheep for a man, and to fasten the iron 785
hooks in the muscles of its back.

Alleged infanticide among Todas. I have been told 847
that, among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, it was formerly the custom to place female children, whom it was not desired to rear, on the ground at the entrance of the mund, *i.e.* a group of huts, and drive buffaloes over them. If they survived this ordeal, they were allowed to live.

It is only fair to add that the Todas themselves deny that this custom ever existed. To quote Mr. Thurston again:[1]

"The practice of infanticide, as it prevailed among the Todas of the Nilgiris, is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall (*A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, 1873): 'I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (*putkūli*), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? Those tell lies who say we laid it before the open buffalo-pen so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears and mouth with a cloth thus (here pantomimic action). It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The kelachi got a present of four annas (4d.) for the deed.' The old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance of a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not."

755
Masulipatam. At Masulipatam, where ceremonies 776
are performed very similar to those at Gudivada 782

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

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during an epidemic, a washerman carries the earthenware pot, half full of buttermilk and adorned with margosa leaves, round the village to the sound of tom-toms. As it goes round, the washerman stops at each house and the wife comes out and pours water beside the pot on the ground and does reverence to the pot, imploring the goddess not to let any evil spirit come to the house; and then she puts more rice and buttermilk into it. When it is full, it is taken back to the shrine and another brought in its place. As this procession continues for fifteen days, the accumulation of rice and buttermilk must be considerable. It is ultimately consumed by the washermen, potters, Mālās and Mādigās, who take part in the festival. The real sacrifice begins on the sixteenth day and lasts for a month. Cotton-thread and all the rice and buttermilk collected from the villagers are offered to the image. The images themselves are smeared with turmeric, and dots of kunkuma are put on them, and finally on the last day a male buffalo, called *Devara-Potu*, *i.e.* devoted to the goddess, is brought before the image and its head cut off by the head Mādigā of the town. The blood is caught in a vessel and sprinkled over some boiled rice, and then the head, with the right foreleg in the mouth, is placed before the shrine on a flat wicker basket, with the rice and blood on another basket just below it. A lighted lamp is placed on the head, and then another Mādigā carries it on his own head round the village, with a new cloth dipped in the blood of the victim tied round his neck. This is regarded here and elsewhere as a very inauspicious and dangerous office; and the headman of the village has to offer considerable inducements to persuade a Mādigā to undertake it. Ropes are tied round his body and arms and held fast by men walking behind him, as he goes round, to prevent his being carried off by evil spirits, and limes are cut in half and thrown into the air, so that the demons may catch at them instead of at the man. It is believed that gigantic demons sit on the tops of tall trees ready to swoop down and carry him away, in

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order to get the rice and the buffalo's head. The idea of carrying the head and rice round a village, so the people said, is to draw a kind of cordon on every side of it and prevent the entrance of the evil spirits. Should any one in the town refuse to subscribe for the festival, his house is omitted from the procession, and left to the tender mercies of the devils. This procession is called *bali haranam*;[1] and in this district *inams*, rent-free lands, are held from Government by certain families of Mādigās for performing it. Besides the buffalo, large numbers of sheep and goats and fowls are sacrificed, each householder giving at least one animal. The head Mādigā who kills the animals takes the carcass and distributes the flesh among the members of his family. Often cases come into the courts to decide who has the right to kill them. As the sacrifice cannot wait for the tedious processes of the law, the elders of the village settle the question at once, pending an appeal to the courts. But in the town of Masulipatam, a Mādigā is specially licensed by the Municipality for the purpose, and all disputes are avoided.

Cocanada. At Cocanada there is only one Grāma-Devatā, Nukalamma (from Nuku, a Tamil word, meaning "to beat"); but she is very ill-tempered, they told me, and gives much trouble. Curiously enough, the present pūjārī is a woman of the fisherman caste. The office was hereditary in her family and she is the only surviving member of it. A male relative acts as deputy-pūjārī. Offerings are made to Nukalamma every day, doubtless on account of her temper. One custom I found observed here, which is not uncommon in these parts. When a victim's head has been cut off, it is put before the shrine and water poured on it. The offerer then waits to see whether the mouth opens. If it does, it is a sign that the sacrifice is accepted.[2] Another ceremony observed here is significant and, doubtless, a relic of the primitive idea

[1] Sanksrit for "presentation of the offering."
[2] See p. 55 n. 1, above.

782 of sacrifice. As soon as the victim is killed, the offerer dips his finger in the blood and puts it on his own forehead.

776 796 The annual festival of this goddess lasts for a whole month, ending on the New Year's day of the Telugu calendar. During this festival the procession of pots is observed with special ceremony. Six brass pots, each about two feet high, with the figure of a cobra springing from below the neck and rising over the mouth of the pot, are draped with women's cloths and carried round the town on men's head. Nothing is put inside them, but, as they go round, the women of each house come out, pour water on the feet of the bearers, and make offerings of rice and fruit. These are solemnly presented to the pots by the bearers, and some powder is applied to the two small feet that project at the base of each pot, and form a sort of frame fitting on the bearer's head. The bearer then takes a little of the turmeric powder, that is already on the foot of the pot, and puts it into the dish in which the offering was brought, with a few margosa leaves from a bundle that he carries with him. The dish is returned to the woman who offered the gifts, which become the property of the pūjārī. The women and children of the family mark their foreheads with the turmeric, and put the margosa leaves in their hair. This is called *Amma-vari-Prasādam*.[1] As they go round, the pūjārīs dance to the sound of tom-toms.

776 796 241 On the last day of the festival, when a buffalo is sacrificed, a curious ceremony takes place which is said to be very common in the villages of this district. After the head is cut off by the vetty,[2] who is a Mādigā, the blood is collected in a basin and nine kinds of grain and *gram*[3] are put into it. The basin is then put before the idol inside the shrine, and the

[1] The turmeric and the margosa leaves are a gift of grace (Sanskrit *prasāda*, grace) from the goddess. Food and water from the table of a Hindu god given to the worshippers in the temple are called *prasāda*.

[2] See above p. 56. [3] *Gram* is coarse lentils.

[i.e. Nukalamma, at Cocanada -- Analyst]

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doors of the shrine are kept shut for three days. On the fourth day the doors are opened, the coagulated mass of blood, grain, and gram is carefully washed, and the grain and gram are separated on the ground behind the shrine, in order to see which of the various kinds of grain has sprouted. All the ryots eagerly assemble to watch the result, and whichever is found to have sprouted, is regarded as marked out by the goddess as the right kind of grain to sow that year. This method of determining which crop to sow is common in both the Godavari and Masulipatam districts. In these sacrifices to Nukalamma, too, the application of the blood is specially noticeable. As soon as the victim is killed, a small quantity of the blood is smeared on the sides of the door-posts of the shrine; the deputy-pūjārī dips his finger in the blood and applies it to his forehead; then all the other people present do the same; and afterwards some boiled rice and some turmeric powder are mixed with the blood, and a little of the mixture is sprinkled on the head of the Mādigā who holds the basin to catch the blood.

When an epidemic of cholera breaks out, another goddess, called Maridiamma, is installed in the place of the Nukalamma. A log of margosa wood, about three feet high and six inches in diameter, is cut and roughly carved at the top into the shape of a head, and then fixed in the ground with a pandal of leaves and cloths over it. Then the procession of the earthen pot half filled with buttermilk and rice is conducted, very much in the same way as at Masulipatam,[1] every day till the epidemic subsides. After that, some ten or twelve small carts are made, about six feet square, with three pointed stakes standing up on each side, on which live animals are impaled, as in other parts of the Telugu country.[2] The carts are partly filled with boiled rice and curry stuff prepared at the shrine, the blood of the victims sacrificed being poured over the rice. I was told that live animals were only impaled if a cart did

[1] See p. 62 above. [2] See p. 58 above.

787 difficulties, and for the fulfilment of comparatively simple wishes, recourse is taken to other methods. Fasting on a certain day in honour of a particular god or goddess for the satisfaction of a specific desire (or for overcoming a difficulty) is very common; and women take recourse to it quite often. Thus when T. was involved in a law suit, both he and his wife used to fast on Monday, and pleaded with their family god to get the court decision in their favour. Promising a food offering, sacrifice, or fasting for a specified period on a certain day, in return for the fulfilment of a wish is also resorted to. E. R.'s daughter was seriously ill and there was no hope of her life. E. R. went to the shrine of the goddess to whom her family was attached and said, 'Mother, we have always worshipped you. My daughter is on the point of death. I cannot bear to let her go before me. Save her and I will sacrifice two goats in your honour.' The girl recovered and E. R. did sacrifice the promised goats. S., a Komti woman, was worried because her daughter's husband was 'going astray'. She promised her family god: 'If you join what is breaking I shall fast on Mondays for three months and make offerings to you on all days of the fast.' The husband after a while, again started taking an interest in her daughter, and true to her word the mother kept her vow. When the wishes are not fulfilled people curse their luck, blame their own past actions, and reconcile themselves to the unfavourable attitude of the gods. 'All that we can do is to pray and worship. It is for the gods to hear or not to hear us. What else can we do? How can we have a quarrel with them?' would typify the average man's attitude in all cases where the powers of the supernatural world do not yield to their prayers and offerings.

751 176 The Muslims too have faith in ghosts and evil spirits. Their methods of dealing with them are similar to those of the Hindus. In addition they read passages from the Koran and invoke the assistance of their sages and seers. For overcoming minor ailments and difficulties they eagerly seek amulets from holy persons.

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249 is again let in once in three or four days. After a comparatively short space of time when the plants have grown, the heaps of earth separating the two rows of plants are made higher and broader. From that time onwards water is let in once in three or four days till the crop is full. After three months when the cane has grown, two or three stalks are bound together by means of its dried leaves. When the stalks are still higher once more they are tied together at the top. Then long rods with forked ends are planted in the ground and long bamboos are laid in a line with the trenches, resting in the forks and the canes are tied to them. In this way the binding goes on for about eight or nine months as the stalks grow longer and longer. When they are full they are cut and removed. The crop is carried about one year or a little more after the cultivator starts getting the land ready. The country wooden plough is used for all purposes, the other implements being yoke, picottah bucket made of leather and sometimes of iron, *yetham-bana*,* *palikimanu*, *guntaka*, *gorru*, *palikiguntaka*, *mamoti*, reaping hook, shorthandled hoes.

231 *Stock*—

Working oxen	45	including paracheri.
Oxen not in a fit condition to work	65	
Male buffaloes	6	
Cow buffaloes	15	
Young stock of above species up to a year old	59	
Horses	...	
Donkeys and mules	4	
Sheep	47	
Goats	8	
Pigs	18	
Cows	85	

The cattle are of the well-known Punganur breed, rather light, but quick and active. The villagers breed cattle, and buy and sell in the cattle fair held annually in Punganur.

241 *Manuring.*—Most of the dung, about 90 per cent, is used as manure, the rest being utilized for household purposes.

[237] Cattle urine is allowed to run to waste. The dung of goats, sheep, pigs, donkeys is used as manure.

Except the leaf of the kanaga tree, no green manure is used. This is obtained from topes planted many years ago. Sometimes it is taken on contract from the zamindar from the jungle all round.

There are practically no gardens, all the lands being used to grow grain. It is only now that beginnings are being made. Small plots of land are being planted with mango-grafts. The karnam of the village started this.

242 *Insect-pests.*—*Thellachida* affects generally paddy crop, eats away the leaves and stalks.

782 *Pethachida* affects all crops; consists of innumerable kinds of insects, eating away all the leaves.

Aggijadyam.—Paddy turns a vivid scarlet.

Kondapurirogam.—The worst pest affecting rice. The whole crop is consumed as by fire. The long stalks get shrivelled up to a ridiculously small length. To get a crop is impossible when once this sets in.

Locusts.—These destroy the crops.

* Vide p. 105.

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The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

Cattle diseases—Kurama.—The ox or cow when it suffers from this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

The village.—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

Subsidiary industries.—There are no weavers at all now. Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no longer raised.

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets manuls called *thirigawa* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four puttles; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same manuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

Village trade.—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

There is a local road which passes by this village running from Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

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Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

Festivals.—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gowripalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

Sanitary condition.—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.

All Muhammadans observe purdah.

Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

Education.—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

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referred to as 'the Kapu' or agricultural castes. As this name suggests, they derive the major part of their subsistence by tilling the land, although individuals from any of these groups may engage in trade and commerce or may take up urban occupations.

In the second group we can place the following: the Brahmin (priests), the Komti (traders), the Kummari (potters) and the Golla (shepherds). The five sections of the Panch Bramha group of artisan castes, that is, the Wadla (carpenters), the Kammari (blacksmiths), the Ausula (goldsmiths), the Kase (workers in bell-metal) and the Kanchari (sculptors), also belong to this group —although they claim separate identity and are rather exclusive. The Sale (weavers), the Gaondha (toddy-tappers), the Sakali (washermen) and the Mangali (barbers) also follow their traditional occupations; and although in the hierarchy of caste organization their place is a little inferior to the castes mentioned above, they belong to the second group for the purpose of our classification. The position of the once-tribal but now largely assimilated Vaddar (stone-breakers) and the Erkala (hunters and basket-makers) is slightly different, for although they are not untouchables their position among the clean castes is the lowest.

There are only two untouchable or depressed castes in Shamirpet, the Mala and the Madiga. Of these two, the Malas consider themselves superior to the Madigas, by whose touch they are polluted. However, it should be pointed out that the Indian constitution has abolished untouchability. The untouchable castes can draw water from the public wells and can without discrimination share the public utilities with the clean castes. Their children now freely attend the common village school. But social conservatism dies hard and legislation alone cannot overnight change the deep-rooted complexes of thought and behaviour which are the heritage of many generations of a caste-ridden social system. Caste still retains its endogamous character, and traditional rules prohibit inter-dining with persons of lower castes. Thus in these two spheres at least the untouchable castes have still to confine themselves to their narrow circles. While in the cities the clean castes are no longer sensitive to the touch of a person belonging to these castes, in the countryside an untouchable still cannot approach too close to clean-caste people lest they be polluted by a chance physical contact. Some progressive-minded untouchables

resent this disability, but nevertheless they recognize the value of realizing their own limitations and continue to conform to the traditional norms of behaviour.

The people of Telangana and Andhra-desa belong to the great family of Dravidian-speaking people who developed a great civilization in the south and have materially contributed to the final make-up of Indian civilization as we know it to-day. Racially they represent a mixture of several elements. In physical types also the people of Shamirpet show great variation. Most of the Muslim inhabitants of Shamirpet are the descendants of local converts and do not therefore greatly differ in physical characteristics from the local Hindu inhabitants, but the few immigrants whose arrival dates from recent times present a marked contrast with their more delicate features and fairer skin colour.

In point of dress and ornament the Hindus and Muslims differ widely. Muslim men and boys wear loose trousers of thin white cloth called *pyjama*, and a vest or a shirt. Out of doors they put on the more conventional long coat buttoned up to the neck known as *sherwani*. They invariably wear a red fez cap or a black cap made of sheepskin. Muslim girls wear a tight *pyjama* and a long, loose tunic which often touches the knees. Round the shoulders and thrown round the back they wear a thin white or coloured scarf known as *dupatta* or *odhni*. On festive occasions these clothes are very colourful. Married Muslim women usually wear a blouse or bodice, and a *sari*—a wide piece of cloth, some five or six yards long, which is tied round the waist to form a skirt that nearly touches the ankles. It is tied in such a way that one end of the cloth is taken over the chest to one shoulder and then passed behind the neck to the other shoulder. Married Muslim women are obliged by the rules of their religion to observe *purdah*, i.e. veil themselves in the presence of all but their closest relations. Whenever they leave their houses they wear this veil known as *burkha*, a garment which falls from the crown of the head to the ground. The Hindu mode of dress is quite different, and varies greatly according to the financial status of the different families. Among the poorer classes, infants remain naked, but occasionally a few rags are tied round their waists; and in childhood they go about in these tattered rags. Boys wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Girls wear a skirt (*lahanga*) and a blouse. Among the poorer classes these clothes are almost always dirty, for within a few days of their

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association have brought them in close contact with each other and their cultures are in certain fields inter-related, the two communities retain their own socio-religious identities. The Muslims are in a minority in the population of the village; but they are a close-knit group in socio-religious matters. All Muslims belong to the Sunni division. Among them there are no great inequalities of wealth and possession, and consequently there is, within the Muslim community, no evidence of class distinction. In matters affecting their socio-religious life they act as a separate and self-sufficient group, rarely seeking the help, assistance or advice of their Hindu neighbours. One of the remarkable characteristics of the predominantly Hindu rural society of India is that non-Hindu communities have also been influenced by the caste-hierarchy of Hinduism. Even the non-Hindu groups have had to fit somehow into the rigid framework of the caste-dominated social system; and while they have always remained outside it, never having been regarded as Hindus, they have nevertheless acquired a quasi-caste status in accordance with their general social, economic and political position. As Hyderabad was formerly ruled by a Muslim, his co-religionists had a privileged position in the affairs of the State. Their social status in the rural areas has always been more or less equal to that of the agricultural castes; although from the point of view of religion the Hindus have always regarded them as inferior. Nevertheless, a clean-caste Hindu can sit down with a Muslim, and the less orthodox can even touch them without having to take a subsequent purificatory bath.

The Hindu social system, founded on the division of society into 'castes', presents a social framework of great complexity. The traditional *varna* system, modified in the course of the evolution of Indian social polity, divides Hindu society into five major groups. The first three of these, viz. Brahmins (priests and men of learning), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors) and Vaishyas (traders) are regarded as *dvija* or 'twice born'. According to Hindu ritual only they are allowed to undergo the *upanayana* ceremony which symbolizes their spiritual re-birth and entitles them to wear the sacred thread. The fourth group is composed of numerous occupational castes who are relatively clean and are not classed as untouchables. Finally, in the fifth major group we can place all the untouchable castes. This classification is accepted by the Hindus all over India. The relative positions of the different groups,

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above account represents a fairly typical description of hell which one often hears in the village community. Through conversation, folktale, myth and legend these ideas are implanted fairly early into the minds of the village children, who start life with a fear of sin. But by the time they reach the age of undertaking wild adventures these fears are diluted, and the gruesome accounts of hell no longer hold their spell of horror over them. As old age approaches, bitter memories of failures and frustrations accumulate and the flesh does not have the energy to undertake fresh adventures; people slowly begin turning their attention to thoughts of life after death. As an illiterate informant pithily put it: 'While youth lasts, passions rule the actions of man. While property lasts, the glitter of gold makes a man blind. But in old age, man laments for what he did in his youth. With his dim vision, he can no longer see the maddening glitter of gold. Then his thoughts turn to religion.'

The concept of *dharma* is also important, as it covers all the phases of the human life-cycle and fixes several details of intra- and inter-group life. *Dharma* has often been translated by Western writers as 'religion', but this translation hardly conveys the original meaning. It will perhaps be more appropriate to describe it as '*the* way of life' or 'that which is right'. Acceptance of caste traditions and the general rules of piety, observance of fasts and feasts, rigidly following the norms governing the *rites de passage* and undertaking pilgrimages to places of worship or for bathing in holy rivers, can generally be said to constitute the *dharma* of the people. Special worship and rituals may be performed to attain certain special ends. It is through *dharma* that one can look forward to shaping one's destiny. The concepts of *pap* (sin) and *punya* (merit), and of ritual pollution are fundamental to the wider concept of *dharma*. Certain things must not be done by any member of the community irrespective of his caste because they are sinful. Murder, extreme cruelty and violence, and incest can be placed under this category. There are certain other things which must not be done by certain castes, or by certain individuals in particular conditions. Sexual relations or inter-dining with a person of lower caste will lead to impurity. A woman in menses or a family immediately after childbirth and death remains in a state of ritual impurity for a specified period. After certain bodily excretions such as those of fæces, urine or semen, a prescribed

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bath or wash is necessary to remove the impurity caused by the act. Non-observance of these rules will have a polluting effect; and according to the nature and degree of pollution purificatory rites will have to be undertaken.

Belief in ghosts and spirits is universal. They are feared and propitiated. Strange mystical power pervading certain objects is recognized, and fetishes and amulets are eagerly sought. Witchcraft is often suspected, and three or four people in the community are believed to possess magical powers.

Clearly, Hinduism as it is practised in the village is not the Hinduism of the classical philosophical systems of India, for it possesses neither the metaphysical heights nor the abstract content of the latter. It is a religion of fasts, feasts and festivals, in which prescribed rituals cover all the major crises of life. Worship and propitiation of gods and spirits follow the annual round of festivals and the ritual of the human life-cycle. Disease and difficulty may also necessitate invoking assistance from these sources.

In early childhood religious instruction through legendary tales and anecdotes exercises its influence on the developing mind of the child in whose thoughts and world of fancy these ideas linger on. Youth brings in its wake a more worldly and materialistic outlook towards life and its pleasures. Thoughts are turned to religion when the evening of life approaches, partly to postpone the final moment of departure as long as it could be, and partly to ensure the future lying beyond the point of death. Analysis of life-histories reveals that spiritualism cannot be said to be the keynote in the life of the community; far from it the religion appears to be a practical one. It strengthens and fortifies the individual and the group in situations where technical competence and practical intelligence are of no avail, and at the same time acts as a bond of cohesion for maintaining the structural unity of the society.

2. BELIEF: GODS AND DEITIES

The Muslims believe in one God, and follow the way of life laid down for them by their Prophet. They all belong to the Sunni division, and as such differ from the Shias and other splinter divisions of Islam in respect of the interpretation of their holy book as well as in several details of belief, ritual and ceremonial. Almost all the Muslims of Shamirpet have been converted to Islam from Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations.

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178 advantages perceived, responsibilities recognized.'[1] Extending this approach to technical and organizational changes in peasant communities, we can attribute some changes in the life-ways of the people to State compulsion and legal prescription. In some spheres, particularly in material culture and technology, utility, convenience, availability and price determine to a great extent
178 the adoption of new elements and traits. The prestige factor too is
554 significant, for any externally induced or internally inspired change in the system of status evaluation brings in its wake significant modifications in the organization and life-ways of society. Innovation, variety and change for its own sake can also account for substantial variation from established norms in social behaviour at a given point of time. In a small rural community such as Shamirpet, which is situated near a big and modern city and is in everyday contact with it, the prevailing climate of opinion in social, economic and political matters in the city is bound to influence its general outlook and ways, for apart from their practical value city-ways are gradually coming to be regarded as more 'respectable' and 'progressive'.

178 So far State compulsion has been instrumental in bringing about
[151] little social and cultural change in the village community. Compulsory vaccination as well as inoculation at the time of an epidemic appear to be the only significant measures enforced by the State which have been accepted in the everyday life of the com-
● [783] munity. Although untouchability has been abolished by law, in actual practice it only gives to the hitherto untouchables an equal share in public utilities, for considerations of pollution bar all effective interaction between the high and the low castes especially in the social spheres of inter-dining and inter-marriage. Symbolic as it is, this gesture of the State has nevertheless brought about a considerable modification in the inter-group attitudes between the clean and untouchable castes.

178 The factors of utility, convenience and availability have played
757 a more important role in bringing several new elements into the life of the community. Although indigenous herbs and magico-religious practices are still continued in the treatment of diseases, the efficacy and utility of allopathic drugs and injections have greatly changed the attitude of the people towards modern medicine. I have pointed out earlier that they eagerly seek these

[1] Raymond Firth, *Elements of Social Organization* (London, 1951), p. 85.

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The Muslim section of the population belongs to the Sunni sect and follows the religious pattern laid down in the Koran as interpreted by the founders of this sect. A devout Muslim is expected to offer prayers five times a day. In Shamirpet this would be the exception rather than the general rule. Some of the Muslim elders offer prayers twice a day, some only once and the rest are contented with their weekly prayers on Friday. The Mulla, the Muslim priest in the village, is the only person who offers the prescribed prayers every day. Fasting during the month of Ramzan is undertaken by a very large number of Muslims, but those maintaining it without a break until the end of the month would not total even a quarter of that number. The Muslims have a high degree of community-consciousness, but in Shamirpet it does not find expression in the form of intense religious devotion among the adherents of the Islamic faith.

With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti castes, the Hindus have no fixed time for daily worship. The number of people who visit a temple or shrine every day is negligible. But festivals and ceremonies are observed with unfailing regularity. Otherwise the gods are remembered only at times of disease or difficulty. As a rule, only some of the elderly people devote themselves to 'the daily duty of remembering the creator'; the younger people 'have much else to do'. They participate in ceremonies, partake of the festival feasts, and assemble to listen to the reading of the holy books and to the recitation of mythological legends by professionals when they happen to visit the village. The tasks of remembrance and repentance are postponed for old age. Among both men and women, only the elders seem to talk about 'the change of times' and 'the decline in the religious attitudes and ethical standards of the people'. In the everyday thought and speech of the younger generation there is very little of religion; and little conscious effort at seeking any deep religious experience or thrill is to be found among them. In the life of the community under observation, we noticed only two exceptions to this. One of these is the *Urs*, a semi-religious fair, commemorating Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine with some reputation for being a holy man. This fair is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also. The second is the annual worship of a village goddess organized by the village. On both these occasions several people are temporarily possessed by the spirit

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755 776 782 private sacrifices are taken away by the offerers, and that of the public victim belongs to the headman of the village. The rice, fruit, etc., are distributed among the various officials. The function lasts from about ten a.m. to five p.m.

In the evening, a cart is brought to the image with nine pointed stakes standing upright in it, two at each of the four corners and one in the centre: on each stake a young pig, a lamb, or a fowl is impaled alive. A Mālā, called a *Pambala*, *i.e.* hereditary priest, then sits in the cart dressed in female attire, holding in his hand the clay image of the goddess which was made for the festival. The cart is dragged with ropes to the extreme boundary of the village lands, and both cart and ropes are left beyond the boundary. The Pambalas take away the animals, which all die during the procession, as their share of the offerings.

796 776 782 785 *Living animals impaled in many villages.* This cruel ceremony of impaling live animals is quite common in the eastern part of the Telugu country,[1] and I have come across it in many villages that I have visited. The Rev. F. N. Alexander, the veteran C.M.S. missionary, who lived over fifty years at Ellore, told me that he witnessed it in the town of Ellore the first year that he went there, and wrote a letter to the *Madras Mail* describing it. As a result of his letter, the practice was forbidden by the Government. So now at Ellore the animals are tied on to the stakes without being impaled; but in many villages near Ellore the custom still survives of impaling the unfortunate animals alive. Sometimes there are only four stakes on the cart, sometimes five, and sometimes more. It is not often that there are as many as nine. In one of the villages of the Kurnool district, I found that a similar barbarity was practised in connexion with the hook-swinging ceremony. On the fifth day of the festival in honour of Aṅkalamma, a large car is constructed, with an arrangement of poles projecting

[1] Cf. pp. 59, 65, 69.

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about 20 feet in the air. A sheep is then suspended from the pole by iron hooks fastened through the muscles of its back and a band round its middle, and swung round and round. Two or three of the older men in the village said that they had often seen men swing like this with iron hooks fastened into their backs,[1] and that it did not hurt. As soon as the sheep is swung up, buffaloes, sheep and goats are sacrificed, and the car is then dragged in procession through the village.

A cruel pig sacrifice. Sometimes, when there is cattle disease, a pig is buried up to its neck at the boundary of the village, a heap of boiled rice is deposited near the spot, and then all the cattle of the village are driven over the unhappy pig.[2] It is not the custom at Gudivada to sprinkle anything on the cattle as they pass over the poor animal, as is done elsewhere.

There is a remarkable parallel to this form of sacrifice in a description quoted by Mr. E. Thurston, in his *Ethnographical Notes in Southern India*,[3] of an ancient custom among the Lambadis, a wandering tribe of South India:

> "In former times, the Lambadis, before setting out on a journey, used to procure a little child and bury it in the ground up to its shoulders, and then drive their loaded bullocks over the unfortunate victim. In proportion to the bullocks thoroughly trampling the child to death, so their belief in a successful journey increased."

It is possible that this custom of driving the cattle over the head of a buried pig may be connected with the worship of an agricultural goddess, since in ancient Greece the pig was sacred to agricultural deities, *e.g.* Aphrodite, Adonis, and Demeter; but it may also be a survival of some former custom of infanticide or human sacrifice such as prevailed among the Lambadis.

An old man in the Kurnool district once described to me the account that he had received from his fore-

[1] This is the practice in the Hindu *dola-jātra*, swing-festival, celebrated in honour of Durgā, the wife of Śiva. Cf. pp. 61, 76, 82, 83.

[2] See p. 53, 60.

[3] P. 507.

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fathers of the ceremonies observed when founding a new village. An auspicious site is selected and an auspicious day, and then in the centre of the site is dug a large hole, in which are placed different kinds of grain, small pieces of the five metals, gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead, and a large stone, called *boddu-rayee*, *i.e.* navel-stone, standing about three and a half feet above the ground, very like the ordinary boundary stones seen in the fields. And then, at the entrance of the village, in the centre of the main street, where most of the cattle pass in and out on their way to and from the fields, they dig another hole and bury a pig alive. This ceremony would be quite consistent with either of the explanations suggested as to the origin of pig-burying. The pig may be buried at the entrance to the village as the emblem of fertility and strength, to secure the prosperity of the agricultural community, the fertility of the fields, and the health and fecundity of the cattle. Or it may equally be a substitute for an original human sacrifice. The idea that a new building or institution must be inaugurated by the sacrifice of a human life is very common all over India. To this day there is often a panic among the villagers who live near the banks of a river where a bridge is about to be built, because they think that one or more of their babies are sure to be required to bury under the foundations of the first pier. On one of my visits to Kalasapad, in the Cuddapah district, the missionary told me that, when a new ward was opened for their local mission dispensary, no one would go into it, because the people imagined that the first to go in would be the needful sacrifice. Their fears were allayed by a religious service at the opening of the ward; but had it been a Hindu hospital, probably a goat or a sheep would have been killed as a substitute for the human victim.

The idea of substitution, too, is quite common in India. In the hook-swinging ceremony described above,[1]

[1] P. 59.

782
it is common both in the Telugu and Tamil districts to 796
substitute a sheep for a man, and to fasten the iron 785
hooks in the muscles of its back.

Alleged infanticide among Todas. I have been told 847
that, among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, it was formerly the custom to place female children, whom it was not desired to rear, on the ground at the entrance of the mund, *i.e.* a group of huts, and drive buffaloes over them. If they survived this ordeal, they were allowed to live.

It is only fair to add that the Todas themselves deny that this custom ever existed. To quote Mr. Thurston again :[1]

"The practice of infanticide, as it prevailed among the Todas of the Nilgiris, is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall (*A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, 1873): 'I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (*putkūli*), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? Those tell lies who say we laid it before the open buffalo-pen so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears and mouth with a cloth thus (here pantomimic action). It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The kelachi got a present of four annas (4d.) for the deed.' The old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance of a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not."

755
Masulipatam. At Masulipatam, where ceremonies 776
are performed very similar to those at Gudivada 782

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

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755 776 782 away by the people and eaten in their homes, but the idea is that the goddess takes the essence and leaves the worshippers the material substance. This takes till about three a.m. next morning; and then begins another important part of the ceremonies.

Some of the rice from the heap, over which the ram was sacrificed and its blood poured out, is taken and put in a flat basket, and some of the entrails of the buffalo are mixed with it. The intestines of the lamb, which was first killed, are put over the neck of a Mālā, and its liver is placed in his mouth,[1] while another Mālā takes the basket of rice soaked in blood and mixed with the entrails of the buffalo. A procession is then formed [786] with these two weird figures in the middle. The man with the liver in his mouth is worked up into a state of frantic excitement and is supposed to be inspired by the goddess. He has to be held by men on either side of him, or kept fast with ropes, to prevent his rushing away; and all round him are the *ryots*, *i.e.* the small farmers, and the Mālās, flourishing clubs and swords, and throwing limes into the air, to drive away the evil spirits. As the procession moves through the village, the people shout out "Food! Food!" and the man who carries the basket sprinkles the rice soaked in blood over the houses to protect them from evil spirits. As he walks along, he shouts out, at intervals, that he sees the evil spirits, and falls down in a faint. Then lambs have to be sacrificed on the spot and limes thrown into the air and cocoanuts broken, to drive away the demons and bring the man to his senses. And so the procession moves through the village, amid frantic excitement, till, as the day dawns, they return to the canopy, where the great mother is peacefully reposing.

At about ten a.m. a fresh round of ceremonies begins. Some meat is cut from the carcass of the buffalo and cooked with some cholam, and then given to five little Mālā boys, *siddhalu*, the innocents, as they are called. They are all covered over with a large cloth,

[1] Cf. pp. 109, 148 below

All this time[1] too, some nautch—
girls come and dance in a booth erected in front of the 796
image and work themselves up into a state of frenzy, 776
during which they are supposed to be inspired by the 782
deities, and utter oracles to the worshippers. When 786
the epidemic begins to abate, the Brāhman pūjārī
closes his part of the proceedings and departs.

Then, on that afternoon and evening, animal sacri- [787]
fices are offered under the booth. On the first animal
killed, which is generally a goat, water is poured from
a brass vessel, to see if it shivers.[1] If it does, it is
taken as a good omen that the goddess is propitiated
and the disease will disappear. Then other animals are
brought and, in accordance with a very common division
of functions in the Telugu country, a washerman kills
the sheep, goats, and fowls, and a Mādigā the buffaloes.
The heads of the sheep and goats, as well as of the
buffaloes, have the right forelegs put crosswise in the
mouths, the faces smeared with fat from the entrails,
and a lighted lamp placed above them. The blood is
caught in a basket full of boiled rice, and the rice and
blood are sprinkled round the village, while a Mādigā
carries on his own head the head of a buffalo exactly as
is done elsewhere. Here, too, great care is taken to
prevent any person from another village taking away
any of the rice and blood, lest the other village should
get all the benefit of the sacrifice, and evils of all kinds
descend on the unhappy villagers who have offered it.
The ceremony of impaling live animals on stakes fixed
round a wooden car,[2] and dragging them off to the
boundary of the village is also practised here.

Bhīmadole, near Ellore. At another village, called 241
Bhīmadole, about twenty miles from Ellore, I came 776
across one of the few instances I have met with of any 782
direct connexion between the harvest and the worship 796
of a village goddess. There is an annual festival held
there about harvest time, in November or December,
lasting one day, which is always a Tuesday. About half
a ton of rice is boiled in the middle of the village, taken

[1] See page 55. [2] See p. 58.

[see cat 116, p 68 -- ANALYST]

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

564

UNTOUCHABLE CASTES

Mala
(An untouchable caste)

Madiga
(An untouchable caste)

The above table does not include the Panch Bramha group. In point of religion they are Hindus, but their position in the caste hierarchy is rather uncertain. This group comprises five divisions: The Wadla (carpenter), the Kammari (blacksmith), the Ausula (goldsmith), the Kase (carver of figures in wood and stone) and the Kanchari (worker in bell-metal). Of these only the first three sections are found in Shamirpet. Inter-dining and inter-marrying, these sections constitute a distinct group of their own. In the local caste hierarchy they should be placed below the Kapu-Kummari-Golla group, but it cannot be said that they rank equal to or below the Sale-Gaondla group.

Among Hindus the Brahmin holds the highest place. He officiates at the ceremonies of all castes, except those of the Vaddar, the Erkala, the Pichha-Kuntla, the Mala and the Madiga. However, he is consulted by these castes also regarding the auspicious timing of agricultural operations or to perform marriage ceremonies; and his astrological calculations are eagerly sought by all people. All castes, except the Panch Bramha group, will accept food at his hands, but being 'pure and high-born' he cannot accept food from the hands of any but his caste fellows.

564 793 [787] [264]

The Komtis rank next to the Brahmins. They are mostly traders and money-lenders, keeping small shops where they sell grain and general provisions. All castes except the Brahmin and the Panch Bramha group accept food at their hands, but they do not take food from those castes whose social position is lower than their own, and thus can only accept food at the hands of the Brahmins.

564 264 582

The Reddi sections of the Kapu (agricultural) group, the Kummari and the Golla castes are of equal caste status. Although each is an endogamous caste, they will freely inter-dine with each other, and social contact between them is on a basis of equality. The position of the other Kapu section, viz. Muttarasi, is a little lower. The first Kapu section as well as the Golla will eat at their hands, but the Kummari will refuse food which they have touched.

On the next level are the Sale and the Gaondla, who enjoy a

agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra wages.

The Erkalas earn their livelihood through a variety of means. The menfolk are hunters. They are also adept in the use of snares and traps. They train hunting dogs and use them effectively for chasing and tracking wounded animals. When they succeed in getting some game, they retain a part of it for their domestic consumption and sell the rest to the villagers. The women beg in the countryside by singing songs and narrating legends. They also do some fortune-telling. Family earnings are supplemented by basket-making, a task at which both men and women work. They also rear pigs.

THE MADIGAS

The Madigas are the lowest caste in Shamirpet. Economically they constitute the poorest section of the community. While the Malas, who are also untouchables but a degree higher than the Madigas, either cultivate their own land or work as farm labourers for daily wages, the Madigas affiliate themselves to the households of the substantial agriculturists in the village. According to the size of the land-holding of the cultivator, one or more Madiga families permanently attach themselves to him. At every stage of agricultural operations during the year the attached Madiga, and his wife and children, work in the fields of their master. They are not paid any daily wages. After the crops are harvested they have to go and 'beg' in the master's fields or threshing grounds. The conventions of the community have prescribed the rates of payment, mostly on the basis of the area of land under cultivation and the yield during the particular harvest. Thus for a certain area a basic minimum must be given; but if on account of good crops the yield has been high it is expected that the affiliated Madiga family would be given a proportionately larger share. In former times there used to be considerable compulsion, and, being in no position to protest, the Madigas had to slave for their masters, who could be quite ruthless. If the master was kind and considerate, they regarded it as their good luck. On the whole it was advisable for them to tolerate even a bad master, for any protests or refusal to do the allotted work on their part would eventually have meant their being forced to leave the village. Now, of course, conditions have changed, and Madigas do not any longer put up with indig-

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

241 can be seen carrying their wooden ploughs and driving their pairs of bullocks to the fields. No time must be lost, for the hardening of land may render ploughing difficult and this may eventually result in late sowing.

241 About this time they go to the Brahmin to fix an auspicious ● 787 day for planting vegetables and creepers in their backyards. The Brahmin consults his almanac to find out a day on which the stars of the person and the constellation in the sky match, for such a day is believed to be most suitable for sowing vegetables. Fortified with these astrological predictions, the Hindu agriculturists make initial preparations for planting these backyard crops. Muslims and poorer Hindus do not avail themselves of the services of the Brahmin priest. Beds and pits are kept ready well in advance, and on the appropriate day suggested by the Brahmin (or fixed by the family if the priest has not been consulted) seeds are sown. In the rainy season almost everyone grows some vegetables and creepers, and these are in most cases the only vegetables regularly eaten in any part of the year. The favourites among these vegetables are: runner beans, snake-gourds and pumpkins. Bottle-gourd and sponge-gourd are planted a few days later. Okra, bringals and some other green vegetables are also grown.

241 Later, when more showers have fallen, the agriculturists hasten to sow maize and millet in the fields. A late variety of rice, locally known as *samber*, is sown in carefully made beds to be transplanted into regular fields later.

In the first two weeks of June operations started in late May are continued. Light showers at this time are further utilized to complete the ploughing. Sowing of maize is also continued. Late varieties of paddy are now directly sown into the fields. Fifteen to twenty days after sowing they visit the fields to remove the weeds.

[132] In the second half of June the rainfall is generally regular and satisfactory. During this time people must complete their sowing of *kharif* crops such as maize and millet. Ground-nut, linseed and other oil seeds are also sown during this period. All these crops are grown on dry land as they do not require any extra irrigation.

241 For a month and a half after this the sowing of paddy is continued. At this time mostly coarse and medium varieties are sown. These include two mixed strains developed by the Department of Agriculture, Hyderabad State, and are locally known as paddy

RITUAL STRUCTURE

The Muslim section of the population belongs to the Sunni sect and follows the religious pattern laid down in the Koran as interpreted by the founders of this sect. A devout Muslim is expected to offer prayers five times a day. In Shamirpet this would be the exception rather than the general rule. Some of the Muslim elders offer prayers twice a day, some only once and the rest are contented with their weekly prayers on Friday. The Mulla, the Muslim priest in the village, is the only person who offers the prescribed prayers every day. Fasting during the month of Ramzan is undertaken by a very large number of Muslims, but those maintaining it without a break until the end of the month would not total even a quarter of that number. The Muslims have a high degree of community-consciousness, but in Shamirpet it does not find expression in the form of intense religious devotion among the adherents of the Islamic faith.

With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti castes, the Hindus have no fixed time for daily worship. The number of people who visit a temple or shrine every day is negligible. But festivals and ceremonies are observed with unfailing regularity. Otherwise the gods are remembered only at times of disease or difficulty. As a rule, only some of the elderly people devote themselves to 'the daily duty of remembering the creator'; the younger people 'have much else to do'. They participate in ceremonies, partake of the festival feasts, and assemble to listen to the reading of the holy books and to the recitation of mythological legends by professionals when they happen to visit the village. The tasks of remembrance and repentance are postponed for old age. Among both men and women, only the elders seem to talk about 'the change of times' and 'the decline in the religious attitudes and ethical standards of the people'. In the everyday thought and speech of the younger generation there is very little of religion; and little conscious effort at seeking any deep religious experience or thrill is to be found among them. In the life of the community under observation, we noticed only two exceptions to this. One of these is the *Urs*, a semi-religious fair, commemorating Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine with some reputation for being a holy man. This fair is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also. The second is the annual worship of a village goddess organized by the village. On both these occasions several people are temporarily possessed by the spirit

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

of Jalal Miyan or by one of the goddesses. Going into a trance these people speak for the spirit which possesses them. The other people who are present there make offerings to them, seek solutions of their pressing problems and difficulties, and request them to remedy their ills and worries. Considerable enthusiasm is in evidence among them at this time. With these exceptions there is very little religious thought, talk or worship in normal life.

However, both Hindus and Muslims have a degree of fatalism and demonstrate a spirit of resignation towards predestined facts ordained for them by the supernatural forces of the world beyond. People can often be heard to remark, 'If it is written in our fate, we must submit to it. Human effort cannot alter the will of God. What is predestined must have its course.' But this fatalism makes its appearance only when the people have tried their best to solve the problem and having spared no effort still find themselves no nearer a solution. Coupled with this concept of fate is the Hindu doctrine of *karma*. According to this concept, which takes for granted the phenomenon of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth, our actions in the past life determine the character of our present life, and our actions in this life will determine the character of our future life. The village people clearly reconcile and synthesize these two views into a practical precept: the course of our present life is largely predestined on the basis of our acts in the past life, but by acting 'rightly' in this life we can materially influence the course of our life after death.

The rural ethic lays great emphasis on 'acting rightly', that is on the observance of traditional norms; because it is the only way to achieve happiness and prosperity in this life, and more than that to ensure the destiny of the soul after death. The problem of the future plays a very significant part in the ordering of life. Both Hindus and Muslims believe that death is not the end; there is something beyond it. Both attach great importance to the destiny of the soul after death. While the Muslim expects to remain in his grave until the Resurrection, when on the Day of Judgement he will be assigned to heaven (*jannat*) or hell (*jahannum*) according to his deeds, for the Hindu life is practically an unending process. After death one either goes to heaven (*swarga*) or to hell (*narka*), or one takes re-birth. Depending on one's actions in the past life, one may be born into one of the castes higher or lower than one's caste in the previous life, or even into some other lower species

RITUAL STRUCTURE

An earthen lamp is lighted and kept near the pot. Vermilion and turmeric paste are applied to the pots. The assembled members of the household then bow down before the images of the gods and pray to them for the prosperity and well-being of the family. If the family does not possess any images, the ceremony is generally performed in the main room of the house and people bow down in front of the pots 'with the thought of the gods in their minds'. A special kind of bread, with a sweet stuffing inside, is made in all well-to-do homes. Among the poorer occupational castes and the untouchables this is not done. Instead they visit the houses to which they are attached and are given a portion of the sweet bread and the drink. 796

The Brahmin family observes the festival in a more elaborate way. The images are bathed and dressed. Along with these the holy books in the possession of the family are also worshipped. 796 787

In the evening people gather together in front of the Deshmukh's house. All the responsible village elders are expected to be present on the occasion. Also the families of other major agriculturists are represented by one or more persons. The Brahmin consults his almanac and makes predictions for the year. Should they expect bumper crops this year? Or do the stars indicate scarcity and famine? Will the year be good for the health of the residents and their cattle? Or is there any apprehension of epidemics? What will be the general price-level in the market? Is there any fear of accidents—of snake-bite, drowning, lightning, etc? These and allied questions are covered by the priest in his forecast. Other questions of popular interest are referred to the Brahmin who tries to answer them on the basis of his astrological calculations. People soon break up into small groups, talk in a reminiscent mood about the years that have gone by, and comment upon the shape of things to come as indicated in the Brahmin's predictions.

Rama Navami. This festival is celebrated on the ninth day of the Hindu month of Chaitra. It is observed only by the Brahmins and Komtis, and by a few other enthusiasts belonging to some of the upper castes. Adults keep a 'fast' on this day; but this fast does not necessitate total abstention from all food. Fruit, milk-preparations, sago and cooked tubers can be eaten after the midday worship of Rama. In a fast like this it is necessary to abstain from cereals, lentils, everyday vegetables and common salt. In general 796

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus
Muslims

ing of these variant customs quite a stimulating, though somewhat tedious, task; but a full ethnographic record of them will be out of place here, and only a broad outline of the essentials will be presented, to illustrate their place in the socio-religious life of the Hindus. As the Muslims differ from the Hindus vitally in respect of their *rites de passage* their observances will be described separately.

Birth. On the birth of a child the mother, as well as other members of the family, is ritually impure. On the third or fifth day after the birth the *purudu* rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of all members of the family except the mother. The mother continues to be ritually impure for twenty-one to thirty days. On the twenty-first day—in some castes on the thirtieth day—the name-giving ceremony of the child takes place. The mother is bathed. The child's head is shaved, and it is put in a cradle. If it is the first child, or the first son, relations from other villages are also invited to participate in the name-giving ceremony. Friends and neighbours from the village itself are always invited. Women sing songs suitable for the occasion. If an ancestor is believed to have taken re-birth the newborn is named after him; otherwise the elders, after mutual consultation or at the suggestion of an important and influential relation, decide upon a name for the child. The name is announced to the assembly of men and women present. Singing is continued for some time longer. The ceremony ends with a feast for relations and some very special friends.

The Brahmin may be consulted for his astrological predictions regarding the future of the child, and also regarding the implications of the position of the stars at the time of birth for the members of the family. On this occasion the Komtis, the Reddi agriculturists as well as other higher caste Hindus with urban contacts may also invite him. Women from the barber's caste act as midwives among all the clean castes; untouchables manage with experienced women from their respective castes. Services of four other castes are essential: the barber for shaving the child's head, the washerman for washing the linen and clothes before the twenty-first day ceremony, the potter for the supply of new pots for ritual purification, and Madigas for playing musical instruments. Payments for these services are prescribed by tradition; and are both in cash and kind.

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186 564 also accept it, and using different words would say, 'We mind our work and do not get mixed up in local affairs. What use is it fighting like animals?' Others generally say, 'If you strike a Komti with a stick, he will hit you back with his tongue. He has at least a store of filthy abuse which he uses as a weapon of defence. But the Sale is too timid to do even this. All that he can do is to run into his house and hide himself.'

The Gaondla, 'when he is poor, carries empty pots of palm-juice from every house; but when he amasses wealth, his head turns. Then he learns to speak the language of the urban people.'

The Sakali is 'after all a washerman. One who washes the dirty clothes of the rest of the community cannot himself remain clean.' Women belonging to this caste have a reputation for their great capacity for drinking. 'They do not require much persuasion for granting sexual favours to people outside the caste; and the devils —Sakali women—are such adepts in sexual technique that anyone falling into their clutches once remains their slave for ever.'

There are several witty stories about the status of the Mangali (barber). 'No doubt his general status is low, but he always has the advantage of the company of rich and influential men. Do you not sit with him while he is cutting your hair and giving you a shave? Even rich agriculturists have to allow him to sit near them as if he were their equal in status.' 'It is true that his status is not very high. But who does not bow to him? While cutting a king's hair the barber orders "Bend a little towards me", and the king unquestioningly obeys him. Who else can catch hold of your hair, pull your ears or slap you on the cheek? Ask a barber to cut your hair and shave you, and you will have the answer.' 'The agriculturists always have to worry about their crops—in some years they grow well, in others they do not. But there is no uncertainty about the crops harvested by a barber—the beards of his clients grow with an unfailing regularity.'

• 787 The castes in the Panch Bramha group are not regarded as particularly auspicious. 'While starting on a journey if you happen to see a person belonging to one of these groups, you should take it as a sign of ill-luck. It indicates a possible failure of your mission.'

'The Mala and the Madiga will be rude if you are gentle with them, and will be gentle if you are rude to them.' 'Kick him first

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and kunkuma, offers incense, breaks a cocoanut, and cooks and presents to the image about a seer of rice, which he afterwards eats himself. The rice is provided daily by the villagers. Occasionally fowls and sheep are offered on the Sunday by villagers who have made vows in time of sickness or other misfortunes. When a sheep is sacrificed, it is first purified by washing. The animal is simply killed in front of the image by a Mādigā, who cuts off its head with a large chopper. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground and nothing special is done with it. The head becomes the perquisite of the pūjārī, and the offerer takes away the carcass for a feast in his house. In many villages, both in the Telugu and Tamil districts, water is poured over the sheep's back to see whether it shivers. If it shivers, it is a sign that the goddess has accepted it.[1] Where the people are economical, they keep on pouring water till it does shiver, to avoid the expense of providing a second victim, but, where they are more scrupulous, if it does not shiver, it is taken as a sign that the goddess will not accept it and it is taken away.

A public festival is held whenever an epidemic breaks out. The headman of the village then gets a new earthenware pot, besmears it with turmeric and kunkuma and puts inside some clay bracelets, some necklaces, and ear-rings, three pieces of charcoal, three pieces of turmeric, three pieces of incense, a piece of dried cocoanut, a woman's cloth, and two annas' worth of coppers—a strange collection of miscellaneous charms and offerings. The pot is then hung up in a tree near the image, as a pledge that, if the epidemic disappears, the people will celebrate a festival.

When it does disappear, a thatched shed of palmyra leaves is built near the image, and a special image of clay, adorned with turmeric and kunkuma, is put inside, and beneath it an earthen pot filled with buttermilk and boiled rice. This pot is also smeared with turmeric and

[1] For this widespread superstition see Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, I, 19. Cf. pp. 63, 68, 69, 73, 99, below.

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order to get the rice and the buffalo's head. The idea of carrying the head and rice round a village, so the people said, is to draw a kind of cordon on every side of it and prevent the entrance of the evil spirits. Should any one in the town refuse to subscribe for the festival, his house is omitted from the procession, and left to the tender mercies of the devils. This procession is called *bali haranam*;[1] and in this district *inams*, rent-free lands, are held from Government by certain families of Mādigās for performing it. Besides the buffalo, large numbers of sheep and goats and fowls are sacrificed, each householder giving at least one animal. The head Mādigā who kills the animals takes the carcass and distributes the flesh among the members of his family. Often cases come into the courts to decide who has the right to kill them. As the sacrifice cannot wait for the tedious processes of the law, the elders of the village settle the question at once, pending an appeal to the courts. But in the town of Masulipatam, a Mādigā is specially licensed by the Municipality for the purpose, and all disputes are avoided.

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[1] Sanksrit for "presentation of the offering."
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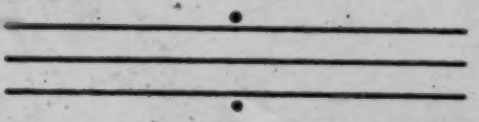
the house outside with cow-dung and make three horizontal lines with kunkuma (a red paste of turmeric and lime), with a dot above and below, and a semi-circle on the right side with a dot in the middle, thus:—



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Dharmaja-Gudem, near Ellore. At a village called Dharmaja-Gudem, about sixteen miles from Ellore, while the main features of the festivals are the same as those found elsewhere, there are two or three peculiarities, which deserve notice. The ordinary grāma-devatās of the village are Ellaramma, Gaṅgamma, Mutyalamma, and Ravelamma, who are represented by four stone pillars about six feet high, with figures of women carved on them, standing in an open field on the outskirts of the village: but when an epidemic breaks out, Mutyalamma, Gaṅgamma, Aṅkamma and Mahālakshmīamma are the deities propitiated, and special images are made of them. Those of the first three are made of clay, but that of Mahālakshmīamma is made of turmeric kneaded into a paste. Then, again, it is noticeable that a Brāhman acts as pūjārī of Mahālakshmī, a washerman as pūjārī of Gaṅgamma, and a potter as pūjārī of Aṅkamma. The Brāhman pūjārī presides over the worship for the greater part of the festival, which lasts for about three months, and during that time the people come almost every day and offer flowers, fruits, cocoanuts, camphor and incense, but no animal sacrifices. All this time, too, some nautch-

[1] See p. 55 above.

All this time[1] too, some nautch—
girls come and dance in a booth erected in front of the 796
image and work themselves up into a state of frenzy, 776
during which they are supposed to be inspired by the 782
deities, and utter oracles to the worshippers. When 786
the epidemic begins to abate, the Brāhman pūjārī
closes his part of the proceedings and departs.

Then, on that afternoon and evening, animal sacri- [787]
fices are offered under the booth. On the first animal
killed, which is generally a goat, water is poured from
a brass vessel, to see if it shivers.[1] If it does, it is
taken as a good omen that the goddess is propitiated
and the disease will disappear. Then other animals are
brought and, in accordance with a very common division
of functions in the Telugu country, a washerman kills
the sheep, goats, and fowls, and a Mādigā the buffaloes.
The heads of the sheep and goats, as well as of the
buffaloes, have the right forelegs put crosswise in the
mouths, the faces smeared with fat from the entrails,
and a lighted lamp placed above them. The blood is
caught in a basket full of boiled rice, and the rice and
blood are sprinkled round the village, while a Mādigā
carries on his own head the head of a buffalo exactly as
is done elsewhere. Here, too, great care is taken to
prevent any person from another village taking away
any of the rice and blood, lest the other village should
get all the benefit of the sacrifice, and evils of all kinds
descend on the unhappy villagers who have offered it.
The ceremony of impaling live animals on stakes fixed
round a wooden car,[2] and dragging them off to the
boundary of the village is also practised here.

Bhīmadole, near Ellore. At another village, called 241
Bhīmadole, about twenty miles from Ellore, I came 776
across one of the few instances I have met with of any 782
direct connexion between the harvest and the worship 796
of a village goddess. There is an annual festival held
there about harvest time, in November or December,
lasting one day, which is always a Tuesday. About half
a ton of rice is boiled in the middle of the village, taken

[1] See page 55. [2] See p. 58.

1 [see cat 116, p 68 -- ANALYST]

RITUAL STRUCTURE

above account represents a fairly typical description of hell which one often hears in the village community. Through conversation, folktale, myth and legend these ideas are implanted fairly early into the minds of the village children, who start life with a fear of sin. But by the time they reach the age of undertaking wild adventures these fears are diluted, and the gruesome accounts of hell no longer hold their spell of horror over them. As old age approaches, bitter memories of failures and frustrations accumulate and the flesh does not have the energy to undertake fresh adventures; people slowly begin turning their attention to thoughts of life after death. As an illiterate informant pithily put it: 'While youth lasts, passions rule the actions of man. While property lasts, the glitter of gold makes a man blind. But in old age, man laments for what he did in his youth. With his dim vision, he can no longer see the maddening glitter of gold. Then his thoughts turn to religion.'

The concept of *dharma* is also important, as it covers all the phases of the human life-cycle and fixes several details of intra- and inter-group life. *Dharma* has often been translated by Western writers as 'religion', but this translation hardly conveys the original meaning. It will perhaps be more appropriate to describe it as '*the* way of life' or 'that which is right'. Acceptance of caste traditions and the general rules of piety, observance of fasts and feasts, rigidly following the norms governing the *rites de passage* and undertaking pilgrimages to places of worship or for bathing in holy rivers, can generally be said to constitute the *dharma* of the people. Special worship and rituals may be performed to attain certain special ends. It is through *dharma* that one can look forward to shaping one's destiny. The concepts of *pap* (sin) and *punya* (merit), and of ritual pollution are fundamental to the wider concept of *dharma*. Certain things must not be done by any member of the community irrespective of his caste because they are sinful. Murder, extreme cruelty and violence, and incest can be placed under this category. There are certain other things which must not be done by certain castes, or by certain individuals in particular conditions. Sexual relations or inter-dining with a person of lower caste will lead to impurity. A woman in menses or a family immediately after childbirth and death remains in a state of ritual impurity for a specified period. After certain bodily excretions such as those of fæces, urine or semen, a prescribed

who have images of deities bathe them every day and make offerings of food. They are often described as 'family' or household gods. The pictures are worshipped on the occasions of festivals. In the neighbouring village of Aliyabad there is a temple of Rama. Besides these, there are several shrines of the village goddesses. Eight of these are important. Two shrines are dedicated to Maisamma—the *Gadi Maisamma* protects the house and dependants of the village headman, and the *Katta Maisamma* lodged near the tank protects the village boundaries and presides over the agricultural prosperity of the community. Pochamma too has two shrines—one near the houses of the Vaddars and another between the living quarters of the Madigas and the Erkalas. The shrine of Dugamma near the village post office is also important. There is one shrine each for Mahakalamma, Mutyalamma, and Pinamma.

People eagerly take the opportunities of attending religious fairs, and of going to holy places for a dip in one of the sacred rivers. The major centre of pilgrimage in the Telugu-speaking parts of Hyderabad is Bhadrachalam where there is an old and impressive temple by the side of Godavari. Those who can afford to and have the inclination go to the other places of pilgrimage having country-wide recognition, such as Allahabad (Prayag) and Benares (Kashi).

3. THE RELIGIOUS YEAR

Three major types of religious ceremonies and festivals are observed in the community; family ceremonies, village ceremonies, and caste ceremonies. The Muslim section of the village population has its own family festivals and some communal ceremonies. As pointed out earlier, they participate with their Hindu neighbours in the observance of common village ritual.

HINDU FESTIVALS

Feasts and fasts form an important part of Hindu religious life. Festivals are spread evenly over the whole year. Apart from village ceremonies, agricultural ritual, and special worships organized by some castes individually, there are several festivals which may be observed by most Hindu families, irrespective of their caste

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

natural and necessary. Only morons and cripples remain single. Though it is rare for people to renounce their home and property in old age, old men and women excessively attached to material goods come in for a good deal of criticism, and people often remark about them, 'Will they carry their wealth with them to the other world when they die?' It is at this time that their thoughts turn more to religion and to the destiny of their souls in the future life, and it is now that they generally undertake pilgrimages to holy places. In a sense the broad essentials of the philosophy of the *ashramas* can be said to permeate the life and thought of the Hindu villagers. The village Muslims share these social attitudes with their Hindu neighbours. With conversion to Islam they have changed their religious faith, but in the socio-cultural spheres of life they still continue to have more or less the same basic attitudes as the Hindus. In their family ethics and ideals the two groups demonstrate considerable similarity.

To the village people the necessity of both marriage and family is self-evident. It is necessary that the family line should be continued. A male heir must be left. An unmarried person past the marriage age is an object of pity. A couple without a son are unhappy. Childlessness and inability to produce a male child on the part of a woman often lead to a polygynous household. Marriage is regarded as essential among all the castes and social groups in the village. In a community of 2,494 persons, demographic survey reveals the presence of only two single persons—both women. One of these is a deaf-mute; the other has been a victim of epileptic fits from her childhood and has in addition the unenviable reputation of being a thief. For the clean-caste Hindus the continuity of the family line is necessary for a further reason. A male child must make a ceremonial offering of water to the spirits of his deceased parents and ancestors, without which their souls may not have peace. The untouchable castes as well as the semi-tribal groups also have this ritual in a modified form. The Muslims neither have this belief nor any attendant ritual, but they too share with the Hindus the sentiment against childlessness.

1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

The patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint family is the normal type of family unit met with in this part of rural India.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

THE BRAHMIN

793 791 There is only one Brahmin family in the village. The head of this family enjoys considerable local prestige owing to the fact of his birth, and also because he is a substantial landowner. He is the local priest as well as an astrologer. People consult him regarding the suitability of proposed marriages, and when negotiations are completed they seek his astrological calculations regarding an auspicious date and time for the wedding itself. He officiates at the marriage ceremony among the higher castes. On childbirth he is consulted about the planetary position at the actual time of the baby's birth, and its astrological implications for the child as well as for the parents and the other members of the family. If the reading indicates any difficulty, the Brahmin is often commissioned to offer special worship and perform the necessary rituals to ward off the evil. Similarly, after a death the Brahmin is consulted. If it is found that the time of death was inauspicious the members of the household may be asked to leave the residence temporarily, for a period of three to six months, according to the advice of the Brahmin. These consultations on the occasions of birth and death are generally sought only by the people of higher castes and by those who are well-to-do. Prescribed fees have to be paid to the Brahmin in cash for these consultations. Indirectly, the Brahmin contributes also to the agricultural activities of the community. He advises the agriculturists on when to start sowing at the beginning of the agricultural year. He is also consulted regarding the auspicious dates for starting weeding and harvesting. The date of the New Eating ceremony for the different families in the village is fixed by him. For these consultations no one pays him in cash. He visits the houses of his agriculturist clients fortnightly or once a month, especially in the harvesting season, and is customarily given a certain quantity of grain by each family.

THE KOMTI

564 443 426 The Komtis are traders. They also function as village moneylenders. They keep a permanent small shop at some central point in the village, and also attend the weekly markets in the neighbouring villages. They generally sell provisions for cash, although things may also be bought on credit by those who are known to

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

564

UNTOUCHABLE CASTES

Mala
(An untouchable caste)
Madiga
(An untouchable caste)

The above table does not include the Panch Bramha group. In point of religion they are Hindus, but their position in the caste hierarchy is rather uncertain. This group comprises five divisions: The Wadla (carpenter), the Kammari (blacksmith), the Ausula (goldsmith), the Kase (carver of figures in wood and stone) and the Kanchari (worker in bell-metal). Of these only the first three sections are found in Shamirpet. Inter-dining and inter-marrying, these sections constitute a distinct group of their own. In the local caste hierarchy they should be placed below the Kapu-Kummari-Golla group, but it cannot be said that they rank equal to or below the Sale-Gaondla group.

Among Hindus the Brahmin holds the highest place. He officiates at the ceremonies of all castes, except those of the Vaddar, the Erkala, the Pichha-Kuntla, the Mala and the Madiga. However, he is consulted by these castes also regarding the auspicious timing of agricultural operations or to perform marriage ceremonies; and his astrological calculations are eagerly sought by all people. All castes, except the Panch Bramha group, will accept food at his hands, but being 'pure and high-born' he cannot accept food from the hands of any but his caste fellows.

564 793 [787] [264]

The Komtis rank next to the Brahmins. They are mostly traders and money-lenders, keeping small shops where they sell grain and general provisions. All castes except the Brahmin and the Panch Bramha group accept food at their hands, but they do not take food from those castes whose social position is lower than their own, and thus can only accept food at the hands of the Brahmins.

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The Reddi sections of the Kapu (agricultural) group, the Kummari and the Golla castes are of equal caste status. Although each is an endogamous caste, they will freely inter-dine with each other, and social contact between them is on a basis of equality. The position of the other Kapu section, viz. Muttarasi, is a little lower. The first Kapu section as well as the Golla will eat at their hands, but the Kummari will refuse food which they have touched.

On the next level are the Sale and the Gaondla, who enjoy a

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non-Aryan groups was taking place in Indian society and Hinduism was consolidating itself. The highly organized craftsmen's guilds of those days may perhaps have succeeded in maintaining their integrity and exclusiveness for a long time, but had ultimately to yield; yet the tension created by their resistance remained, and even when they were absorbed into the fold of Hindu society they were not admitted as equals to the groups of comparable social status and in consequence probably continued to maintain their age-long exclusiveness.

All the castes whose relative positions in the caste-hierarchy have been shown in the accompanying table are endogamous. There is a permanent social distance between them; the individual is born into a caste, and a subsequent change in status is, except to the very lowest strata of society, equally impossible upwards or downwards.[1] In general it may be said that people accept food at the hands of all castes occupying a higher level in this hierarchy, the only exception being that of the Vaddar, who do not accept food from the highly placed Sakali and Mar.gali. Without exception people on a higher level refuse food from those on a lower level. Each caste has a traditional occupation sanctioned by religion, and these monopolies should not be infringed upon, except in the case of agriculture, which all may pursue.

Mention should here be made of the Jangam and the Katike castes, of each of which there is one family in Shamirpet. The Jangam are a semi-priestly caste ritually attached to the Baljas, for whom they tie the 'lingam'—a phallic symbol representing Shiva—and function as priests on the occasion of weddings. On the days of *Pitra Moksha Amavasya*[2] and *Shivaratri*,[3] they visit Hindu houses, particularly of those peasants who follow the Shaivite[4]

[1] When a person is excommunicated or out-casted he is not down-graded and pushed into a lower caste; he is merely denied the privileges of equal participation in the socio-religious life of the community.

[2] The night of the New Moon in the Hindu month of Bhadrapada (August–September).

[3] The day on which Shiva is believed to have drunk the world's poison, retaining it in his throat, and thereby saving mankind from possible harm from this poison.

[4] Of the great gods of the Hindu 'trinity' Brahma is not worshipped because of his sinful infatuation for his own daughter, whilst Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped. Those who principally worship the former, usually in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, are known as Vaishnava; those worshipping the latter as Shaiva or Shaivite. Cf. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London, 1950), pp. 56–59, 296–300, 360–362.

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is worshipped. Incense is burnt by putting *ghee* (clarified butter) on a fire in front of Vishnu's image. Two red threads are tied by the Brahmin, first to the arms of the image, and a little later, after being removed therefrom, to his own arm.

Petramasa. The last day of the dark fortnight in the month of Bhadrapada is dedicated to ceremonies in honour of the ancestors and the deceased members of the household. In fact the whole fortnight preceding this day is occupied by this activity, for water must be offered to the dead on the *tithi* (the lunar day corresponding to that of their death). Among the higher castes, if the family can afford it, the Brahmin is invited to officiate at these rites. Those who cannot afford it, and people of the lower castes, manage it themselves. On the Petramasa day itself cooked rice, curds and several other preparations are offered to the deceased members of the lineage. Gifts of money, grain and vegetables are made to the Brahmin and the Jangam.

If there was a death in the family in the preceding year, during the Petramasa fortnight on the lunar day of death, an elaborate rite is performed to call home the spirit of the deceased and lodge it with other ancestor-spirits in one corner of the house. For these rites different branches of a family gather together under one main roof.

The Malas and Madigas as well as Vaddars and Erkalas do not have an elaborate observance. However, the first two make small gifts of money to the Jangam in honour of their dead, if the Jangam visits their houses.

Dasara. This festival is observed in the village both individually and collectively. All Hindus bath early in the morning. The Brahmin and the Komti worship a bunch of *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*) leaves along with the images of gods; others worship only the deities. Observed on the tenth day of Ashvina, Dasara is regarded as a non-vegetarian festival. With the exception of Brahmins and Komtis, who are vegetarians, the other non-vegetarian castes make it a point to cook some meat dish on this day. At midday people worship the gods in their houses.

In the afternoon the Brahmin visits the Deshmukh's house, and worships a bunch of *shami* leaves and the headman's ancestral weapons. In the meantime a flag is hoisted on the central flag post near the police station. Madigas beat their drums and people start collecting. When all the responsible village elders assemble

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Hindus

rite of *seshahoman* must be performed. For this the bride and bridegroom are seated before a fire, sacred verses are read, and incense is burnt. This completes the marriage. Later the bride and bridegroom are seated facing each other for dinner. The ground around the wooden seats on which they sit is decorated with multi-coloured designs. While eating the two are encouraged to throw a few morsels into each other's plates. Several minor rites follow. In one the newly-married couple are asked to address each other by using personal names. The bride has to show great reluctance in doing this, for a wife generally does not utter the name of her husband. She is given a doll, symbolizing a child, and is asked to entrust it to the care of 'its father' on the pretext that she has to cook or to do other household work. The next day, after a few minor rituals, the girl is 'given away' to her husband and his parents. This is done to the accompaniment of heart-rending and pathetic songs. The father asks her to regard the home of her father-in-law henceforward as her own home; and never to do anything—in thought, word or deed—that might bring discredit to her parents. He then begs the girl's father-in-law to treat her well, to ignore her faults, failings and shortcomings, and to teach her the ways of their family. The girl goes away with her husband. In her new home she has to go through a series of rites, worship of the family god and feasting. After three to seven days she returns to her parents for a brief stay.

Among all the castes the general tone of marriage ritual suggests the influences of Sanskritic rites, but the Brahmin does not officiate at the marriages of all castes. He is invited by the Komti, the agricultural castes, the Kummari, the Golla, the Sale and the Gaondla. The barber and the washerman invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, otherwise they manage with their own caste-priest. The Panch Bramha group has its own priests. The other groups occupying lower positions in the caste hierarchy invite a specialist from their own caste to officiate at the ceremony. Naturally recitation of sacred verses and marriage formulae from the scriptures is confined to ceremonies conducted by the Brahmin; in the other castes, while the pattern followed is essentially the same, the Sanskrit chants are absent. Other occupational castes whose co-operation is required in the ceremony are: the barber, the potter, the Madiga and the carpenter. The barber assists the parties during negotiations, carries their messages,

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Tamil AW18
Telugu AW17

Ta 691 consent. The case was decided in the High Court in favour of the plaintiff. A similar dispute is in progress now.

Ta 556 About half of the Brahmans are well-to-do. Most of them have no children. They adopt children. The wealth of the father and of the adoptive father goes to the son. Thus the properties of two persons go to one. Being well-to-do, they do not engage in work; but spent their time in idleness and gossip. Some engage in money-lending at usurious interest.

POTHAVARAM, RAZOLE TALUK, GODAVARI DISTRICT.

[*By B. Lakshminarayana Sastri, Christian College, Madras.*]

Te 162 *Population.*—Brahmans, 8 families, 53 individuals; Sudras, 191 families, 948 individuals; Muhammadans, 5 families, 28 individuals. Birth-rate 44 per thousand; death-rate 35 per thousand.

Te 423 "The Brahmans used to monopolize the land till recently and cultivate it through non-Brahman (Pariah) servants. But being far away from their land their property was not safe with the uneducated Pariahs. A sect of non-Brahmans called Kapus are now buying lands through their economy and industry and low standard of life. The Brahman having to maintain a high standard is slowly incurring debts. There is a chance of the non-Brahman Kapu sect in the village gaining the lands if they maintain their low standard of life and economical and industrious habits. Te While the non-Brahman always remains in the field or garden the • [793] Brahman stays for a major part of the day in the main village as he has to perform his daily religious ceremonies and social functions. The Brahman cannot live in such an isolation as the non-Brahmans. He cannot do hand labour and his supervision is inefficient.

Te 454 "People buy land as a secure form of investment. The educated classes after saving money buy lands with it though they never cultivate it. It is the only form of secure investment with which they are familiar being ignorant of other safe investments. Moreover, land investment pays a man better and gives him some Te status among his neighbours. The emigration from this village is 167 slow. Some are leaving for neighbouring towns for their sons' 871 education while a few are emigrating to Burma for labour. The former rarely return except during vacations while the latter return after four or five years. This emigration once started catches fire, education is simply being undergone for appointments, there being a sort of respect and awe attached to this sort of life. Every average villager now eagerly wants to educate his son in spite of heavy debts and great inconveniences. Economically it is a loss though intellectually it may be a gain. Socially it is removing some of the superstitions of the villagers. The mixing with the educated villagers is [illegible]oving many deep-rooted superstitions. The emigration to Burma of coolies is to a small extent an economic gain; but at the expense of family life and social intercourse. The husband has to part from his wife and friends for a very long time. He does not even become intellectually advanced and his earnings are spent on drink."

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

association have brought them in close contact with each other and their cultures are in certain fields inter-related, the two communities retain their own socio-religious identities. The Muslims are in a minority in the population of the village; but they are a close-knit group in socio-religious matters. All Muslims belong to the Sunni division. Among them there are no great inequalities of wealth and possession, and consequently there is, within the Muslim community, no evidence of class distinction. In matters affecting their socio-religious life they act as a separate and self-sufficient group, rarely seeking the help, assistance or advice of their Hindu neighbours. One of the remarkable characteristics of the predominantly Hindu rural society of India is that non-Hindu communities have also been influenced by the caste-hierarchy of Hinduism. Even the non-Hindu groups have had to fit somehow into the rigid framework of the caste-dominated social system; and while they have always remained outside it, never having been regarded as Hindus, they have nevertheless acquired a quasi-caste status in accordance with their general social, economic and political position. As Hyderabad was formerly ruled by a Muslim, his co-religionists had a privileged position in the affairs of the State. Their social status in the rural areas has always been more or less equal to that of the agricultural castes; although from the point of view of religion the Hindus have always regarded them as inferior. Nevertheless, a clean-caste Hindu can sit down with a Muslim, and the less orthodox can even touch them without having to take a subsequent purificatory bath.

The Hindu social system, founded on the division of society into 'castes', presents a social framework of great complexity. The traditional *varna* system, modified in the course of the evolution of Indian social polity, divides Hindu society into five major groups. The first three of these, viz. Brahmins (priests and men of learning), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors) and Vaishyas (traders) are regarded as *dvija* or 'twice born'. According to Hindu ritual only they are allowed to undergo the *upanayana* ceremony which symbolizes their spiritual re-birth and entitles them to wear the sacred thread. The fourth group is composed of numerous occupational castes who are relatively clean and are not classed as untouchables. Finally, in the fifth major group we can place all the untouchable castes. This classification is accepted by the Hindus all over India. The relative positions of the different groups,

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tion of the population belongs to the Sunni sect and follows the religious pattern laid down in the Koran as interpreted by the founders of this sect. A devout Muslim is expected to offer prayers five times a day. In Shamirpet this would be the exception rather than the general rule. Some of the Muslim elders offer prayers twice a day, some only once and the rest are contented with their weekly prayers on Friday. The Mulla, the Muslim priest in the village, is the only person who offers the prescribed prayers every day. Fasting during the month of Ramzan is undertaken by a very large number of Muslims, but those maintaining it without a break until the end of the month would not total even a quarter of that number. The Muslims have a high degree of community-consciousness, but in Shamirpet it does not find expression in the form of intense religious devotion among the adherents of the Islamic faith.

With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti castes, the Hindus have no fixed time for daily worship. The number of people who visit a temple or shrine every day is negligible. But festivals and ceremonies are observed with unfailing regularity. Otherwise the gods are remembered only at times of disease or difficulty. As a rule, only some of the elderly people devote themselves to 'the daily duty of remembering the creator'; the younger people 'have much else to do'. They participate in ceremonies, partake of the festival feasts, and assemble to listen to the reading of the holy books and to the recitation of mythological legends by professionals when they happen to visit the village. The tasks of remembrance and repentance are postponed for old age. Among both men and women, only the elders seem to talk about 'the change of times' and 'the decline in the religious attitudes and ethical standards of the people'. In the everyday thought and speech of the younger generation there is very little of religion; and little conscious effort at seeking any deep religious experience or thrill is to be found among them. In the life of the community under observation, we noticed only two exceptions to this. One of these is the *Urs*, a semi-religious fair, commemorating Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine with some reputation for being a holy man. This fair is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also. The second is the annual worship of a village goddess organized by the village. On both these occasions several people are temporarily possessed by the spirit

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bath or wash is necessary to remove the impurity caused by the act. Non-observance of these rules will have a polluting effect; and according to the nature and degree of pollution purificatory rites will have to be undertaken.

Belief in ghosts and spirits is universal. They are feared and propitiated. Strange mystical power pervading certain objects is recognized, and fetishes and amulets are eagerly sought. Witchcraft is often suspected, and three or four people in the community are believed to possess magical powers.

Clearly, Hinduism as it is practised in the village is not the Hinduism of the classical philosophical systems of India, for it possesses neither the metaphysical heights nor the abstract content of the latter. It is a religion of fasts, feasts and festivals, in which prescribed rituals cover all the major crises of life. Worship and propitiation of gods and spirits follow the annual round of festivals and the ritual of the human life-cycle. Disease and difficulty may also necessitate invoking assistance from these sources.

In early childhood religious instruction through legendary tales and anecdotes exercises its influence on the developing mind of the child in whose thoughts and world of fancy these ideas linger on. Youth brings in its wake a more worldly and materialistic outlook towards life and its pleasures. Thoughts are turned to religion when the evening of life approaches, partly to postpone the final moment of departure as long as it could be, and partly to ensure the future lying beyond the point of death. Analysis of life-histories reveals that spiritualism cannot be said to be the keynote in the life of the community; far from it the religion appears to be a practical one. It strengthens and fortifies the individual and the group in situations where technical competence and practical intelligence are of no avail, and at the same time acts as a bond of cohesion for maintaining the structural unity of the society.

2. BELIEF: GODS AND DEITIES

The Muslims believe in one God, and follow the way of life laid down for them by their Prophet. They all belong to the Sunni division, and as such differ from the Shias and other splinter divisions of Islam in respect of the interpretation of their holy book as well as in several details of belief, ritual and ceremonial. Almost all the Muslims of Shamirpet have been converted to Islam from

Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations.

RITUAL STRUCTURE

Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations. They do not believe in any of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, nor in any of the later incarnations; but they share with the Hindus a living faith in the existence of malevolent ghosts, spirits and witches. They participate with the rest of the community in village ceremonies and sacrifices. To ward off cholera, plague and smallpox, they too think that it is necessary to propitiate the local deities and goddesses.

Village Hinduism is not easy to describe. It is an extremely elastic religion, and within its all-India framework admits of a considerable degree of regional and local variation. In his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, M. N. Srinivas has introduced the useful concept of 'spread', and split up village Hinduism into 'All India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and 'Local Hinduism'.

The people of Shamirpet worship all the major gods of the Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. The concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their consequences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth al[illegible]e such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

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non-Aryan groups was taking place in Indian society and Hinduism was consolidating itself. The highly organized craftsmen's guilds of those days may perhaps have succeeded in maintaining their integrity and exclusiveness for a long time, but had ultimately to yield; yet the tension created by their resistance remained, and even when they were absorbed into the fold of Hindu society they were not admitted as equals to the groups of comparable social status and in consequence probably continued to maintain their age-long exclusiveness.

All the castes whose relative positions in the caste-hierarchy have been shown in the accompanying table are endogamous. There is a permanent social distance between them; the individual is born into a caste, and a subsequent change in status is, except to the very lowest strata of society, equally impossible upwards or downwards.[1] In general it may be said that people accept food at the hands of all castes occupying a higher level in this hierarchy, the only exception being that of the Vaddar, who do not accept food from the highly placed Sakali and Mar.gali. Without exception people on a higher level refuse food from those on a lower level. Each caste has a traditional occupation sanctioned by religion, and these monopolies should not be infringed upon, except in the case of agriculture, which all may pursue.

Mention should here be made of the Jangam and the Katike castes, of each of which there is one family in Shamirpet. The Jangam are a semi-priestly caste ritually attached to the Baljas, for whom they tie the 'lingam'—a phallic symbol representing Shiva—and function as priests on the occasion of weddings. On the days of *Pitra Moksha Amavasya*[2] and *Shivaratri*,[3] they visit Hindu houses, particularly of those peasants who follow the Shaivite[4]

[1] When a person is excommunicated or out-casted he is not down-graded and pushed into a lower caste; he is merely denied the privileges of equal participation in the socio-religious life of the community.

[2] The night of the New Moon in the Hindu month of Bhadrapada (August–September).

[3] The day on which Shiva is believed to have drunk the world's poison, retaining it in his throat, and thereby saving mankind from possible harm from this poison.

[4] Of the great gods of the Hindu 'trinity' Brahma is not worshipped because of his sinful infatuation for his own daughter, whilst Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped. Those who principally worship the former, usually in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, are known as Vaishnava; those worshipping the latter as Shaiva or Shaivite. Cf. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London, 1950), pp. 56–59, 296–300, 360–362.

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of Jalal Miyan or by one of the goddesses. Going into a trance these people speak for the spirit which possesses them. The other people who are present there make offerings to them, seek solutions of their pressing problems and difficulties, and request them to remedy their ills and worries. Considerable enthusiasm is in evidence among them at this time. With these exceptions there is very little religious thought, talk or worship in normal life.

However, both Hindus and Muslims have a degree of fatalism and demonstrate a spirit of resignation towards predestined facts ordained for them by the supernatural forces of the world beyond. People can often be heard to remark, 'If it is written in our fate, we must submit to it. Human effort cannot alter the will of God. What is predestined must have its course.' But this fatalism makes its appearance only when the people have tried their best to solve the problem and having spared no effort still find themselves no nearer a solution. Coupled with this concept of fate is the Hindu doctrine of *karma*. According to this concept, which takes for granted the phenomenon of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth, our actions in the past life determine the character of our present life, and our actions in this life will determine the character of our future life. The village people clearly reconcile and synthesize these two views into a practical precept: the course of our present life is largely predestined on the basis of our acts in the past life, but by acting 'rightly' in this life we can materially influence the course of our life after death.

The rural ethic lays great emphasis on 'acting rightly', that is on the observance of traditional norms; because it is the only way to achieve happiness and prosperity in this life, and more than that to ensure the destiny of the soul after death. The problem of the future plays a very significant part in the ordering of life. Both Hindus and Muslims believe that death is not the end; there is something beyond it. Both attach great importance to the destiny of the soul after death. While the Muslim expects to remain in his grave until the Resurrection, when on the Day of Judgement he will be assigned to heaven (*jannat*) or hell (*jahannum*) according to his deeds, for the Hindu life is practically an unending process. After death one either goes to heaven (*swarga*) or to hell (*narka*), or one takes re-birth. Depending on one's actions in the past life, one may be born into one of the castes higher or lower than one's caste in the previous life, or even into some other lower species

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who have images of deities bathe them every day and make offerings of food. They are often described as 'family' or household gods. The pictures are worshipped on the occasions of festivals. In the neighbouring village of Aliyabad there is a temple of Rama. Besides these, there are several shrines of the village goddesses. Eight of these are important. Two shrines are dedicated to Maisamma—the *Gadi Maisamma* protects the house and dependants of the village headman, and the *Katta Maisamma* lodged near the tank protects the village boundaries and presides over the agricultural prosperity of the community. Pochamma too has two shrines—one near the houses of the Vaddars and another between the living quarters of the Madigas and the Erkalas. The shrine of Dugamma near the village post office is also important. There is one shrine each for Mahakalamma, Mutyalamma, and Pinamma.

People eagerly take the opportunities of attending religious fairs, and of going to holy places for a dip in one of the sacred rivers. The major centre of pilgrimage in the Telugu-speaking parts of Hyderabad is Bhadrachalam where there is an old and impressive temple by the side of Godavari. Those who can afford to and have the inclination go to the other places of pilgrimage having country-wide recognition, such as Allahabad (Prayag) and Benares (Kashi).

3. THE RELIGIOUS YEAR

Three major types of religious ceremonies and festivals are observed in the community; family ceremonies, village ceremonies, and caste ceremonies. The Muslim section of the village population has its own family festivals and some communal ceremonies. As pointed out earlier, they participate with their Hindu neighbours in the observance of common village ritual.

HINDU FESTIVALS

Feasts and fasts form an important part of Hindu religious life. Festivals are spread evenly over the whole year. Apart from village ceremonies, agricultural ritual, and special worships organized by some castes individually, there are several festivals which may be observed by most Hindu families, irrespective of their caste

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and social status. Important among these are: *Ugadi* (Telugu New Year's Day), *Rama Navami* (birthday of Rama; also regarded as his wedding anniversary), *Toli Ekadashi* (fast in honour of Vishnu), *Nagula Panchami* (worship of the cobra), *Rakhi Purnima* (day for the renewal of the sacred thread), *Krishna Ashtmi* (birthday of Krishna), *Chauti* (birthday of Ganesha, son of Shiva), *Petramasa* (day for offering water to the spirits of the ancestors), *Dasara* (celebration commemorating Arjuna's victory, with the help of Krishna, over the Kauravas), *Deepavali* (celebration commemorating the defeat of the demon king Narkasura at the hands of Krishna), *Til Sankranti* (day of the winter solstice marking the change of season, when days start gradually getting longer), *Shivaratri* (fast in honour of Shiva), and *Holi* (bonfires to commemorate the burning of Kamadeva, the god of love). In addition to these there are some festivals which are observed only by the higher castes, more particularly by the Brahmins, Komtis and Reddis. Important among these are: *Neela Gauri* (worship of Gauri, wife of Shiva, observed by Brahmins only), *Narsimha Jayanti* (day of Vishnu's incarnation as Narsimha—part human and part lion god, observed by Brahmins only), *Shravana Somwar* (Mondays in the Hindu month of Shravana, when Brahmins and Komtis observe a fast), *Ananta Chaturdashi* (the day when Vishnu incarnated himself as Ananta; observed only by Brahmins), *Kartika Purnima* (day for the worship of Gauri, observed only by Brahmin, Komti and Reddi women), *Vasant Panchami* (worship of household gods by Brahmins only), and *Rath Saptami* (worship of the Sun by Brahmins only). Two important agricultural rites observed by the families of cultivators are the First Sowing and the New Eating (Kottalu); each observed twice every year to inaugurate sowing operations and commencing the eating of grain from the freshly harvested crops. Ceremonies organized by the village as a whole are: the *Pochamma* festival (in honour of the goddess of smallpox), the *Batkamma* festival (in honour of Gauri; observed by village women) and the *Maisamma* festival (in honour of the goddess protecting the village boundaries). The different caste groups residing within the village have several caste festivals and ceremonies. For example, on the Dasara day the occupational castes worship their implements; the Gollas—caste of shepherds—have the festivals of Saudamma, Mallamma and Maude-Pochamma, all connected with their traditional occupation, and the untouchable Madigas have cults and related

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796 folk-plays concerning Jamavanta, their legendary hero and founder of the caste.

I do not propose to give minute ethnographic details regarding the festivals enumerated above. The brief accounts that follow are intended to illustrate the nature of the festivals and their place in the annual round of activities in the community. The mythological background of these festivals has been recorded from oral [805] tradition and not from Hindu scriptures. Hindu months, according to the Western calendar, would be:

Hindu Month	*Corresponding English Months*	*Hindu Month*	*Corresponding English Months*
Chaitra	March–April	Ashvina	September–October
Vaishakha	April–May	Kartika	October–November
Jyeshta	May–June	Margashirsha	November–December
Ashadha	June–July	Pushya (Pousha)	December–January
Shravana	July–August	Magha	January–February
Bhadrapada	August–September	Phalguna	February–March

The festivals are described in their chronological order:

Ugadi. Ugadi, the Telugu New Year's Day, is an important festival. It is observed on the first day of the Hindu month of Chaitra. Although it is observed by all the Hindu castes generally, its significance for the Brahmins, Komtis, Reddis and the Panch Bramha group is greater.

The day previous to Ugadi the Panch Bramha groups worship their implements and renew their sacred threads, which they alone wear, apart from Brahmins and Komtis.

On the Ugadi day itself people get up early in the morning. Women sweep the courtyard, sprinkle cow-dung mixed in water, and then draw decorative designs with flour or coloured powders. Men go out to collect mango leaves and *neem* (margosa tree, *Azadirachta indica*) twigs; make festoons (*toran*) by stitching these together in a long string, and decorate the front portions of their houses with them. The potters supply each household with two earthen pots: one large, another small enough to act as a lid for the larger. Each family expects these pots from the potter attached to it. All members of the family, except the sick, take their bath on this day, and gather together inside the house. In the room where the gods of the household are lodged the earthen pots are placed [272] in a central position. The large pot is filled with a sweet drink made by mixing jaggery, tamarind pulp, slices of raw mangoes, grated coconut and other spices. It is topped by the smaller pot.

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An earthen lamp is lighted and kept near the pot. Vermilion and turmeric paste are applied to the pots. The assembled members of the household then bow down before the images of the gods and pray to them for the prosperity and well-being of the family. If the family does not possess any images, the ceremony is generally performed in the main room of the house and people bow down in front of the pots 'with the thought of the gods in their minds'. A special kind of bread, with a sweet stuffing inside, is made in all well-to-do homes. Among the poorer occupational castes and the untouchables this is not done. Instead they visit the houses to which they are attached and are given a portion of the sweet bread and the drink.

The Brahmin family observes the festival in a more elaborate way. The images are bathed and dressed. Along with these the holy books in the possession of the family are also worshipped.

In the evening people gather together in front of the Deshmukh's house. All the responsible village elders are expected to be present on the occasion. Also the families of other major agriculturists are represented by one or more persons. The Brahmin consults his almanac and makes predictions for the year. Should they expect bumper crops this year? Or do the stars indicate scarcity and famine? Will the year be good for the health of the residents and their cattle? Or is there any apprehension of epidemics? What will be the general price-level in the market? Is there any fear of accidents—of snake-bite, drowning, lightning, etc? These and allied questions are covered by the priest in his forecast. Other questions of popular interest are referred to the Brahmin who tries to answer them on the basis of his astrological calculations. People soon break up into small groups, talk in a reminiscent mood about the years that have gone by, and comment upon the shape of things to come as indicated in the Brahmin's predictions.

Rama Navami. This festival is celebrated on the ninth day of the Hindu month of Chaitra. It is observed only by the Brahmins and Komtis, and by a few other enthusiasts belonging to some of the upper castes. Adults keep a 'fast' on this day; but this fast does not necessitate total abstention from all food. Fruit, milk-preparations, sago and cooked tubers can be eaten after the midday worship of Rama. In a fast like this it is necessary to abstain from cereals, lentils, everyday vegetables and common salt. In general

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796 only the adults are expected to observe this fast; but the novelty of the food which is given to all those who are fasting induces many children also to undertake it. At midday an image or picture of Rama, standing in a clean, central part of the main room is worshipped for a short while; offerings of the special food cooked for the day are placed before it, and all members of the family bow down to it asking for forgiveness and blessings. Most people break their fast in the evening to partake of a special meal comprising rich dishes and delicacies.

Neela Gauri. The observance of this festival is confined only to Brahmin women. On the third day of the Hindu month of Vaishakha, a large earthenware pan is filled with several kinds of soil—such as black earth, red earth, earth from an ant-hill and manure, and nine different grains are sown into it. The sprouts are supposed to represent Gauri, wife of Shiva, and are watered and worshipped daily for a month. Offerings of jaggery and gram soaked in water are made every day.

Narsimha Jayanti. This festival is observed in honour of Narsimha —an incarnation of Vishnu in a half-lion, half-human form—on the fourteenth day of the Hindu month of Vaishakha. In Shamirpet it is observed only by the Brahmin family. Some members of the family observe a fast on this day. At midday an image or picture of Narsimha is worshipped and offerings of jaggery and gram sprouts are made to it.

Toli Ekadashi. Brahmins, Komtis and some Reddis observe this fast on the eleventh day of Ashadha in honour of Vishnu. In the Brahmin family all adults are expected to observe this fast; among others only a few responsible people keep it. Although foods permissible in fasts can be eaten on this day, some people make it a total fast and do not take any food or water until the evening. Images of Vishnu and his incarnations are worshipped at home and at the village shrines; and offerings of coconut, dates and a preparation of gram and jaggery are made.

Nagula Panchami. On the fifth day in the month of Shravana, this festival is observed by the Brahmins, Komtis, Reddis and some other higher castes. On this day *all* Hindus are expected to observe the taboo which forbids the use of an iron girdle (*tawa*) for making bread. Even those who do not observe the festival itself refrain from using one on this day. In the families observing this festival, generally one adult member of the household fasts until the com-

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pletion of the worship of the cobra which takes place some time in the afternoon. Coconut, puffed rice, milk and a preparation of gram and jaggery are all arranged on a plate, and taken to an ant-hill by the person observing the fast. The ant-hill is supposed to be the abode of the cobra. There he lights a lamp and makes an offering of small quantities of the food brought on the plate. While returning home he keeps on dropping a grain or two of puffed rice all the way. A special sweet dish of rice and milk is prepared for the principal meal on this day.

Rakhi Purnima. Observed on the full-moon day in the month of Shravana, this festival has special significance for the Brahmin, the Sale and the Gaondla. All castes wearing the sacred thread change their old threads and wear new ones on this day. Some of the occupational castes, especially the Sale and the Gaondla, tie multicoloured threads to their professional implements. Normal economic and occupational activities are stopped on this day, and a feast comprising some sweet and rich dishes is a special feature of it.

Shravana Somwar. A half-day fast is observed on Mondays in the month of Shravana by the Brahmins and the Komtis. Those who are especially keen may observe a similar half-day fast on Saturdays also. The evening meal on such days almost always includes a sweet dish.

Krishna Ashtami. Observed on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Shravana, this festival resembles in all essentials that of Rama Navami described earlier. The principal worship takes place at midnight, the hour when Krishna—an incarnation of Vishnu—is believed to have been born. A sweet preparation consisting of jaggery, spices, and herbs—similar to one given to women after childbirth—is distributed at this time among those who attend the midnight worship. On the following day a fast is observed, and is followed by a feast in the evening.

Chauti. Chauti, observed on the fourth day in the month of Bhardrapada, is an important festival. This ceremony is observed in honour of Ganesha, the son of Shiva. On this and the three days that follow there is considerable festivity in the village.

With the exception of the untouchable Malas and Madigas and the semi-tribal Erkalas, in all other Hindu castes this day is celebrated with considerable enthusiasm. Those who can afford to, buy images of Ganesha from the shops in the city; those who

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796 cannot, make clay images at home. These idols are placed prominently in the front or central part of the house. The Brahmins and Komtis first clean the place where the idol is to be lodged, besmear it with cow-dung, then spread some soft sand over it. On this sand they place some leaf-plates, spread rice on them and cover the rice with a new cloth. The idol is placed on this cloth. Among the other castes the idol is placed either on a bunch of mango leaves kept on the floor, or else on a wooden seat. A sacred thread is put on the image, and finally it is marked with vermilion and turmeric. With this it comes to possess life as the deity starts residing within it.

A little lamp is lighted and kept burning in front of the image. At the time of the principal worship which differs in various families, flowers of several varieties are placed on and around the image, vermilion and rice (the latter made yellow with turmeric) are sprinkled on it, and *laddus* (little sweet balls of gram fried in syrup) specially made for the day are offered to the deity. When this is done all members of the household bow down before the idol. Many people express their wishes, which they then expect will be fulfilled with the blessings of Ganesha.

The image is allowed to remain in its place for three to twenty-one days, and is worshipped every day. When it is removed from its place, it is taken to the village tank and immersed in water.

Two special features of this festival deserve to be noted. First, some of the occupational castes worship their tools and implements. For example, the washerman applies vermilion and turmeric pastes to the large earthen pot in which he boils the clothes, and also to the stone on which he beats them clean. The barber does the same to his razors and scissors. The weaver worships the
[821] paraphernalia of his caste occupation. Secondly, it is believed that seeing the moon on the Chauti day is inauspicious, for anyone who does so may be falsely implicated in theft. But if anyone does see the moon, it is not difficult for him to undo its harmful effects. If he is abused by someone, the ill effect of his having seen the moon can be cleared. Thus in order to be abused by others people seeing the moon on this day indulge in practical jokes and cause offence to them in various ways. In return they are favoured with the abuse which expiates their sin.

Ananta Chaturdashi. Ananta Chaturdashi is observed on the fourteenth day of Bhadrapada by Brahmins only. On this day Vishnu

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is worshipped. Incense is burnt by putting *ghee* (clarified butter) on a fire in front of Vishnu's image. Two red threads are tied by the Brahmin, first to the arms of the image, and a little later, after being removed therefrom, to his own arm. 776

Petramasa. The last day of the dark fortnight in the month of Bhadrapada is dedicated to ceremonies in honour of the ancestors and the deceased members of the household. In fact the whole fortnight preceding this day is occupied by this activity, for water must be offered to the dead on the *tithi* (the lunar day corresponding to that of their death). Among the higher castes, if the family can afford it, the Brahmin is invited to officiate at these rites. Those who cannot afford it, and people of the lower castes, manage it themselves. On the Petramasa day itself cooked rice, curds and several other preparations are offered to the deceased members of the lineage. Gifts of money, grain and vegetables are made to the Brahmin and the Jangam. 761 793

If there was a death in the family in the preceding year, during the Petramasa fortnight on the lunar day of death, an elaborate rite is performed to call home the spirit of the deceased and lodge it with other ancestor-spirits in one corner of the house. For these rites different branches of a family gather together under one main roof.

The Malas and Madigas as well as Vaddars and Erkalas do not have an elaborate observance. However, the first two make small gifts of money to the Jangam in honour of their dead, if the Jangam visits their houses.

Dasara. This festival is observed in the village both individually and collectively. All Hindus bath early in the morning. The Brahmin and the Komti worship a bunch of *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*) leaves along with the images of gods; others worship only the deities. Observed on the tenth day of Ashvina, Dasara is regarded as a non-vegetarian festival. With the exception of Brahmins and Komtis, who are vegetarians, the other non-vegetarian castes make it a point to cook some meat dish on this day. At midday people worship the gods in their houses. 796

In the afternoon the Brahmin visits the Deshmukh's house, and worships a bunch of *shami* leaves and the headman's ancestral weapons. In the meantime a flag is hoisted on the central flag post near the police station. Madigas beat their drums and people start collecting. When all the responsible village elders assemble

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796 there the procession starts in the direction of the Hanuman shrine outside the village. The Madiga drum-beaters are at the head of the procession. At some distance from them are the Deshmukh, the Brahmin and the other elders. These are followed by the other villagers. At the shrine the Brahmin worships the *shami* leaves 796 and the goddess Durga. When the worship is over people snatch 554 the leaves. Then follows the important social act of exchange of 578 these leaves and a friendly embrace. Between castes of equal social status and between persons of equal kinship and age status within the caste itself, the exchange is on a basis of equality. For example, A will take a few leaves from B; and B will take a few from A. The two will then lock each other in an embrace for a few seconds. On the other hand, people of high caste will give some leaves to those of the low and untouchable castes; and the latter will respond by bowing down to touch the feet of the former. In the case of the untouchables this is a symbolic gesture, for they touch the earth near the feet of their superiors and not the feet. Within the caste itself the nature of this exchange is determined by the age and kinship status of the persons concerned. As a general rule elders and persons with a recognized superior status give some leaves to the juniors; and the latter, in their turn, bend down to touch the feet of their elders. On this day people are expected to forget their quarrels of the last year, and to meet each other in a spirit of friendship. In fact, many petty differences are forgotten, and several people who were hitherto not on speaking terms resume normal friendly relations again.

796 *Deepavali.* Deepavali or the 'festival of lights' is one of the most important Hindu festivals and is observed throughout Hindu India. The celebrations extend to two days—the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the dark fortnight of the month of Ashvina. On the first of these two days, known as *Narka Chaturdashi* or *Bhogi*, Hindus get up very early and have their bath. Women in the higher castes, especially among Brahmins, Komtis and Reddis, take lighted lamps on a plate and, waving them before their husbands, perform the *arati* rite otherwise reserved for gods. This has to be completed before the break of dawn. Later in the day images of gods and deities in the house are worshipped and specially cooked dishes are offered to them. In the evening a large number of little earthen lamps are lighted and arranged in front of the house; in other parts of the house, too, one or more of these lamps

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are kept. Some people worship Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, on this night; others do so on the second day. The Komtis, who are a trading caste, regard this worship as the most important in their religious year. 796

The second day is the day of Deepavali itself. Hindus wash their cows and bullocks, and put multi-coloured decorative marks on their bodies. Tinkling bells and other decorations are tied round their necks. A gruel is made and served to the cattle on this day. In the evening rows of lighted earthenware lamps are arranged in front of each house; some also being put in other parts of the house. In some families Lakshmi is worshipped on this day.

On both these days delicacies and rich sweet dishes are prepared. There is no fasting, for Deepavali is regarded as a festival for feasting.

Kartika Purnima. This is observed on the full-moon day in the month of Kartika, mostly by the Brahmin, the Komti and some women of other higher castes. Women keeping the fast take their bath early in the morning, apply turmeric paste to their bodies and wear yellow clothes. Later in the day they worship the sacred Tulsi plant (basil) and offer it twenty-one threads, twenty-one flowers (each of a different kind, if possible) and twenty-one garlands. In well-to-do homes the Brahmin priest is invited to officiate at this worship.

Til Sankranti. Sankranti (winter solstice) inaugurates the gradual lengthening of days, and is celebrated by all sections of the Hindu population of the village. While Brahmins, Komtis and Reddis observe it as a *lomulu* (*vrata*) or an occasion for special worship, in the other castes it is just an occasion for feasting.

In the higher-caste families observing special worship on this day, the women take their bath early in the morning. They apply turmeric paste to their bodies. For the worship itself two things have to be done. On a spot swept, cleaned and smeared with cow-dung, five new earthen pots are put. These contain sweet balls of *til* (sesame), pieces of sugar cane, country plums and other available fruit. Nearby, four lumps of cow-dung are placed, forming the corners of a rectangle which are then joined by new thread. Inside the rectangle a fire is lighted, and on it some milk is set to boil. This milk is allowed to overflow, and the direction of overflow is carefully noted. If it flows in a northern or eastern direction it is regarded as auspicious. Later some quantity of rice is

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796 cooked in this milk, and a sweetening—sugar or jaggery—is added to it. Small portions of this preparation are offered to the five earthen pots, and to the household gods and ancestor spirits.

In families which do not have this elaborate worship, women cook rice in milk, which is later offered to the household gods. Sweet balls of *til* are made and distributed by all families of means. Meat-eating sections of the population consider it essential to have a rich meat dish on this day. In fact some lower castes, such as the Vaddar, the Erkala, the Mala and the Madiga, do no more than have a meat preparation for their principal meal.

Vasant Panchami and *Rath Saptami*. Observed on the fifth and seventh days respectively in the month of Magha, these festivals have a special significance only to the Brahmins. On *Vasant Panchami* day the images are carefully cleaned and dressed in new clothes. The main worship on this day is that of Shiva. On the *Rath Saptami* day, on the other hand, the Sun is the principal god to be worshipped. In addition to the Sun, Vishnu and the Tulsi plant are also venerated.

Shivaratri. With the exception of a few Reddis, all Hindus in Shamirpet observe this festival in honour of Shiva on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Magha. A day prior to the festival the Hindus clean their houses. On the Shivaratri day itself they get up early in the morning. Men take their bath, women sweep the courtyard, sprinkle on it water mixed with cow-dung and make decorative designs with flour or coloured powders. After finishing this they too have their bath. Clothes and household linen are also washed. Those who can afford to, put on new clothes on this day.

This is an important fast. Those who observe it are not supposed to eat or drink anything until the worship, which takes place late in the afternoon at about 4 p.m., is over. For this worship most of the clean castes go to the village shrine where there is a Shiva *lingam*. Each family is represented by one or two responsible adults; women go only when there is no male member in the house. They take with them, on a plate, a coconut, a cucumber, boiled sweet potatoes and a preparation of gram and jaggery. These are offered to Shiva at the shrine. After bending down in front of the symbol of Shiva the people return home with their plates and the food offerings. Now they can eat, but their food must not contain everyday preparations of cereals and curries. Mostly they eat boiled sweet potatoes and cucumber. Some of the lower castes,

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especially the barber, the washermen, the Vaddar and the Erkala, do not go to this Shiva shrine; but instead they go to a deserted shrine outside the village. Although this shrine has no *lingam*, they make their offerings here. On the other hand, untouchable Malas and Madigas do not go to any shrine, and make their offerings of food in the name of Shiva in some corner of their houses. 796

Most people consider it desirable to keep awake for the whole night following. None should go to bed until midnight at least. For this reason a programme of dramatic performances, or of singing devotional songs, is invariably arranged by a group of village youths.

Holi. Holi is the last major Hindu festival of the year. It is observed on the full-moon day in the month of Phalguna. Five days before the festival there is a sudden burst of activity among the village youths and boys, who start collecting wood and piling it up in a central place in the village. Stealing of fuel—especially wood and cow-dung cakes—is socially approved; and the young people show considerable ingenuity in this respect. By the Holi day they arrange a sufficiently large pile of this fuel, to be able to light a really big bonfire. As the prestige of the village youth depends on the size of the bonfire, they work hard to make it impressive.

In the evening at about 7 p.m. the Madigas beat their drums and go round the village collecting more fuel from the residents. It is all systematically arranged and the pile is made ready for burning at the auspicious moment, previously fixed. The carpenter makes a crude wooden image of Kamadeva (the god of love) and places it on the pyre. Between 9 p.m. and 10 p.m. the Madigas start beating their drums near the pyre. Women begin to come to the spot, bringing in their hands plates with burning earthen lamps and several preparations of food. On this day the Brahmin officiates for his own caste as well as for the Komtis; and the Kummari (potter) officiates for the rest of the community. In fact, the Kummari dominates the scene. When the Kummari women have brought their food offerings and placed them near the pyre, the headman of the potter's caste worships Kamadeva and offers small portions from these plates. The Brahmin does the same on behalf of the two twice-born castes of the Brahmins and the Komtis. The Kummari goes round taking little bits from the plates of all

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796 the others and offers them to the god of love. Imitating the ritual of cremation, then, the Kummari goes round the pyre thrice sprinkling water, sets fire to it and breaks the earthen pot. Men make a funny imitation of the sounds made at the time of the funeral and the crowd bursts into loud laughter. People wait for an hour or so and go home with some ashes from the pyre. They must be careful, for the young men of the village are still active, and such objects as wooden bedsteads, fences, doors and logs of wood are eagerly sought by them and thrown into the burning pyre.

Next morning Madiga drum-beaters and village watchmen go from house to house and beg for money. People start playing *holi*. Until mid-day they throw dust, mud, cow-dung and earth at one [602] another. Those standing in joking relationships with each other often engage in vigorous jest and banter. The singing of vulgar songs by men is permitted. At midday people bath and take their meal. Later in the afternoon they play *holi* again; but this time they only throw coloured powders and coloured water at each other.

New Eating. Twice every year, after each harvest, the 'New Eating' ceremony is arranged to initiate the eating of grain from the recently harvested crop. No particular day is fixed for it, and each family arranges it according to its own convenience. New paddy from the recently harvested crop is mixed with some old paddy, and is pounded and husked. If a family has no new paddy —and many non-agriculturists and agricultural labourers often do not—they borrow it from a neighbour. After being husked the rice is cooked and sweetened with jaggery. This is then offered to the gods and ancestor-spirits in the house, and later eaten by the members of the family. Prior to this ceremony, the eating of any grain from the new crop is forbidden by custom.

Muslim Festivals. Before coming to the common village festivals, it is necessary to describe briefly the festivals of the Muslims. With regard to religion and ritual the Muslim element in the village population has a separate identity of its own.

The Muslims observe seven important festivals. They are *Moharram*, *Meelad Sharif*, *Giarwin Sharif*, *Shabe Miraj*, *Shabe Barat*, *Ramzan* and *Id-uz-zuha*. These festivals follow the Muslim calendar, and unlike the Hindu festivals, which always occur in the same season, their time varies from year to year.

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Moharram. On the tenth day in the month of Moharram, Imam Hussain, the grandson of Mohammed, was put to death in the plains of Karbala after being denied food and water for three days. Moharram is observed in honour of this martyr and his associates. On the Moharram day symbols of Imam Hussain and his family, known as *alums*, are taken out by the Muslims in a procession to a nearby river or tank. All along the route they beat their breasts and cry aloud 'O, son of Ali' or 'Hussain, Hussain' and wail over the martyr's death. *Tajia* or large paper models of his tomb are also taken out and immersed in water. In all Muslim households a sweet drink either of water and sugar, or of milk and sugar, is prepared and distributed among friends and relations. The giving of alms and charity on this day is believed to contribute greatly towards ensuring one's future.

Meelad Sharif. Unlike Moharram, which calls for mourning, Meelad Sharif is an occasion for rejoicing, as the Prophet Mohammed was born on the twelfth day of the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal. On the eleventh and twelfth days of this month people observe a fast. Muslim priests visit their homes, and passages from the Koran are read. Flowers and sweets are distributed in the name of Mohammed. The celebrations are continued for a month; although the festivities are at their peak on the two days mentioned above.

Giarwin Sharif. This is an important festival for the Sunni sect of the Muslims. It is observed in honour of Abdul Kader Geelani who belonged to Mohammed's generation, and was regarded as a very pious and holy figure. On the eleventh day of the month of Rabi-us-sani, the Muslims of Shamirpet fly the flag of Abdul Kader on their houses, and offer sweets, flowers and prayers in the name of their hero.

Shabe Miraj. On the twenty-sixth day of Rajjub, accompanied by an angel, Mohammed is believed to have visited the seven heavens and hell. Later it is said that he had an audience with Allah himself. To celebrate this event, this day is expected to be spent in meditation and prayer. If possible people keep awake for the whole night saying prayers and asking for Allah's blessings.

Shabe Barat. On the night of the fourteenth day of Shaban, Muslims offer sweets and bread in the name of their deceased kin. They visit their graves and offer flowers and prayers. It is believed

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769 that on this day the spirits of the dead come out to see their relations and to receive presents from them. Later all Muslims—men and women (if they are not in their menstrual period)—say their prayers and ask for God's blessing for their long life. Also they read the Koran. This night is important in that it is now that Allah determines the course of the lives of his followers for the coming year.

● 796 *Ramzan.* Ramzan is the most important month in the religious year of the Muslims. As far as possible, people try to fast for the whole month. They can have food before dawn and after dusk, but in between even a drop of water is not permitted. During these days one should devote as much time as possible to meditation and prayer. The twenty-sixth day of the month is specially important because it was on this day that 'Mohammed received the Koran from Allah'. People wear new clothes on this day, read the Koran and say their prayers. There is considerable enthusiasm in evidence as all Muslims—men, women and children—say their prayers and seek God's blessings. The month-long fasting ends on the day they see the new moon. The next day is spent in festivity and is known as 'Id-ul-fitr'. People breakfast early and wear their best—possibly new—clothes. The men go to the mosque for their Id prayers. After the prayers they go round to their friends' houses meeting and greeting them. On this day and on the two days following a sweet preparation consisting of vermicelli, milk and dates is made, and portions of it are sent to friends and relations. It is desirable that those who can afford it should distribute 2½ seers of grain per head to the poor and the needy.

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Id-uz-zuha. This festival is celebrated on the tenth day of the month of Zilhij. People get up early in the morning and without breakfast go to the mosque for their prayers. When they return home they sacrifice goats in the name of God. The general rule is that one goat is sacrificed in the name of each member of the family; but if this is not possible financially, a goat each may be sacrificed for each adult member of the household. Of course, even this is too much for many of the poorer Muslims, who sacrifice just one goat on behalf of the whole family. The meat of the sacrificed animals is cooked and people have their breakfast. Then they go round to meet and greet their friends. Delicacies and meat dishes are prepared in fairly large quantities and distributed among friends and relations.

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Village Festivals

In the foregoing pages we have briefly described the major family festivals of the Hindus and Muslims. Some of the Hindu festivals, particularly Dasara and Holi, are partly communal also, as at one stage the entire Hindu section of the village community participate in them. In the Dasara procession several Muslims also join in. Hindus do not spare their Muslim friends from the Holi colour-throwing. Similarly, Hindus co-operate in the Moharram procession of the Muslims. On the Id day Muslims meet all their friends—Muslim and Hindu alike. But there are some festivals which must be described as 'village festivals' as they do not occur in the regular religious calendar of the Hindus and Muslims; and are generally celebrated by the village community as a whole. The festivals of Pochamma, Batkamma and Maisamma are important celebrations in this category. Pochamma and Maisamma festivals are observed by the village as a whole. Batkamma festival is observed by the Hindu women of the village. The untouchable Mala and Madiga women who cannot join the groups of clean-caste women observe it separately. To these must be added the fair of Jalal Miyan which is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also.

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Pochamma Festival. The annual worship of Pochamma, the goddess of smallpox, is organized by the village community on a Thursday or Saturday in the month of Shravana. The actual day for the ceremony is fixed by the village elders in consultation with the Deshmukh and the Brahmin priest.

A day previous to the celebration the Madiga drum-beaters go round the village announcing the programme for the morrow and asking the people to get ready. The Kummaris clean the shrines of Pochamma, Mutyalamma and Mahakalamma. The Sakalis (washermen) whitewash them. Village youth construct small leaf sheds in front of the shrines. Wives of the Talaris (village menials) sweep and besmear with red earth the ground around these booths.

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Early next day people start making preparations for the worship. It is necessary that every family prepares its *bonam* for the day. For this they cook rice in a new earthenware pot obtained from the potter; remove all soot from the exterior of the pot, apply vermilion and turmeric paste to it on all sides, and then close its mouth. This decorated pot containing rice is known as *bonam.*

796 Most people prepare it in their homes; but some prefer to do so near the shrine itself.

Early in the afternoon the Madigas go to their own Pochamma shrine, which is near to but quite separate from that of the other shrine belonging to the rest of the community, and offer their *bonams* to the goddess. They worship her, and sacrifice goats, sheep and fowls. Some are possessed by the goddess at this time. But they have to hurry ~~back~~ as their presence is required for the procession of the other castes. In the meantime the Kummari (potter) who officiates as the village priest for this ceremony goes round the village collecting from every house oil for burning lamps near the shrine, and rice for preparing the *bonam* on behalf of the whole village. The rice thus collected is cooked by the Kummari women in a huge pot near the shrine.

An hour before the scheduled time for worship, the Madigas start beating their drums at a central place in the village. People start collecting there with their *bonams*. Some carry these on their heads; others take them to the shrine in bullock carts. The Madiga drum-beaters walk at the head of the procession, followed at some distance by the Deshmukh and other respectable people and village elders, and then by the common people of the village. By the time they reach the shrine some people are possessed by the goddess. At the shrine, the Kummari first offers rice from the common village *bonam* to the goddess. After doing this he withdraws himself from the scene for a short while to enable the Brahmin and the Komti to make offerings from their *bonams*. Then the Kummari firmly establishes himself as the priest, and offers rice from the *bonams* of all other castes. In this, precedence is given to superior castes in a very rigid way. One after another, castes lower to each other in the traditional hierarchy are called upon to come forward to make their offerings. Within a caste itself, people occupying a superior status in respect of their position in the village organization, age and wealth are given precedence over the less favourably placed members of their group. This often creates difficulties, and is instrumental in causing tensions and enmities between different castes or between different families of the same caste. Alongside the offerings of rice; goats, sheep and fowls are sacrificed on behalf of the different families. The Golla shepherds present a specified number of goats and sheep every year to the community which are now sacrificed on

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behalf of the entire village. The head and the forelimbs of the sacrificed animal are left in front of the shrine; the rest of it, along with the *bonam*, is carried home by each family, and when all the sacrifices are over the people return home and feast on the rice and meat. 796

Muslims also participate in this festival. They do not believe in any Hindu gods, but are as afraid of the village gods and goddesses as the Hindus. However, they do not participate in the worship; sacrifices on their behalf are made by the barber or the washerman.

Batkamma Festival. The first nine days of the month of Ashvina are observed as days of festivity with singing and dancing and the worship of Gauri by the Hindu women of the village. Women from the two highest castes, i.e. Brahmin and Komti, do not participate in the dancing, although on the last day they too go out for the final worship with the rest of the village women. Similarly, women from 'respectable' families refuse to join in the dance; and, being untouchables, Mala and Madiga women cannot join the clean-caste women in their dance. Thus the two highest and the two lowest castes keep away from the major part of these celebrations, and so also do the women from urbanized and respectable families. The mythological background of the festival is not clearly understood by anyone: all they know is that during this period Gauri, the wife of Shiva, was piqued by her husband, and that it is to please her that they dance. 796 562

For the first seven days women mostly dance in small groups in their respective living-quarters and lanes. On the last two days women from different quarters of the village form small parties of twelve to thirty and dance in front of all the important houses; for this they get small presents of grain or money. In the evening at about 4 p.m. they arrange various kinds of flowers into beautiful designs on their plates and proceed in a procession towards the tank. At this time Brahmin and Komti women also join them. Near the tank these plates containing flowers are placed on the ground in the centre and the women dance around them. In this dance the Brahmin and Komti women do not participate. When the dance is over the flowers are immersed in water. Then a small portion of a sweet dish prepared with gram and jaggery is also put in the water and the women return home. This is done 796

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196 on the eighth and ninth days, which are the last days of the festival.

Maisamma Festival. Maisamma protects the village boundaries and ensures the fertility of the fields. An elaborate ceremony is performed in her honour whenever the crops are very good and demand an expression of special gratitude. This festival is not an annual feature in the life of the community and is celebrated only every three or five years.

The days for the celebration are fixed by the village elders after mutual consultation and agreement. The details are often finalized by the village council, which also decides the basis on which subscriptions will be raised from the different families in the village. When there are only a few days left for the festival, preparations for it are taken in hand under the supervision of some enthusiastic youths. For this festival several castes living in the village have to make their special contributions. For example, the Kummaris contribute the earthen pots and officiate as the priest; the Sakalis (washermen) whitewash the Maisamma shrine; the Mangalis (barbers), along with the Sakalis, sacrifice the goats, sheep and fowls; the Wadlas (carpenters) contribute the flag-posts; the Kammaris (blacksmiths) provide the iron fitting to these posts; the Sale (weavers) give cloth for the flags; the Darzi tailors the flag; the Gaondlas (toddy-tappers) provide the fermented palm-juice required for the worship; the Gollas (shepherds) have to contribute the goats and sheep for sacrifice on behalf of the entire village; and finally the Madigas play their [262] musical instruments. The agriculturists provide the funds. Brahmins and Komtis, being vegetarians and averse to animal sacrifice, pay their share of the subscription, but otherwise keep away from the festival. The Muslims contribute towards its expenses and are present at the time of worship.

The festival lasts three days. On the first day an earthen pot is filled with fermented palm juice, marked with vermilion and turmeric, and carried in a procession to the Maisamma shrine to the accompaniment of Madiga drums and pipes. The Kummari officiating as the priest offers it to the goddess and distributes it later among the people present there. On the second day families of agriculturists, as well as some others, cook rice near the shrine and offer it to Maisamma. The third day is reserved for the final worship and for the making of sacrifices. People go in a procession

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to the shrine led by Madiga drum beaters. The Kummari burns incense, and sacrifices on behalf of the village the goats and sheep contributed by the Gollas. The animals are killed by the Sakali and the Mangali, but their heads and forelimbs are offered to the goddess by the Kummari. This is followed by sacrifices on behalf of families who, in fulfilment of a promise or in anticipation of a favour from the goddess, have brought a goat, sheep or fowl to be sacrificed. At this time some people become possessed by the goddess and go into a trance. Late in the evening the people return home and have a feast of rice, meat and other delicacies.

Urs of Jalal Miyan. Village Muslims have a tradition for holding semi-religious fairs in honour of holy persons who have had some association with their locality and who have given proof of their supernatural powers by doing some minor miracles. Every winter the Muslims of Shamirpet arrange a fair near the tomb of Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine. On the day of the fair a green cloth is spread on the tomb and green flags are hoisted near it. Shopkeepers from Shamirpet and nearby villages set up their shops on the open ground nearby. When people assemble there in the afternoon, incense is burnt near the tomb and flowers and food are offered to Jalal Miyan. The Mulla reads from the Muslim scriptures. If possible Muslim singers are invited from the city to sing religious songs. On this day also some persons are possessed. People having difficulties or some pressing problems seek remedies and solutions from those who are possessed by the spirit of Jalal Miyan. The fair sometimes includes a programme of country sports, acrobatic feats, singing by young men of the village, and even dramatic performances. Although it is primarily a Muslim fair, Hindus attend it in large numbers.

Analysis of this summary survey of the religious year in the community reveals that the Hindus and the Muslims have two practically independent ritual systems, which have very few points of contact. Muslims participate in the common village ritual, but they do not actually perform any worship. However, most of them share with the Hindus the general belief-pattern associated with these cults. On a social basis, the Muslims join in the Dasara procession of the Hindus; the latter join in the Muslims' Moharram procession. The two groups participate almost equally in Jalal Miyan's fair; but the Hindus do so not for a religious motive, but

796 563 for the sake of the fun that they expect to find in the fair. A closer examination of the Hindu festivals and ceremonies reveals that a large number of all-India Hindu festivals are observed in the community; but a good many of these are restricted to the 'twice 796 born' castes of the Brahmin and the Komti. Some of them are 564 observed by a few other higher castes, or often only by a few 'respectable' families in these castes. Ceremonies and worship connected with these festivals are conducted by the Brahmin in castes occupying a level higher than that of the Sakali and the Mangali (excluding the Panch Bramha group). The Sakali and the Mangali invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, or else they manage with a caste priest. While the Brahmin and the Komti, of all the castes, are most interested in a majority of the festivals of this category, in the common village ritual they are passive and distant observers. In the two major festivals of the village, which involve considerable inter-caste co-operation, it is the Kummari[1] who officiates as the priest and not the Brahmin. The bulk of Hindus celebrate relatively few of the all-India festivals with great enthusiasm, but it could be said that groups occupying higher rungs in the ladder of caste hierarchy are found to observe more of these festivals. In fact the higher the status of a caste the greater is the number of these that it observes; and thus we find the Komtis observing more of these festivals than any other Hindu caste, with the sole exception of the Brahmin who, being of a superior caste, observes a few festivals more than the Komti. The local village cults are still living and vital. In them the participation of the two highest castes is nominal; but that of the other castes complete. The Kapu group of agricultural castes occupying an intermediate position in the caste hierarchy participate in both sets of rituals with equal enthusiasm.

4. RITUAL OF THE LIFE CYCLE

184 561 The basic pattern of ceremonies connected with the major crises of life is the same in all sections of the Hindus in the village community; but in the minor details of the ritual there is considerable difference in the practices of different castes. More than this, even within a particular caste the rites and observances are not identical, for in some respects individual families have their own traditions. In the course of our field-work we found the catalogu-

1 [i.e., member of potter caste.--ANALYST]

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

reason they happen to be interested. In former times, as a general rule, the decisions of the village council were accepted unconditionally. Even to-day none can defy them openly, but often the cases are taken to superior law courts and factionalism within the council is exploited to get its decisions altered or modified.

In the traditional economic structure of the community the following characteristics were important:

(i) Occupation was determined by the caste of the individual.

(ii) Mobility was limited and people had great attachment to the settlement.

(iii) Different castes were integrated into the overall pattern of village economy on the basis of their functional specialization. For their co-operative labour payment was made in kind at the time of harvesting.

(iv) There was barter of occupational services between the various artisan and occupational castes.

It has already been pointed out that in the last few decades the occupational character of caste has undergone some modifications. In place of their traditional occupations people have started accepting other vocations. The traditional system of caste interdependence under which artisan and occupational castes attach themselves to the families of agriculturists is still there. But the attached labourers of untouchable castes are showing signs of discontent and figures for the last ten years show twenty-one migrations of Madiga families to the city. Barbers, washermen and carpenters also openly express preference for a basis of cash payment as that enables them to negotiate and bargain and puts an end to the uncertainty and occasional high-handedness of the employer under the old system. The traditional arrangements involving the barter of occupational services between artisan castes too is now gradually breaking down and is giving place to a basis of cash payment.

In the ritual structure of the community no significant variations have been found. Under the Muslim régime, Hindus co-operated in the public ceremonies of the Muslims. With the spread of the revivalist and reformist ideas of the Arya Samaj greater interest was taken in the Hinduism of the holy books. Preachers invited from the city added to the folklore of the people some fragments of traditional Hindu mythology. However, the regional cults as well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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755 776 782 private sacrifices are taken away by the offerers, and that of the public victim belongs to the headman of the village. The rice, fruit, etc., are distributed among the various officials. The function lasts from about ten a.m. to five p.m.

In the evening, a cart is brought to the image with nine pointed stakes standing upright in it, two at each of the four corners and one in the centre: on each stake a young pig, a lamb, or a fowl is impaled alive. A Mālā, called a *Pambala*, *i.e.* hereditary priest, then sits in the cart dressed in female attire, holding in his hand the clay image of the goddess which was made for the festival. The cart is dragged with ropes to the extreme boundary of the village lands, and both cart and ropes are left beyond the boundary. The Pambalas take away the animals, which all die during the procession, as their share of the offerings.

• 796 776 782 785 *Living animals impaled in many villages.* This cruel ceremony of impaling live animals is quite common in the eastern part of the Telugu country,[1] and I have come across it in many villages that I have visited. The Rev. F. N. Alexander, the veteran C.M.S. missionary, who lived over fifty years at Ellore, told me that he witnessed it in the town of Ellore the first year that he went there, and wrote a letter to the *Madras Mail* describing it. As a result of his letter, the practice was forbidden by the Government. So now at Ellore the animals are tied on to the stakes without being impaled; but in many villages near Ellore the custom still survives of impaling the unfortunate animals alive. Sometimes there are only four stakes on the cart, sometimes five, and sometimes more. It is not often that there are as many as nine. In one of the villages of the Kurnool district, I found that a similar barbarity was practised in connexion with the hook-swinging ceremony. On the fifth day of the festival in honour of Aṅkalamma, a large car is constructed, with an arrangement of poles projecting

[1] Cf. pp. 59, 65, 69.

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about 20 feet in the air. A sheep is then suspended from the pole by iron hooks fastened through the muscles of its back and a band round its middle, and swung round and round. Two or three of the older men in the village said that they had often seen men swing like this with iron hooks fastened into their backs,[1] and that it did not hurt. As soon as the sheep is swung up, buffaloes, sheep and goats are sacrificed, and the car is then dragged in procession through the village.

A cruel pig sacrifice. Sometimes, when there is cattle disease, a pig is buried up to its neck at the boundary of the village, a heap of boiled rice is deposited near the spot, and then all the cattle of the village are driven over the unhappy pig.[2] It is not the custom at Gudivada to sprinkle anything on the cattle as they pass over the poor animal, as is done elsewhere.

There is a remarkable parallel to this form of sacrifice in a description quoted by Mr. E. Thurston, in his *Ethnographical Notes in Southern India*,[3] of an ancient custom among the Lambadis, a wandering tribe of South India:

> "In former times, the Lambadis, before setting out on a journey, used to procure a little child and bury it in the ground up to its shoulders, and then drive their loaded bullocks over the unfortunate victim. In proportion to the bullocks thoroughly trampling the child to death, so their belief in a successful journey increased."

It is possible that this custom of driving the cattle over the head of a buried pig may be connected with the worship of an agricultural goddess, since in ancient Greece the pig was sacred to agricultural deities, *e.g.* Aphrodite, Adonis, and Demeter; but it may also be a survival of some former custom of infanticide or human sacrifice such as prevailed among the Lambadis.

An old man in the Kurnool district once described to me the account that he had received from his fore-

[1] This is the practice in the Hindu *dola-jātra*, swing-festival, celebrated in honour of Durgā, the wife of Śiva. Cf pp. 61, 76, 82, 83.

[2] See p. 53, 60.

[3] P. 507.

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fathers of the ceremonies observed when founding a new village. An auspicious site is selected and an auspicious day, and then in the centre of the site is dug a large hole, in which are placed different kinds of grain, small pieces of the five metals, gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead, and a large stone, called *boddu-rayee*, *i.e.* navel-stone, standing about three and a half feet above the ground, very like the ordinary boundary stones seen in the fields. And then, at the entrance of the village, in the centre of the main street, where most of the cattle pass in and out on their way to and from the fields, they dig another hole and bury a pig alive. This ceremony would be quite consistent with either of the explanations suggested as to the origin of pig-burying. The pig may be buried at the entrance to the village as the emblem of fertility and strength, to secure the prosperity of the agricultural community, the fertility of the fields, and the health and fecundity of the cattle. Or it may equally be a substitute for an original human sacrifice. The idea that a new building or institution must be inaugurated by the sacrifice of a human life is very common all over India. To this day there is often a panic among the villagers who live near the banks of a river where a bridge is about to be built, because they think that one or more of their babies are sure to be required to bury under the foundations of the first pier. On one of my visits to Kalasapad, in the Cuddapah district, the missionary told me that, when a new ward was opened for their local mission dispensary, no one would go into it, because the people imagined that the first to go in would be the needful sacrifice. Their fears were allayed by a religious service at the opening of the ward; but had it been a Hindu hospital, probably a goat or a sheep would have been killed as a substitute for the human victim.

The idea of substitution, too, is quite common in India. In the hook-swinging ceremony described above,[1]

[1] P. 59.

it is common both in the Telugu and Tamil districts to substitute a sheep for a man, and to fasten the iron hooks in the muscles of its back.

Alleged infanticide among Todas. I have been told that, among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, it was formerly the custom to place female children, whom it was not desired to rear, on the ground at the entrance of the mund, *i.e.* a group of huts, and drive buffaloes over them. If they survived this ordeal, they were allowed to live.

It is only fair to add that the Todas themselves deny that this custom ever existed. To quote Mr. Thurston again:[1]

"The practice of infanticide, as it prevailed among the Todas of the Nilgiris, is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall (*A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, 1873): 'I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (*putkūli*), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? Those tell lies who say we laid it before the open buffalo-pen so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears and mouth with a cloth thus (here pantomimic action). It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The kelachi got a present of four annas (4d.) for the deed.' The old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance of a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not."

Masulipatam. At Masulipatam, where ceremonies are performed very similar to those at Gudivada

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

782 of sacrifice. As soon as the victim is killed, the offerer dips his finger in the blood and puts it on his own forehead.

776 796 The annual festival of this goddess[1] lasts for a whole month, ending on the New Year's day of the Telugu calendar. During this festival the procession of pots is observed with special ceremony. Six brass pots, each about two feet high, with the figure of a cobra springing from below the neck and rising over the mouth of the pot, are draped with women's cloths and carried round the town on men's head. Nothing is put inside them, but, as they go round, the women of each house come out, pour water on the feet of the bearers, and make offerings of rice and fruit. These are solemnly presented to the pots by the bearers, and some powder is applied to the two small feet that project at the base of each pot, and form a sort of frame fitting on the bearer's head. The bearer then takes a little of the turmeric powder, that is already on the foot of the pot, and puts it into the dish in which the offering was brought, with a few margosa leaves from a bundle that he carries with him. The dish is returned to the woman who offered the gifts, which become the property of the pūjārī. The women and children of the family mark their foreheads with the turmeric, and put the margosa leaves in their hair. This is called *Amma-vari-Prasādam*.[1] As they go round, the pūjārīs dance to the sound of tom-toms.

776 796 241 On the last day of the festival, when a buffalo is sacrificed, a curious ceremony takes place which is said to be very common in the villages of this district. After the head is cut off by the vetty,[2] who is a Mādigā, the blood is collected in a basin and nine kinds of grain and *gram*[3] are put into it. The basin is then put before the idol inside the shrine, and the

[1] The turmeric and the margosa leaves are a gift of grace (Sanskrit *prasāda*, grace) from the goddess. Food and water from the table of a Hindu god given to the worshippers in the temple are called *prasāda*.

[2] See above p. 56. [3] *Gram* is coarse lentils.

[1] [i.e. Nukalamma, at Cocanada -- Analyst]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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doors of the shrine are kept shut for three days. On the fourth day the doors are opened, the coagulated mass of blood, grain, and gram is carefully washed, and the grain and gram are separated on the ground behind the shrine, in order to see which of the various kinds of grain has sprouted. All the ryots eagerly assemble to watch the result, and whichever is found to have sprouted, is regarded as marked out by the goddess as the right kind of grain to sow that year. This method of determining which crop to sow is common in both the Godavari and Masulipatam districts. In these sacrifices to Nukalamma, too, the application of the blood is specially noticeable. As soon as the victim is killed, a small quantity of the blood is smeared on the sides of the door-posts of the shrine; the deputy-pūjārī dips his finger in the blood and applies it to his forehead; then all the other people present do the same; and afterwards some boiled rice and some turmeric powder are mixed with the blood, and a little of the mixture is sprinkled on the head of the Mādigā who holds the basin to catch the blood.

When an epidemic of cholera breaks out, another goddess, called Maridiamma, is installed in the place of the Nukalamma. A log of margosa wood, about three feet high and six inches in diameter, is cut and roughly carved at the top into the shape of a head, and then fixed in the ground with a pandal of leaves and cloths over it. Then the procession of the earthen pot half filled with buttermilk and rice is conducted, very much in the same way as at Masulipatam,[1] every day till the epidemic subsides. After that, some ten or twelve small carts are made, about six feet square, with three pointed stakes standing up on each side, on which live animals are impaled, as in other parts of the Telugu country.[2] The carts are partly filled with boiled rice and curry stuff prepared at the shrine, the blood of the victims sacrificed being poured over the rice. I was told that live animals were only impaled if a cart did

[1] See p. 62 above. [2] See p. 58 above.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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not move properly as it was dragged to the boundary, since that is regarded as a sign that the goddess is angry and needs to be appeased.

Ellore. The number of victims slaughtered at some of these festivals is enormous. At Ellore, which is a town of considerable size and importance, I was told that at the annual festival of Mahālakshmī about a thousand animals are killed in one day, rich people sending as many as twenty or thirty. The blood then flows down into the fields behind the place of sacrifice in a regular flood, and carts full of sand are brought to cover up what remains on the spot. The heads are piled up in a heap about fifteen feet high in front of the shrine, and a large earthen basin about one-and-a-half feet in diameter is then filled with gingelly oil and put on the top of the heap, a thick cotton wick being placed in the basin and lighted. The animals are all worshipped with the usual *namaskāram*, *i.e.* folded hands raised to the forehead, before they are killed. This slaughter of victims goes on all day.

At midnight about twenty or twenty-five buffaloes are sacrificed. Their heads are cut off by a Mādigā pūjārī and with their carcasses are thrown upon large heaps of rice which have been presented to the goddess, till the rice is soaked with blood.

The subsequent ceremonies illustrate again the varieties of local custom. The rice is collected in about ten or fifteen large baskets, and, instead of being carried by a Mādigā, is carried on a large cart drawn by buffaloes or bullocks, with the Mādigā pūjārī seated on it. As the cart moves along, Mādigās sprinkle the rice on the streets and on the walls of the houses shouting "Poli! Poli!" ("Food! Food!"). A large body of men of different castes, Śūdras, Kommas, and Outcastes, go with the procession: but only the Mādigās and Mālās (the two sections of the Outcastes) shout "Poli," the rest following in silence. They have only two or three torches to show them the way, and no tom-toms nor music. Apparently the idea is that, if they make a noise or display a blaze of light, they will attract the evil spirits,

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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who will swoop down on them and do them some injury; 796
though in other villages it is supposed that a great deal 776
of noise and flourishing of sticks will keep the evil 782
spirits at bay. Before this procession starts, the heads of the buffaloes are placed in front of the shrine, with the right foreleg in the mouth, the fat from the entrails smeared about half an inch thick over the whole face, and a large earthen lamp on the top of each head. The Pambalas[1] play tom-toms and chant a long story about Gaṅgamma till daybreak. About eight a.m. they put the buffalo heads with the lighted lamps upon them into separate baskets; and these are carried in procession through the town to the sound of tom-toms. All castes follow, shouting and singing. In former [579]
times, I was told, there was a good deal of fighting and disturbance during this procession, but now the police maintain order. When the procession arrives at the municipal limits, the heads are thrown over the boundary, and left there. The people then all bathe in the canal and return home.

On the last day of the festival, which, I may remark, lasts for about three months, a small cart is made of margosa wood and a stake is fixed at each of the four corners. A pig and a fowl are tied to each stake, while a fruit, called *dubakaya*, is impaled on it instead of the animal. A yellow cloth, sprinkled with the blood of the buffaloes, is tied round the sides of the cart, and some margosa leaves are tied round the cloth. A Pambala sits on the cart, to which are fastened two large ropes, each about 200 yards long. Then men of all castes, without distinction, lay hold of the ropes and drag the cart round the town to the sound of tom-toms and music. Finally it is brought outside the municipal limits and left there, the Outcastes taking away the animals and fruits.

Sometimes, I was told, animals are sacrificed to Gaṅgamma by the people in Ellore in the courtyards of their own houses. They then clean the wall of

[1] See p. 58 above.

25: Whitehead · M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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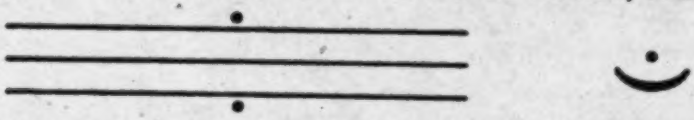
the house outside with cow-dung and make three horizontal lines with kunkuma (a red paste of turmeric and lime), with a dot above and below, and a semi-circle on the right side with a dot in the middle, thus:—



The symbol on the right represents the sun and moon: that on the left is the Śaivite sectarian mark. They sacrifice to these symbols sheep, goats, and fowls. It is curious that, in these private sacrifices at home, they pour water on the sheep and goats to see whether they shiver, as a sign of acceptance,[1] though this is not done in the public sacrifices at Ellore.

Dharmaja-Gudem, near Ellore. At a village called Dharmaja-Gudem, about sixteen miles from Ellore, while the main features of the festivals are the same as those found elsewhere, there are two or three peculiarities, which deserve notice. The ordinary grāma-devatās of the village are Ellaramma, Gaṅgamma, Mutyalamma, and Ravelamma, who are represented by four stone pillars about six feet high, with figures of women carved on them, standing in an open field on the outskirts of the village: but when an epidemic breaks out, Mutyalamma, Gaṅgamma, Aṅkamma and Mahālakshmīamma are the deities propitiated, and special images are made of them. Those of the first three are made of clay, but that of Mahālakshmīamma is made of turmeric kneaded into a paste. Then, again, it is noticeable that a Brāhman acts as pūjārī of Mahālakshmī, a washerman as pūjārī of Gaṅgamma, and a potter as pūjārī of Aṅkamma. The Brāhman pūjārī presides over the worship for the greater part of the festival, which lasts for about three months, and during that time the people come almost every day and offer flowers, fruits, cocoanuts, camphor and incense, but no animal sacrifices. All this time, too, some nautch-

[1] See p. 55 above.

All this time[1] too, some nautch—
girls come and dance in a booth erected in front of the 796
image and work themselves up into a state of frenzy, 776
during which they are supposed to be inspired by the 782
deities, and utter oracles to the worshippers. When 786
the epidemic begins to abate, the Brāhman pūjārī
closes his part of the proceedings and departs.

Then, on that afternoon and evening, animal sacri- [787]
fices are offered under the booth. On the first animal
killed, which is generally a goat, water is poured from
a brass vessel, to see if it shivers.[1] If it does, it is
taken as a good omen that the goddess is propitiated
and the disease will disappear. Then other animals are
brought and, in accordance with a very common division
of functions in the Telugu country, a washerman kills
the sheep, goats, and fowls, and a Mādigā the buffaloes.
The heads of the sheep and goats, as well as of the
buffaloes, have the right forelegs put crosswise in the
mouths, the faces smeared with fat from the entrails,
and a lighted lamp placed above them. The blood is
caught in a basket full of boiled rice, and the rice and
blood are sprinkled round the village, while a Mādigā
carries on his own head the head of a buffalo exactly as
is done elsewhere. Here, too, great care is taken to
prevent any person from another village taking away
any of the rice and blood, lest the other village should
get all the benefit of the sacrifice, and evils of all kinds
descend on the unhappy villagers who have offered it.
The ceremony of impaling live animals on stakes fixed
round a wooden car,[2] and dragging them off to the
boundary of the village is also practised here.

Bhīmadole, near Ellore. At another village, called 241
Bhīmadole, about twenty miles from Ellore, I came 776
across one of the few instances I have met with of any 782
direct connexion between the harvest and the worship 796
of a village goddess. There is an annual festival held
there about harvest time, in November or December,
lasting one day, which is always a Tuesday. About half
a ton of rice is boiled in the middle of the village, taken

[1] See page 55. [2] See p. 58.

[see cat 116, p 68 -- ANALYST]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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776 to the shrine and presented in a heap before the image,
796 with a lighted lamp on the top of it, made of rice flour
241 kneaded into a paste, and holding about one pint of oil.[1]
782 Some toddy is poured on the ground to the east of the rice by the washerman; incense and camphor are burnt; while the people make namaskāram (salutation with folded hands raised to the forehead) to the image. As many as two hundred sheep and goats are then killed, and fowls are brought by the poorer people. In this festival, the rice soaked in the blood of the victims is not sprinkled on the streets of the village nor over the houses, but each ryot gives a handful of it to one of his field servants (an Outcaste), who takes and sprinkles it over his master's fields. Three handfuls of the crop are cut on the same day to inaugurate the harvest. No buffaloes are sacrificed during this festival.

755 On the other hand, when an epidemic breaks
776 out, there is a special festival, in which five or six buffaloes
782 are sacrificed as well as about three hundred sheep and goats. The buffaloes are killed last of all. One special buffalo, called *Pedda-Veta*, great sacrifice, is reserved to the end, and killed at about ten p.m. Nothing special is done with the blood of the other buffaloes nor with that of the sheep and goats, but the blood of the Pedda-Veta is allowed to flow on to some of the rice, as soon as the head is severed, and both head and carcass are placed upon the rice heap. The head, as usual, has the right foreleg put in the mouth, with fat smeared over the face and a lighted lamp above it.

At about eleven p.m. the head is carried by aMālā, not by a Mādigā in this village, on his own head three times round the boundaries of the village site, and the rice soaked in blood is sprinkled by the Mālās on the ground, as they go, and on any cattle they happen to meet, accompanied by the same weird and excited procession as elsewhere.

778 The illustration facing this page represents a shrine of Poshamma, a goddess worshipped by the Mālās. On the top of the shrine stands an earthenware lamp.

[1] See p. 39.

[P 71]

CHAPTER V

MODES OF WORSHIP IN THE CANARESE COUNTRY

171 THE Canarese are closely allied ethnologically to the Telugus,[1] and we should naturally expect, therefore, to find a close connexion between the ceremonies used by the two peoples in the worship of their village goddesses. A brief account of the ceremonies used in different parts of the Canarese country will show how far this is actually the case.

776 796 *Bellary District.* In the Bellary district Durgamma,[1] Sunkalamma, and Uramma are very commonly worshipped. Uramma means simply the village goddess, and is equivalent to the general term grāma-devatā. Her festival is not celebrated annually, but when there is a specially good crop, or when cholera or plague break out. The following account of it was given me by an Asādi of a village near Bellary, and may be taken as describing fairly the general type of such festivals and sacrifices throughout the district.

776 755 772 We will suppose that cholera has broken out in the village. The villagers then make vows to offer the sacrifice if the epidemic ceases. The day appointed for the festival is invariably a Tuesday, and on the previous Tuesday a basin-shaped earthen lamp, filled with oil and furnished with a stout cotton wick, is placed in the house of the *Reddy* (village magistrate) and kept lighted till the festival and all the ceremonies are ended. The carpenter, also, prepares beforehand a wooden image of the goddess and a small cart, while

[1] Durgā is one of the many names of Kālī, the wife of Śiva.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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361 489 station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

465 [804] *Economic condition.*—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

435 Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures for a rupee
Ragi	...	...	...	10 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	...	10 " "
Cholam	...	...	...	9 " "
Tamarind		...	...	As. 2–6 per viss.*
Jaggery	...	...	...	As. 6 "
Chillies	...	...	...	As. 8 "

426 The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

[452] There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

435 Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

•796 *Expenditure on religious festivals.*—At one annual festival, called Paleti Gangamma Jathara, about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 are spent. Nothing has been spent on new temples in recent years and no advantage is taken of the Agricultural Loans Act.

164 [759] [743] *Sanitary condition.*—Neither malaria, cholera, plague nor small-pox are prevalent. For ordinary ailments people get themselves treated by two native doctors in Kandur, two others in Somala at a distance of 4 miles and one other there in the village itself. For more serious diseases people have recourse to the hospitals at Sodam at a distance of 12 miles, or at Vayalpad or Piler, at distances of about 20 miles.

562 Though there are two Muhammadan families they do not observe purdah.

364 Night-soil is not allowed to accumulate in the village, but the sullage water is allowed to sink into the ground in every house. In some houses there are cesspools where this collects, and pollutes the air around.

312 For drinking purposes water is got out of a well about half a furlong from the end of the village nearest to it. For other domestic purposes, only two houses, one Brahman and one Kapu, have wells in their backyards. All the others get water from the well above mentioned for all purposes. The water in the two wells mentioned is brackish.

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* It follows that one local measure of paddy weighs about 1¾ lb.; of rice, ragi, sazzalu or cholam about 1¾ lb. A viss in Madras is a little over 3 lb.—Ed.

† In 1917 there were good rains—vide under Gownipalle, Festivals.

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Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

Festivals.—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gownipalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

Sanitary condition.—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.

All Muhammadans observe purdah.

Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

Education.—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

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very close to the human inmates. Rubbish and cow-dung are stored up in front of the houses, while in rainy seasons the whole becomes a stagnant pool of water, rubbish and cow-dung. 511 356

The houses of the Pariahs are filled with an awful smell of skins, bones and putrid flesh. The insufficiency of food that they suffer from tempts them to fill their bellies with toddy and other stimulants that ultimately ruin their health.

The Sudras are perfectly temperate and simple in habits and food. The "twice-born" castes are bound to marry their girls before twelve. The lower castes are not bound to do so. But the Sudras and lower castes actually marry their girls at a very early age, both to satisfy the anxiety of elders and for fear they may not have the money afterwards. I know a case in which a girl two months old was married to a boy of two years, the boy dying a year later of cholera. They maintain strict widowhood like the Brahmans. There is no purdah. 582

The villagers bathe and wash clothes and also wash their cattle in the same tank as that used for drinking. 515

Education.—There is one school; its accommodation and equipment being a rented house, an atlas, a globe, text books, some pictures of common objects, civics primers, dumb-bells, a black board, a desk, benches for boys to sit upon. 871

Elementary education is given up to the fourth standard, in the vernacular, in history, arithmetic, geography, civics, etc. This education is most unpractical and incomplete and ill-suited to the villagers, who do not proceed to college classes. It does not enable them to read good books in Telugu or to learn even the elementary principles of sanitation. They are never made to feel that they are citizens of a world, or an empire, or a province, outside the narrow bounds of their village.

Attendance—	Boys.	Girls.
1913	19	4
1914	9	3
1915	45	12
1916	54	8
1917	48	6

About 30 per cent of the adults can read the vernacular; two persons can read and talk English. There is a noted musician in the village but no other pandit. Not less than 25 or 30 per cent of those who have passed through the school have lost their capacity to write or cipher after leaving. One boy has proceeded to the Mechanical Engineering course in the Victoria Technical Institute, Bombay; another to the Arts course in the Madras University. [191]

There are 90 to 100 books, of which 70 are owned by Brahmans, made up of novels, dramas, puranas, the Mahabharata and stories. Among the Sudras, a development of literary taste, though in a very small degree, is perceptible. There are many devotional songs and lives of Telugu saints, while stories of the epics rendered into songs and recited by "Bhagavathars" are very frequent. The latest innovation is the introduction of dramas. Novels are still a rarity, as well as histories. No newspaper comes to the village. 538

The village has no temple except that of the village goddess. Her festival is celebrated with much slaughter of cattle and goats given by their owners whenever there is an outbreak of cholera or small-pox; or, failing these, once in four or five years. The cost is 796

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796 from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150, largely spent on drink. The priests of the goddess are low caste people, chiefly the washerman caste. They get new cloths as presents. The whole celebration is barbarous and repulsive.

624 *The village administration.*—There is no panchayat in the village. The village officers consist of a karnam, a munsif, and three servants. The karnam keeps the village accounts, while the munsif collects the revenue and attends to small criminal cases. The munsif does not generally care to try civil cases even within his province; they all go to the District Munsif's court.

364 Nobody attends to the village sanitation, though the munsif is expected to do so. The villagers too do not care to help him in his work. The Sanitary Inspector comes once in a year, and quietly goes away with satisfactory remarks from the easy chair in his note book. He being the one officer for two or three taluks, cannot pay much attention to one taluk in particular; besides he also has engineering work.

625 The police station is seven miles away. When crimes of extraordinary nature take place, the munsif reports the same to the police, who come and conduct enquiries. Most of the crimes are hushed up. Police enquiry is a sham. So is the night patrolling, which is the duty of the village servants.

692 The munsif is expected to hear petty crimes; but many cases
696 that might have been decided here go to the Magistrate's court. Many crimes have been left undetected, and the criminals unpunished, crimes which were horrible and plainly proved. As locally interpreted, the effect of the Evidence Act is such as to render the most proved case null and void for "want of proper evidence." When a murderer once escapes easily from punishment, another is at once encouraged. All the villagers know that it is these considerations that encouraged a man engaged in litigation to murder another who was about to give evidence against him. That case went unpunished. Such is the case with most murders. In fact, most men engaged in important litigation are afraid for their
674 lives in this village. In three years there have been four murders in the neighbourhood of the village, two killed in connection with litigation and two in connection with robbery from the person.

691 There is much litigation. About 45 cases are filed every year. Of these twenty to twenty-five will be for non-clearance of debts, and fifteen to twenty for land disputes. The villagers do not seem to show any hesitation or fear in resorting to the courts. The half educated Brahman in the village, acting as an agent for a vakil, with no other profession, tries to earn his livelihood by creating enmity and disputes among ignorant families and dragging them to the courts. Thus several families which were once considered very rich have been ruined. One family of Komatis, for example, with a property of about Rs. 20,000, was sued by some relations for a partition of the estate. The Vaisya refused all compromise in the earlier courts, pursued the case at enormous expense through the three courts, till he finally lost the whole estate in the High Court. In the end, the family of twelve children, with not an inch of land for support, and no means of liquidating the debts contracted for the court expenses, have sold their big house and gone away to the Agency tracts as beggars to fill their bellies. There are many families in the village similarly ruined.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

bath or wash is necessary to remove the impurity caused by the act. Non-observance of these rules will have a polluting effect; and according to the nature and degree of pollution purificatory rites will have to be undertaken.

Belief in ghosts and spirits is universal. They are feared and propitiated. Strange mystical power pervading certain objects is recognized, and fetishes and amulets are eagerly sought. Witchcraft is often suspected, and three or four people in the community are believed to possess magical powers.

Clearly, Hinduism as it is practised in the village is not the Hinduism of the classical philosophical systems of India, for it possesses neither the metaphysical heights nor the abstract content of the latter. It is a religion of fasts, feasts and festivals, in which prescribed rituals cover all the major crises of life. Worship and propitiation of gods and spirits follow the annual round of festivals and the ritual of the human life-cycle. Disease and difficulty may also necessitate invoking assistance from these sources.

In early childhood religious instruction through legendary tales and anecdotes exercises its influence on the developing mind of the child in whose thoughts and world of fancy these ideas linger on. Youth brings in its wake a more worldly and materialistic outlook towards life and its pleasures. Thoughts are turned to religion when the evening of life approaches, partly to postpone the final moment of departure as long as it could be, and partly to ensure the future lying beyond the point of death. Analysis of life-histories reveals that spiritualism cannot be said to be the keynote in the life of the community; far from it the religion appears to be a practical one. It strengthens and fortifies the individual and the group in situations where technical competence and practical intelligence are of no avail, and at the same time acts as a bond of cohesion for maintaining the structural unity of the society.

2. BELIEF: GODS AND DEITIES

The Muslims believe in one God, and follow the way of life laid down for them by their Prophet. They all belong to the Sunni division, and as such differ from the Shias and other splinter divisions of Islam in respect of the interpretation of their holy book as well as in several details of belief, ritual and ceremonial. Almost all the Muslims of Shamirpet have been converted to Islam from Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations.

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Hindus
Muslims

779 Muslim State, the Hindus had their revenge by pouring scorn
798 openly on Muslim religion and society. It was now the turn of the Muslims to observe silence, and tolerate humiliation and insults. At the time of our investigations, however, most of these passions had subsided, and no significant tensions were observed. As groups both Hindus and Muslims regard themselves as superior
[564] in point of religion. From the socio-economic point of view the Muslims can be regarded as an exclusive caste whose social standing is roughly equal to that of the agricultural castes.

564 Caste as a factor of social differentiation is more significant. It has been pointed out that in its structure, the caste system has definitely a hierarchical character. Between the highest and the lowest castes, there are several intermediate levels. The social status of a person is largely determined by his caste. The mere fact of birth in a particular caste gives a good initial start to some and puts obstacles in the way of others. In a subsequent chapter I propose to examine some of the stereotypes current in the village community regarding the qualities and characteristics of different castes; but notwithstanding these the relative position of the different castes in the village community is determined by the traditional scale.

554 Religion and caste are more or less fixed and permanent factors. While change of faith is possible, and under certain circumstances a person can even descend from one of the higher castes to the lowest, such changes are very rare. At any rate no one takes recourse to them to bring about a change in his social status.
[771] The only case of change of faith recorded by us in the village is that of the present headmaster of the school who was a Brahmin to begin with, but later embraced Islam. No case of change of caste came to our notice.

556 In a predominantly agricultural society it is natural to expect that possession of land and cattle would contribute greatly to an individual's social status. Birth into a family of landowners ensures that a person will grow up to be a respected member of the village community. Acquisition of land would very materially affect the social position even of a person of humble birth, and if he does not behave tactlessly it would greatly enhance his prestige. An untouchable Mala peasant is now counted among the influential cultivators of the village and is given a place of honour in its counsels. He is still an untouchable and would continue to remain

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus
Muslims

and then ask him to do a thing, a Madiga will never refuse. Ask him to do something in soft words and he will have a thousand excuses ready.'

Although Shamirpet has maintained, even in the worst years of communal tension, a fairly honourable record of communal harmony and the relations between the Hindu and the Muslim sections of the village population have been cordial in every sense, the two communities have some generalized notions about the inherent qualities and attributes of each other. The Hindus will say, 'The untouchables are impure, but Muslims are poisonous. If you touch a Madiga you may have to sever only the finger with which you touched him, but if you touch a Muslim you will have to cut off the arm itself.' 'The Muslims are good only in two things —they eat and copulate like beasts. Who else except a Muslim would ever think of going to bed with his uncle's daughter, who is next only to his real sister.' The Muslims are regarded as showy and ostentatious. 'A Muslim will eat stale rice inside his house, but when coming out he will apply some clarified butter to his lips. Then he will belch loudly and say, "How much fried rice and meat have I eaten to-day".' With regard to conversion to Islam the Hindus often say, 'A Hindu untouchable of yesterday becomes a Muslim to-day; and to-morrow he will start proclaiming that his forefathers lived in Arabia!' The Muslims, having for generations prided themselves as the ruling race of Hyderabad, tend to look down upon the Hindus, and make fun of their numerous gods and superstitious beliefs. On the whole the Muslims regard the other community as 'cowardly and mean'. But the recent changes in the political fortunes of the State, resulting in the end of Muslim rule, have had a sobering effect on the Muslims, and now they do not take the offensive against their Hindu neighbours, as some of them very commonly did in the period preceding the Police Action of 1948.

I have pointed out earlier that most of these stereotypes find expression in jest and banter, and occasionally in outbursts of anger. While each caste seeks to proclaim and prove its own superiority in some respect it invariably holds some generalized notions, such as those described above, about the inherent qualities of the other castes. It is believed that there can be individual exceptions to the rule, but regarding the castes themselves these stereotypes are valid. However, very few of these notions influence

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Mus...
Hindu...

CHAPTER SIX

The Levels of Living

I. STATUS DIFFERENTIATION IN THE COMMUNITY

Six major factors contribute towards status differentiation in the village community of Shamirpet. They are:

i. Religion and caste.
ii. Landownership.
iii. Wealth.
iv. Position in government service and village organization.
v. Age.
vi. Distinctive personality traits.

Religion divides the community into two distinct groups: the Hindus and Muslims, standing out in marked contrast to each other. Hinduism is the older and longer established religion, and the majority of people in the village are Hindus. The Muslim group is largely composed of local converts, drawn from a number of castes—high and low. The Hindus naturally have a feeling of superiority regarding their religious faith and its antiquity, and do not view with favour the indiscriminate mixing of different castes in the Muslim community. But until 1948 they could not express these feelings openly as the Muslims had the backing of the State administration. The State was under Muslim rule, and being of the 'ruling race' the village Muslims were naturally in an advantageous position. They claimed superiority over the Hindus, and tried to dominate the village scene. While practical considerations forced the Hindus to remain silent, the Muslims aggressively denounced them as heathens. It had its reaction: after the Police Action, when Hyderabad was no longer a feudal

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Hindus
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I have pointed out earlier that most of these stereotypes find expression in jest and banter, and occasionally in outbursts of anger. While each caste seeks to proclaim and prove its own superiority in some respect it invariably holds some generalized notions, such as those described above, about the inherent qualities of the other castes. It is believed that there can be individual exceptions to the rule, but regarding the castes themselves these stereotypes are valid. However, very few of these notions influence

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zamindari tenant supplies two pairs of bulls, one-eighth goes to the cultivator.

In the case of sugarcane, the cultivator gets 1½ shares and the zamindari tenant only one. If the sub-tenant cultivates on contract, the cultivator must give two maunds of jaggery for every 2½ cents of land planted with sugarcane.*

Of the agricultural families, all the males cultivate some land and also work for hire. There are two females, however, who do not cultivate, of whom one lives on charity and the other by working as a coolie.

Of the lands which are called "Sirkar" there is only one kind of ownership and holders of such land are called pattadars.

As regards lands designated "inam" lands there are slight differences. The inamdars pay, instead of the full rent, what are called quit-rents and road-cess.

There are five villagers who combine agriculture with other occupations. One is a blacksmith, the other a potter, the third prepares combs, and two others are dhobis. The sub-tenants mentioned above also do the work of coolies between harvest and sowing time.

Agriculture.—All dry lands yield only one crop per annum. Wet lands yield two crops. No land yields three crops.

For millets and pulses, the land is ploughed after a shower of rain when it is soft. Generally June or July is seed time. After a time when the plants sprout up the fields are weeded. After that four or five good showers of rain are needed. Then when the corn is ripe, it is cut and piled in bundles. The bundles are trod upon by bulls and the corn drops out.

For paddy the harvest time is November for the first crop, for which seed is sown in June or July; April and May for the second crop, for which seed is sown in December or January. When there is sufficient water the paddy fields are flooded with water and then ploughed till they become miry. Afterwards, green leaf manure (generally kanaga leaves) and animal manure are spread and well trodden in. Before planting paddy is steeped in cow-dung water in pots, which water is renewed every day. After four or five days the plants sprout up and then they are removed from the pots and placed in the prepared fields. After they are thus planted the fields are again flooded with water. But the water is allowed to remain for a day only. The next day it is let out and the fields are allowed to dry for three days when the plants are of some size. From that time onwards till the corn is ripe water is allowed to flow freely on the fields. When it is ripe it is harvested. Then it is cut, heaped in bundles, struck against a bed of rock when the grain falls out which is all collected and taken home.

Sugarcane.—The land is well ploughed, but unlike paddy is not made miry at first. Long trenches of comparatively little depth are made by means of the ploughshare. Then the field is well manured, and water is let in till it becomes miry. The sugarcane already cut in small pieces is planted in these trenches. No water is let in on that day. After an interval of three days water

*[This must be taken to mean, not the Railway or Bengal maund of 82⅔ lb., but a local maund of 26 lb. very nearly. The rent in jaggery is therefore nearly one ton per acre, worth about Rs. 150.—Ed.]

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station is Kalikiri, at a distance of 10 miles. The nearest commercial centres are Kandur and Kalikiri, where grain, tamarind and jaggery are sold in large quantities.

Economic condition.—The customary rates of wages are—in money—men 3 annas per day; women 2 annas per day; in kind—three measures of paddy or ragi per day and a small quantity of food in the afternoon. The measure is half a Madras measure.*

Or a man may be given two annas and a meal.

Current prices—

Rice	...	...	...	8 local measures	for a rupee
Ragi	...	...	...	10	" "
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The village debt is estimated at Rs. 2,000.

There have been no good rains for the past three or four years and consequently there have been successive failures of crops. The ryot has therefore been obliged to borrow money for buying bulls, and grain, and to enable him to pay his rent. For these reasons there is much indebtedness in the village.†

There are only two families who have liberated themselves to a small extent from debt once incurred.

There is no Co-operative Credit Society.

Wet lands sell at Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000 per acre, dry lands at Rs. 40 to Rs. 60. It is only recently that the prices have gone up. Formerly they were selling at a lower rate, the maximum rate being about Rs. 500 per acre. The rise in price is due to the fact that there are more ryots than land and demand is unsatisfied.

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implements are bought chiefly in Chintamani, about 18 miles off, and also at Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off. 438

Articles of consumption are bought at the weekly fair held here on Tuesdays, also in Chintamani, Kothakota and some other places.

Sale of village produce.—The quantities produced here are: paddy 500 puttis,* ragi 200, † sugarcane to the value of about Rs. 1,500, other millets and pulses to the value of about Rs. 1,000. 433 [801]

Out of this whatever is required for household purposes is retained. The rest, more than 50 per cent, is sold away. The nearest market is Chintamani. Sometimes the grain is transported to Bangalore also.

There are about three local roads, one from Gownipalle to Addegal, a village 4 miles off, one from the village to Manchinillakota, a village 6 miles off, and the other up to Todigol, 6 miles off. Another short road running for three miles runs up to the Mysore frontier. On the other side is British territory and there is no road further up. The local road to Tadigol connects with the Bangalore-Cuddapah road. The nearest commercial centres are Chintamani and Bangalore, accessible by the said road. The nearest railway station is Srinivasapur, about 14 miles off, reached by road. 491 361 [498]

The fair that takes place here every week is a big affair. People from very different parts come here. The fair is nominally held on Tuesday, but it generally extends from Monday to Wednesday. The chief business is carried on in stock, especially sheep and goats. Business in these is carried on to the extent of Rs. 4,000. They are chiefly sent to the Kolar Goldfields for slaughter and consumption. 543 438

Economic condition of village.—The customary rates of wages, in money, are from 2 to 3 annas per day, for a man; and 1½ annas for a woman; in kind, 2 seers of ragi, or 3 seers of paddy to a man, 1½ seers of ragi or 2 seers of paddy to a woman. 465

The current prices of staple foods are— 435

Rice	...	...	8 Mysore seers for a rupee.
Ragi	...	...	28 " "
Sazzulu	...	...	20 " "
Cholam	...	...	14 " "
Tamarind	...	...	Re. 1 for a maund.
Jaggery	...	...	Rs. 2 "
Chillis	...	...	Rs. 4-8-0 "
Dhôll	...	...	8 seers for a rupee.

About four or five families have made savings to the extent of Rs. 5,000; but on the other hand others have contracted debts to the extent of Rs. 10,000. Owing to scarcity of rains and failure of crops the people have been obliged to borrow heavily to meet current and occasional expenses. 454 426

There are practically no families who have liberated themselves from debt. While paying off old scores they borrow in new places.

There is a co-operative credit society. The capital is subscribed in shares of Rs. 10 each payable in twenty monthly instalments. 452

* [Weight about 89 tons, value about Rs. 10,000.—Ed.]
† [Weight about 48 tons, value about Rs. 4,000.—Ed.]

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ordinary cultivators have to employ casual labour. The rates of daily wages have now increased considerably. In 1939 a male labourer was paid 3 to 6 annas a day, while a woman was paid 2 to 4 annas. In 1951, men were paid between 1 rupee and 1 rupee 8 annas per day, while the women got 8 to 12 annas per day. Rich landowners employ labourers on the basis of an annual contract also. Rates of payment vary with the age, ability and experience of the person employed; and also partly with the financial position of the employer. According to our statistics wages differ from Rs. 280 to Rs. 120 per year, and may be paid in cash or kind. Depending on the agreement the employee may be paid a cash monthly salary, or he may be paid a part in cash and a part in grain. Very often the agreement includes the following in the wages for the year: an agreed sum at the end of the year, one or two meals a day or a specified quantity of grain every week, and a set or two of new clothes and footwear or a blanket. As a rule advances are drawn from time to time, and when they exceed the stipulated sum the labourer has to agree to work the following year also to repay the debt.

3. THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR

The agriculturists in Shamirpet follow the local almanac. Most of their moves in farm activity depend upon the position of the stars in the sky. According to this almanac a month is divided into two *katis*, each with a duration of approximately fifteen days. Each of these divisions bears a name which indicates a particular position of the stars. According to the traditional agricultural lore of the people the different *katis* are suitable for different kinds of agricultural activities and provide the agriculturist with a schedule for the different stages of his work in the field. Of course, he also takes into consideration other natural factors, such as the possibility of rainfall in the immediate future; but in general his moves follow the time-tested schedule of the Hindu calendar. Muslim agriculturists too follow this calendar and share with their Hindu neighbours their agricultural folklore.

In late summer (i.e. the end of May) the agriculturists keep their fields clear for ploughing in anticipation of a light shower of rain. Invariably there is some rainfall during this period which softens the ground and makes it possible for them to start ploughing. With the advent of this eagerly awaited drizzle the farmers

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796 folk-plays concerning Jamavanta, their legendary hero and founder of the caste.

I do not propose to give minute ethnographic details regarding the festivals enumerated above. The brief accounts that follow are intended to illustrate the nature of the festivals and their place in the annual round of activities in the community. The mythological background of these festivals has been recorded from oral [805] tradition and not from Hindu scriptures. Hindu months, according to the Western calendar, would be:

Hindu Month	*Corresponding English Months*	*Hindu Month*	*Corresponding English Months*
Chaitra	March–April	Ashvina	September–October
Vaishakha	April–May	Kartika	October–November
Jyeshta	May–June	Margashirsha	November–December
Ashadha	June–July	Pushya (Pousha)	December–January
Shravana	July–August	Magha	January–February
Bhadrapada	August–September	Phalguna	February–March

The festivals are described in their chronological order:

Ugadi. Ugadi, the Telugu New Year's Day, is an important festival. It is observed on the first day of the Hindu month of Chaitra. Although it is observed by all the Hindu castes generally, its significance for the Brahmins, Komtis, Reddis and the Panch Bramha group is greater.

The day previous to Ugadi the Panch Bramha groups worship their implements and renew their sacred threads, which they alone wear, apart from Brahmins and Komtis.

On the Ugadi day itself people get up early in the morning. Women sweep the courtyard, sprinkle cow-dung mixed in water, and then draw decorative designs with flour or coloured powders. Men go out to collect mango leaves and *neem* (margosa tree, *Azadirachta indica*) twigs; make festoons (*toran*) by stitching these together in a long string, and decorate the front portions of their houses with them. The potters supply each household with two earthen pots: one large, another small enough to act as a lid for the larger. Each family expects these pots from the potter attached to it. All members of the family, except the sick, take their bath on this day, and gather together inside the house. In the room where the gods of the household are lodged the earthen pots are placed [272] in a central position. The large pot is filled with a sweet drink made by mixing jaggery, tamarind pulp, slices of raw mangoes, grated coconut and other spices. It is topped by the smaller pot.

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tion will probably have modified this very considerably in a few decades.

The fundamental drive in the thought and activities of the group seems to be towards the goal of the adjustment of the individual to the universe. Several aspects of man's life are predetermined and he has to reconcile himself to his fate. But one need not therefore resign oneself to that fate, for actions in one's life-time can not only modify what has been predestined, but can also determine the course of life after death. Thus a life ordered according to the prescriptions of *dharma*, the traditionally approved 'correct way of life', mitigates some of the evils of the past and adds to one's merit which in its turn ensures happiness in this and future lives. The ideal pattern of adjustment with the universe is laid down by the *dharma* and comprises performance of sacramental rituals, observance of fasts and festivals, avoidance of acts and thoughts declared by religion as sinful, and rigid adherence to caste rules and taboos. Cheating in regard to some of the social and religious injunctions and prescriptions is practised, and is even regarded as permissible if it can be compensated with greater devotion in some other sphere. When such cheating becomes too open or hits the structural unity, stability and continuity of the community, it is punished; but as long as it remains personal and private one can hope to supplicate divine forces in other ways to win their forgiveness for some lapses and acts of omission and commission. All human acts are not attributed to individual volition; the unseen hand of destiny is found to motivate one's actions and decisions under many situations. Radical departures from traditional life-ways are often attributed to fate. On the whole rigid adherence to traditional life-ways is regarded as the ideal and most satisfactory method of adjustment with the universe and its unseen forces. Activities of political parties, particularly of the Communist Party, have tried to awaken people to a more positive attitude, not without total lack of success, but the new ideas are still greeted with frank dismay and scepticism and so far there has been very little change in their basic attitude towards life and the principal goal of the community, which still remains peaceful adjustment and adaptation to the laws that control the universe.

In inter-personal as well as inter- and intra-group relations, the people tend to view everything as hierarchically structured. All things, groups and people, must fit into higher, equal or lower

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796 cannot, make clay images at home. These idols are placed prominently in the front or central part of the house. The Brahmins and Komtis first clean the place where the idol is to be lodged, besmear it with cow-dung, then spread some soft sand over it. On this sand they place some leaf-plates, spread rice on them and cover the rice with a new cloth. The idol is placed on this cloth. Among the other castes the idol is placed either on a bunch of mango leaves kept on the floor, or else on a wooden seat. A sacred thread is put on the image, and finally it is marked with vermilion and turmeric. With this it comes to possess life as the deity starts residing within it.

A little lamp is lighted and kept burning in front of the image. At the time of the principal worship which differs in various families, flowers of several varieties are placed on and around the image, vermilion and rice (the latter made yellow with turmeric) are sprinkled on it, and *laddus* (little sweet balls of gram fried in syrup) specially made for the day are offered to the deity. When this is done all members of the household bow down before the idol. Many people express their wishes, which they then expect will be fulfilled with the blessings of Ganesha.

The image is allowed to remain in its place for three to twenty-one days, and is worshipped every day. When it is removed from its place, it is taken to the village tank and immersed in water.

Two special features of this festival deserve to be noted. First, some of the occupational castes worship their tools and implements. For example, the washerman applies vermilion and turmeric pastes to the large earthen pot in which he boils the clothes, and also to the stone on which he beats them clean. The barber does the same to his razors and scissors. The weaver worships the
● [821] paraphernalia of his caste occupation. Secondly, it is believed that seeing the moon on the Chauti day is inauspicious, for anyone who does so may be falsely implicated in theft. But if anyone does see the moon, it is not difficult for him to undo its harmful effects. If he is abused by someone, the ill effect of his having seen the moon can be cleared. Thus in order to be abused by others people seeing the moon on this day indulge in practical jokes and cause offence to them in various ways. In return they are favoured with the abuse which expiates their sin.

Ananta Chaturdashi. Ananta Chaturdashi is observed on the fourteenth day of Bhadrapada by Brahmins only. On this day Vishnu

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a number of years, according to law he acquires semi-proprietary rights over them. The landlord does not want this to happen, and so with a view to safeguarding his own interests he leases out his land to different persons in different years. A short-term lease is naturally not conducive to land improvement, for the person cultivating the land does not risk any investment in it. If he does improve it, in one of the following years the landlord may lease it out to someone else who offers to pay more than the person who improved the land. Secondly, those who hold most of the agricultural land in the village are interested in maintaining a supply of cheap agricultural labour, without which it would be impossible for them to cultivate their extensive fields. They benefit more by cultivating their land with the help of this labour, than by leasing out their land. If they leased out all their surplus land the cheap labour supply would appreciably diminish, and for want of competition wages of those who were still available would rise. To avoid this they choose to leave some of their land uncultivated, and thus we have the paradox of having in the same village many land-hungry families and several hundred acres of uncultivated land.

The land belongs to the family, and normally the head of the family exercises control over it. On the death of the father, the land and other agricultural property—such as tools, implements and livestock—are distributed equally among the brothers. Provision is made for the marriage of unmarried daughters as well as for the maintenance of the minor sons of the deceased. In very special cases, with the consent of all the brothers, a widowed sister is also given a small share. But this is a gratuity rather than a rightful share.

The agriculturists have considerable sentiment for their land and cattle. If adversity compels them to sell some of their fields or cattle, the day when this is done becomes a day of semi-mourning for the household. The hour of transfer is indeed a sad one, and the farmer will complete the necessary formalities with a heavy heart. For several days the family atmosphere remains overcast with gloom. The womenfolk may even wail and shed tears of real grief. In the sentiments of an Indian peasant, the Earth occupies a mother's position and parting with a fragment of it is nearly tantamount to separation from the mother. It is surprising how cattle become almost members of the agriculturist's family, and how

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Web of Family Ties

In the social structure of Indian village communities the family occupies by far the most important place. It derives its significance not merely from its economic functions and its dominant role as an agency of socialization and social control, but its ritual importance is also very great to the average Hindu.

Classical Hinduism has prescribed four stages of life: celibacy (*brahmacharya*), family life (*grahastha ashrama*), resignation (*vanaprastha*) and renunciation (*sanyas*). In the first stage a person acquires concentration by controlling his instincts and impulses so that he may be able to dedicate himself to the pursuit of learning. This is the formative period of life, and in it a man is expected to equip himself for the proper discharge of his social responsibilities. In the second stage he enters life and begins to share his social obligations. Now he must marry and beget children. This is the creative period and covers a very considerable part of a man's life. The last two are the contemplative stages. As a preparation for the ultimate renunciation of worldly goods and worldly connections, he should first cultivate an attitude of detachment and devote himself to reflection. When this has been achieved, the time will have come for him to renounce formally all his possessions and relations. In contemporary rural India very few people can understand or explain the social philosophy that lies behind this system of *ashramas* or the 'stages of life', but its essence has reached them for countless generations through oral tradition and through the teachings of numerous saint-poets and has thus become ingrained in their thought-pattern and value-structure. Sex indulgence among children is socially disapproved in the Indian countryside. Marriage is universally regarded as

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natural and necessary. Only morons and cripples remain single. Though it is rare for people to renounce their home and property in old age, old men and women excessively attached to material goods come in for a good deal of criticism, and people often remark about them, 'Will they carry their wealth with them to the other world when they die?' It is at this time that their thoughts turn more to religion and to the destiny of their souls in the future life, and it is now that they generally undertake pilgrimages to holy places. In a sense the broad essentials of the philosophy of the *ashramas* can be said to permeate the life and thought of the Hindu villagers. The village Muslims share these social attitudes with their Hindu neighbours. With conversion to Islam they have changed their religious faith, but in the socio-cultural spheres of life they still continue to have more or less the same basic attitudes as the Hindus. In their family ethics and ideals the two groups demonstrate considerable similarity.

To the village people the necessity of both marriage and family is self-evident. It is necessary that the family line should be continued. A male heir must be left. An unmarried person past the marriage age is an object of pity. A couple without a son are unhappy. Childlessness and inability to produce a male child on the part of a woman often lead to a polygynous household. Marriage is regarded as essential among all the castes and social groups in the village. In a community of 2,494 persons, demographic survey reveals the presence of only two single persons—both women. One of these is a deaf-mute; the other has been a victim of epileptic fits from her childhood and has in addition the unenviable reputation of being a thief. For the clean-caste Hindus the continuity of the family line is necessary for a further reason. A male child must make a ceremonial offering of water to the spirits of his deceased parents and ancestors, without which their souls may not have peace. The untouchable castes as well as the semi-tribal groups also have this ritual in a modified form. The Muslims neither have this belief nor any attendant ritual, but they too share with the Hindus the sentiment against childlessness.

I. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

The patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint family is the normal type of family unit met with in this part of rural India.

bad way, the elders of the allied families are expected to intervene. 596
Scandals or dishonourable behaviour in one unit are likely to spoil the name of all the allied families, and as such tradition enjoins elders to advise, warn and even admonish the erring members. A young man given to excessive drinking, gambling or any similar vice would often be admonished by the elders of this extended family. If he cannot keep his wife under control, or if the quarrels (626)
of the two become very frequent and too public, the neighbours would convey the information to the elders of the extended family and expect them to use their initiative in putting things right. In all such cases they will be within their customary rights if they intervene. They can demand that their advice is heard and followed.

Within the family unit the eldest male is generally regarded as the head. His wife or the next senior male is given the second place. A respectful son very often describes his old widowed mother as the 'head' of the family. However, in many cases the *de facto* head of the family may be a son under whose guidance and supervision the land is cultivated or the craft or profession of the family is practised. Parents dominate the scene in their youth and early middle age. With approaching old age they gradually recede to the background. Nominally they remain the heads of the family, but their sons are left more or less free to conduct the management of the family property and profession as they like. As long as the father remains the real head of the family, the internal management of the family remains the charge of the mother. Sons are expected to obey her and the daughters-in-law are expected to carry out her instructions. Any failure or reluctance on the part (606)
of a daughter-in-law to carry out the wishes of her mother-in-law leads to constant quarrels and complications, and in many cases to ultimate separation. Between sons and daughters, as a rule, preference is shown to the former, but if the sisters have considerable seniority in age, their younger brothers are expected to respect and obey them.

In the village community of Shamirpet, which has considerable 829
variations of caste and class, and significant differences in educa- 565
tion and urban contacts, it is only natural to expect great varia- 593
tions in the family ideals and ethics of the different groups. In the themes of their idealizations, the different sections of the population show striking similarities; but in their attitudes and reactions

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to specific social situations the different levels present remarkable contrasts.

For the purposes of such comparison, the population of the village may be broadly classified into three levels:

(1) *Upper Level*: comprising the 'twice born' castes of Brahmins and Komtis; rich Reddis and Muslims; and others who have had urban contacts or education in the city.

(2) *Intermediate Level*: all ordinary agriculturists; clean occupational castes and Muslim tradesmen constitute this group, which is by far the largest in the village.

(3) *Lower Level*: all the poorer sections of the population, such as the untouchable Malas and Madigas, and semi-tribal Vaddars and Erkalas, as well as poor Muslims, can be placed in this category.

With their urban contacts and education, as well as considerations of 'respectability' befitting their class, the people on the upper level set sufficiently high standards of behaviour. The stereotyped idealizations of the other two levels of population closely resemble the ideal-patterns of the upper level.

All three levels regard solidarity, co-operation and understanding as the essential attributes of the family that may be regarded as a model for the whole community. The ideal family should work on the principle of 'one for all, and all for one.' Different members of the family should function like an organized team, and have mutual trust and understanding. Toleration, goodwill and a sense of give-and-take among its members are necessary for the well-being and prosperity of the family. On the other hand, dissensions, conflicts and lack of understanding lead a family to its downfall.

There is unanimity in all three levels that the structure of the family is founded on its recognition of four basic principles. These are:

(1) Respect for age.
(2) Respect for position in the scale of kinship.
(3) Superiority of the male.
(4) Necessity of keeping certain family matters confined to the responsible members of the family, or at the most, within the family.

Further, in all three levels the importance of compromise as a

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tool for correct ordering of intra-family relations is emphasized. Mediation and reconciliation are regarded as the best methods of getting over family difficulties; timely partition of property and separation as the next best.

The people in the upper level not only believe in these ideals, but most of them consciously strive to achieve them in actual practice. A Brahmin will lose respect in the community if he gives up these noble ways and starts imitating the 'animal-like ways' of people on the lower levels. Prosperity of the Komti traders and money-lenders can be built up only when the whole family makes a concerted effort for it. A family of substantial agriculturists can further augment its land and improve its financial status by working hard as a team. This is equally applicable to both Hindu and Muslim agriculturists. People with urban contacts and education have also an urge to rise higher; and that necessitates solidarity, co-operation and understanding within the family. Great emphasis is laid here on correct behaviour towards different members of the family according to their age and kinship status. Disagreements must be expressed through permitted ways. Abuse and foul language should not be employed in referring to or addressing the elders. Any form of physical violence against them would be unthinkable and would cause great resentment in the other members of the family. Women on this level are generally kept confined to the home. Among the Muslims they observe strict *purdah*; among the Hindus for considerations of respectability it would be improper for them to go out to work. Thus they are largely confined to their houses. They have some ornamental value; nevertheless, in the entire social setting the comparative superiority of the male is latent. Family secrets on this level are always discussed in hushed tones, and all possible efforts are made to prevent them from leaking out. When husband and wife quarrel, the angry outburst must not be heard outside the home. If the husband beats the wife, her crying should not be loud enough to attract curious sympathizers into the house. The amours and intrigues of a member of the family, if they cannot be stopped, should at least be kept secret, and efforts should be made to prevent them from developing into open scandals. Mediation or arbitration by family elders is often effective for settling disputes within these families. If the misunderstandings and consequent difficulties seem to be beyond repair, property is gracefully

829 partitioned, and separation granted to the members who want to
565 secede from the family. This is sought to be done in an orderly
593 way, and every possible effort is made to ensure that the differences within the family do not become the subject of local gossip.

When we consider the actual behaviour of the people on the intermediate level, we find that many of these ideals are very considerably diluted. The value of solidarity is understood, but the willingness to make concessions and personal sacrifices for the sake of the family is not sufficiently strong to make it really effective. Age is generally respected, but in angry outbursts abuse
[201] may be showered on parents and uncles. Unable to control his temper one may even spit at them, or throw dust at them (symbolizing their burial, and thus indirectly wishing their death), or strike them. It would probably be necessary to express some sort of an apology for this unbecoming behaviour later, but the unrepentant individual can repeat it when he is provoked again. This type of behaviour is confined to a few individuals, and is socially criticized but none the less tolerated. Here too the superiority of the male is insisted upon, but the woman also works and is not tied down to many of the shackles of respectability. She does not lose face if she is beaten by her husband semi-publicly; occasionally she hits him back. She expresses her anger or suffering by running back to her parental home. In many cases some effort is made to conceal family secrets, but when passions rise, a father and son, or two brothers, but more often a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, will openly quarrel in the courtyard or the village lanes, and in the course of the hearty exchange of abuse these secrets may be broadcast by them at the top of their voices. Family differences are discussed privately and occasionally in public as well, but even when property is divided and separation is completed, mutual bickerings and exchange of harsh words continue for several months in most cases.

829 On the lower level the 'ideals' get diluted so much that it is
593 difficult to find any traces of them in actual practice. Division of
562 property and separation at this level are so frequent as to reduce
829 the conception of family solidarity to practically a meaningless ideal. On ritual occasions, respect is shown to people on account of their age or kinship status, but in everyday life one can ignore these considerations with impunity. Although theoretically the woman is inferior, at this level she enjoys much more freedom. She

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can work for wages and has considerable freedom of movement. Sexual lapses on her part are more liberally viewed. If the husband beats her, she too can beat him. If the abuses of her husband are loud, hers can be louder still. She can leave her husband and take another with comparative ease, and without any social stigma. This would permanently lower the status of persons on the upper level, and would be commented upon very adversely in the intermediate class. The family secrets are announced to the outside world by the members of the family itself in their open-air quarrels. Compromises are often made through mediation and arbitration, but may be disregarded with comparative ease after a few days.

It is probably needless to say that the above three levels are not fixed, nor are they exclusive. Modern education and other modern means of communication—especially the cinema—often infuse a spirit of romantic individualism into the youth of the upper level, who, rather than working for family solidarity, often disintegrate it. Education, urban contacts, 'disgust with rustic ways', and desire for greater respectability according to accepted social standards in some cases set in motion efforts at vertical movement in families on the lower levels.

2: INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY

HUSBAND AND WIFE

According to the traditional norms of the society a husband is expected to be an authoritarian figure whose will should always dominate the domestic scene. As the head of the household he should demand respect and obedience from his wife and children. The wife should regard him as her 'master' and should 'serve him faithfully'. It is the husband's responsibility to provide adequately for the support and maintenance of 'his dependants' and the wife's duty is to 'run the household frugally and efficiently'. In an ideal home 'all major decisions are taken by the husband in consultation with his wife and grown-up children', but the final say in all matters connected with the family is always with the husband. The husband should 'watch the activities and ways of his wife' as well as 'take care of the proper upbringing of his children'. The wife should 'serve her husband with loyalty and devotion'. The husband is 'superior'; the wife is his 'subordinate'. As a mark of the recognition of his superiority, the wife shows respect to her

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554 sufficient scope for an individual to work his way towards the achievement of a new and higher status. While the social framework of caste is rigid and does not easily admit any variation in one's position in the traditional scale of social respectability, by taking recourse to the other factors a man can still improve his position and gain social prestige. In general it could be said that under the impact of modern socio-economic trends in the criteria for status differentiation there has been a swing from an ascribed status system to an achieved status system. However, the grip of the traditional system is still firm, and people from lower castes or others with humble origins must behave with considerable tact and discretion if they seek to enhance their influence and importance in the community. If such people acquire land, wealth, official position or some special skill by their own efforts, they can gain social prestige if they avoid ostentation and exhibitionism and insist on not transgressing the limits imposed on them by tradition. If such a man behaves with becoming modesty, people would say, 'Look, even wealth has not turned his head. He has not forgotten his low birth and traditional status. He is a good man. Such people always succeed in life.' On the contrary, display of self-importance and lack of courtesy on his part would lead to adverse comment. People would say, 'If a person of humble origin grows rich, his head is turned. Look at this man! Until the other day his father was a bricklayer. With a few hundred rupees in his pocket he behaves as if he owns the village.'

554 827 Birth, wealth and special personal qualities are marks of distinction, but they do not fall to the lot of the average man. The common villager regards self-sufficiency and stability as a mark of respectability. Here is a generalized picture of such a person in the words of one of our informants belonging to an average family of Reddi agriculturists: 'He is not rich, but he lives well and eats well. Quarrels are not heard in his home and there are no scandals about them. He lends to no one, but neither does he borrow from anyone. He is a contented man.' In the words of a Muslim cultivator, 'If you get enough to eat twice, if not thrice every day, if your wife and children have sufficient cloth to cover their bodies, and if you have a small house, a pair of bullocks and some fields of your own, there is nothing else that you should desire.' To quote one more informant, a Madiga untouchable: 'How many people can be rich? It is no blessing to worry half your life in order to

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amass wealth, and spend the rest of it worrying about its safety. The cultivator need not be rich. It is enough if he has not to lower himself before others begging for their favours.'

2. STANDARD OF LIVING: FOUR LEVELS

In Shamirpet four levels denoting different standards of living are vaguely recognized by the villagers. They are:

i. Rich.
ii. Well-to-do.
iii. Average.
iv. Poor.

It is difficult to lay down any precise rules to classify the different families living in the village into these levels on the basis of their standards of living. As these distinctions are based primarily on the differences in earning, it may be generally said that families with an income of Rs. 200 per month or more would be regarded as 'rich', those earning between Rs. 100 and 200 as 'well-to-do', those earning Rs. 45 to 100 as 'average' and those earning less than Rs. 45 as 'poor'. The average family unit in these calculations consists of five—three adults and two children.

According to this test which reflects the consensus of opinion in the village, our socio-economic survey of the community would indicate the following classification of the village population:

Rich	4%	Average	34%
Well-to-do	22%	Poor	40%

The following table indicates average percentage of consumer expenditure on different items, based on the family budgets of three consecutive years of a total sample of one hundred and twenty families representing the four levels of living:

ITEMS AND PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE

Level	1 *Food (including fats and spices)*	2 *Clothing (including ornaments)*	3 *Feasts and ceremonies*	4 *Repairs and maintenance of the house*	5 *Luxuries (including tobacco and liquor)*	6 *Miscellaneous (entertainment, medicine, etc.)*
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Rich	34	15	18	11	12	10
2. Well-to-do	40	14	18	10	12	6
3. Average	48	12	12	8	15	5
4. Poor	56	10	11	5	15	3

From the above it is clear that on each successive lower level the percentage of expenditure on food—that is, on cereals, meat,

571 come forward very readily to help those who need it. It is common
157 to suspect others' motives; and not unusual to be always on the alert to read hidden meanings into the seemingly innocent utterances of others. Analysis of their life-histories shows that the people are not given to introspection. They are always on the defensive; but their inter-personal relations are not characterized by detachment. In their thoughts, likes and dislikes they are quite open, and all persons having even casual contacts have a fair acquaintance with one anothers' ideas and attitudes

827 It is not uncommon for people to analyse and describe the
[186] personality-traits of other inhabitants of the village as well as of
577 outsiders coming into the settlement. Positive qualities, having obvious approval, find expression in such epithets as: 'good person', 'hard-working', 'honest', 'respectable', 'well-behaved', 'intelligent', 'generous' or 'large-hearted' and 'faithful'. Epithets describing negative traits which do not meet with social approval are many and varied, and among others include: 'bad person', 'lazy', 'dishonest', 'shameless', 'mannerless', 'foolish', 'miserly', 'small-hearted', 'unfaithful', 'good-for-nothing', 'liar', 'all talk but
[521] no deeds', 'ill-tempered', etc. Analysis of such traits is firmly established in the culture-pattern, and occupies an important place in the conversation of the people when they meet in small groups.
[183] Although conformity to social norms is idealized and emphasized, when there is a breach of traditional ways the person responsible likes to confess it in confidence to someone else. Long conversations and the mutual sharing of secrets are quite frequent. However, when friendships break up the sanctity of earlier secrets is not protected by any code of honour. Within limits originality and innovation are admired; but excess and ostentation soon lead to social censure and ridicule.

827 Subjects coming under the critical eye of society are: (i)
626 breaches of traditional norms, (ii) display and exhibitionism, (iii)
577 sexuality, (iv) efforts to rise in the power hierarchy, (v) conspicuous success, and (vi) originality and 'too many new ideas'. Carrying tales and 'whispering about the doings in others' houses' go on in the community on a wide scale. It is criticized by the aggrieved persons and their sympathizers, but no one regards it as inherently bad. 'Incidents' or breaches of established norms are discussed in small conversational groups at first, and the more important ones among them gradually filter through and reach the respon-

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sible village elders. Few such breaches escape the attention of society, although in many of them no action may be called for by the caste or village elders. Display and ostentation are severely criticized in the community. Individuals inviting social censure for this fault are frequently nicknamed and mimicked. The behaviour of persons who have just come into wealth or a position of authority is subjected to a particularly critical scrutiny. Sexuality, in all its different aspects, provides another popular theme for gossip. Although bragging about unusual potency and sexual adventures is very common, in general the community watches and comments upon all abnormalities, particularly excessive indulgence and lack of adequate sex vigour. The comments of the group in this sphere too are merciless. Those who are on the higher rungs of the ladder of power hierarchy jealously watch their own position, and anyone casting a covetous eye on a position of influence at once becomes the target of the criticism of several pressure groups in the community. People attaining conspicuous success are invariably the subject of malicious criticism. Their actions and speech are closely watched, and later commented upon. Opportunities for taunting them are eagerly sought, and indirect references to their humble origin are frequently made. Finally, persons having too many novel and original ideas also invite the criticism of society. While people are unsparing in their comments, they are very much reserved in their praise.

Anger is freely expressed. Loud shouting, use of foul language, and occasional physical violence are the principal channels for the expression of aggressiveness. Sentiments of love and friendship too are publicly expressed; the only exception in this case being the suppression of all sentiments suggesting sexual intimacy.

Concepts of 'manliness' and 'defending the honour' play a significant part in governing inter-personal relations within the community. It is not manly to beat anyone who is too young, too aged, weak or infirm. On the contrary, a fight between equals is always considered fair; although it may necessitate action on the part of village elders. Notions of personal and family prestige differ in different castes, as well as at different income levels. Any challenge to personal prestige or family honour is bound to arouse a violent reaction.

Truth and straightforwardness are acclaimed as social ideals; but intelligent and ingenious ways of deception too receive

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government is indulging them; and for vote-getting the political parties are spoiling them. If things go on like this, in the future these low castes will want to marry our daughters and sisters,' remarked a Reddi agriculturist. Those standing nearby nodded their assent. The above remark is illustrative of the general attitude of 'responsible' persons in the higher castes.

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EDUCATED VERSUS UNEDUCATED

Adverse comments are frequently heard from the educated and uneducated people against each other. The uneducated especially have some stereotypes regarding the educated; and the latter often express derogatory opinions about the illiterate members of the community.

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Remarks echoing the following opinions and sentiments are commonly heard from the uneducated people: 'What use is education to us? After four years at the school all that our children learn is to hold a pen in their hands. What we really want them to learn is the holding of the plough firmly.' 'By learning to read a couple of books at the school the youngsters begin to think that they have in their skulls all the knowledge and learning in the world. They scoff at their parents, belittle the experience of the elders, and seem to think no end of themselves. Realities of life soon teach them a lesson. Sooner or later they repent and fall at the feet of the elders.' 'Everyone says, "Send your children to school; uneducated people are like animals; education makes them human beings." But what do we get out of education? Boys learn to read and write, but they forget the traditional ways. They do not want to cultivate the family land, and are ashamed of their traditional profession. They all want jobs in the city. If things go on like this what will be the future of the community?' 'The educated people excel each other in tall talk and boasting. They will drink, gamble and intrigue. There is nothing else that they can do.' 'What service do the educated people render to the community? They instigate simple illiterate people to quarrel, and later exploit the situation to their own advantage.' 'We village people are simple. Education makes us crooked.' In substance the average attitude boils down to this: education shakes a person's belief in the traditional ways and creates in turn new desires and ambitions; these factors operating simultaneously make the educated persons misfits in the community.

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On the other hand, the educated people think: 'The illiterate

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not without hesitation, misgivings, doubts and an initial resistance. The unfortunate class of people who are semi-rural and semi-urbanized find themselves rejected by both sides: they are held suspect by their fellow-villagers as demeaned by urban associations, and are looked down upon by their urban associates for their rustic ways. Petty government servants and town-returned village-folk are not expressly recognized as leaders of the community, but all the same they set the wheels of the community in motion in the direction of social change. It is through this class of people that urban items of regional culture, and several items of the national and Western cultures are brought into the community and hesitatingly absorbed into its life. Their selection or rejection naturally depends upon their need, utility, prestige-value and conformity with or opposition to the prevailing set of values in the community.

The village people have always idealized their traditional life-ways, and have shown unmistakable suspicion for those of the city, but have generally followed the lead of the élite, which formed the dominant social group, though sometimes with their own modifications and adaptations. The gradual adoption of Sanskritic ritual by the rural communities was the first major triumph of this group in the past. The process still continues, but now 'progressive' and 'modern' elements are gradually filtering in through the semi-urbanized village-folk.

To conclude, a few remarks may be made about the influence of these new trends on the ethos and world-view of the people.

The episodic, topical and complete life-histories recorded in the course of our investigations, supplemented by observation and records of conflicts and co-operative activities in Shamirpet, provide the material for these observations on the villagers' world-view. It is necessary to point out that so far no depth-psychology studies have been done in this area nor has there been any systematic attempt to study the cultural aspects of personality. In the absence of such studies, only an outline of the dominant attitudes and goals which are characteristic of the society can be attempted. In this context, following John Gillin, 'Ethos is taken to mean the constellation of acquired drives or motivations which are characteristic of a culture, plus the goals which are both explicit and implicit, towards which

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cultural activities are directed, or upon which high value is placed.'[1]

What is the universe according to the average way of thinking in this village community? Notwithstanding the historical traditions of the Andhra culture-area to which this village belongs, and the nearness of the settlement to the large cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad the universe in people's thoughts remains extremely limited both in time and space. Some educated persons, especially the Brahmin and the Reddis, have vague ideas about the cultural traditions of Andhra and of the glorious past of India, but to the great bulk of the people caste-mythology is their only history. Traditional social institutions and life-ways are idealized: they originated long, long ago when men first appeared on the earth and the salvation of people lies in their faithful observance of these divinely ordained ways. It is customary to criticize the change of times in so far as the present is concerned; but the idealized past does not have much depth—at the most it goes to the great-grandfather's generation and above that to legendary heroes of caste-mythology. The Muslims have a fair acquaintance with the history of the origin of their religion, but not of their own connections with it. While people know about the existence of several different cultures, languages and religions in India, and also something about the lands beyond the seas, have been to places of pilgrimage and a few have even seen some of the larger cities of the land; their mental horizon is definitely regional. The village, their own caste, villages in the neighbourhood and some of the developments in the nearby capital city—generally only those affecting the rural areas—constitute their effective universe. [186] The focus is local and regional, confined to family, kin, caste and some neighbouring villages. National consciousness is rather vague, and it was a surprise to us that in a village so near a large city there were many people who did not know the names of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and had only the haziest of ideas regarding the struggles of the Indian National Congress against British rule. Recent political changes in Hyderabad and activities of the different political parties have sought to widen this universe, but so far the change has been extremely limited. Newspapers, increased political activity, and compulsory educa-

[1] Sol Tax, ed., *The Heritage of Conquest*, "Ethos and Cultural Aspects of Personality" by Gillin, p. 195.

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tion will probably have modified this very considerably in a few decades.

The fundamental drive in the thought and activities of the group seems to be towards the goal of the adjustment of the individual to the universe. Several aspects of man's life are predetermined and he has to reconcile himself to his fate. But one need not therefore resign oneself to that fate, for actions in one's life-time can not only modify what has been predestined, but can also determine the course of life after death. Thus a life ordered according to the prescriptions of *dharma*, the traditionally approved 'correct way of life', mitigates some of the evils of the past and adds to one's merit which in its turn ensures happiness in this and future lives. The ideal pattern of adjustment with the universe is laid down by the *dharma* and comprises performance of sacramental rituals, observance of fasts and festivals, avoidance of acts and thoughts declared by religion as sinful, and rigid adherence to caste rules and taboos. Cheating in regard to some of the social and religious injunctions and prescriptions is practised, and is even regarded as permissible if it can be compensated with greater devotion in some other sphere. When such cheating becomes too open or hits the structural unity, stability and continuity of the community, it is punished; but as long as it remains personal and private one can hope to supplicate divine forces in other ways to win their forgiveness for some lapses and acts of omission and commission. All human acts are not attributed to individual volition; the unseen hand of destiny is found to motivate one's actions and decisions under many situations. Radical departures from traditional life-ways are often attributed to fate. On the whole rigid adherence to traditional life-ways is regarded as the ideal and most satisfactory method of adjustment with the universe and its unseen forces. Activities of political parties, particularly of the Communist Party, have tried to awaken people to a more positive attitude, not without total lack of success, but the new ideas are still greeted with frank dismay and scepticism and so far there has been very little change in their basic attitude towards life and the principal goal of the community, which still remains peaceful adjustment and adaptation to the laws that control the universe.

In inter-personal as well as inter- and intra-group relations, the people tend to view everything as hierarchically structured. All things, groups and people, must fit into higher, equal or lower

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829 554 levels. Castes are either superior, more or less equal, or inferior. This view extends to gods, animals and foods. This hierarchical setting does not denote status only, it denotes power as well. Thus people love to dominate; but they hate being dominated, and where they must accept domination of anyone higher, they in their turn seek to dominate all who occupy a lower position in the hierarchy. Man is superior to woman, therefore, she must obey him. But a mother is superior to children, to sons when they are not adults, and always to daughters and daughters-in-law, and she will therefore dominate them. A child must obey the elders, but he too can dominate a younger sibling. Superior castes can dominate inferior castes; the rich dominate the poor; those in authority dominate those who lack it. Age, kinship status, wealth and authority—together with caste—determine the superior and inferior statuses. When there are conflicts as a result of the desire to dominate in one, and hatred of domination in the other, either there is an open breach, or on 'respectable' levels there is a sort of vague compromise and adjustment under which the person with the superior status maintains the semblance of his authority by letting it become virtually ineffective and the person with the inferior status never challenges it seriously because in actual practice he does not feel its weight. Possessiveness and love of domination characterize most of the thoughts, ambitions and actions of the people, although under certain situations they are compelled to compromise with necessity and shed their power to maintain the fiction of their superiority. The new socio-political climate of the country has necessitated some adjustments and modifications in the nature of hierarchy and tone of domination; but basically the view of the people remains the same. As a concession to the changing times superior castes will not treat inferior castes harshly; but they still expect formal recognition of their superiority from the latter. A defiant low caste person would be subjected to several types of direct or indirect social presure; but one adhering to tradition and 'keeping his status in mind' would succeed in getting much better treatment.

829 The fundamental concepts of the rights and equality of men mean little to these people, whose visions are thus bounded by their own observation of the world. This is perhaps the most unexpected aspect of the village community for a Western mind to grasp, and it leads to its particular view of change. If people

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are asked to choose between tradition and progress, tradition would perhaps be their instinctive choice, although a second thought might induce them to take a few hesitating steps in the direction of change. Many still believe in a timeless present and take its continuity for granted notwithstanding its shortcomings and inequities; to many a deviation from tradition always signifies a deviation from the right way into a kind of blind alley. But the changing needs of time are also generally recognized, and while they will hold fast to the frame of their traditional structure, the people will not reject uncritically the benefits of new cultural elements. Indeed, from the readiness with which they have already adopted certain items of material culture, including Western medicines in so far as they are available, it is justifiable to predict that given suitable conditions the tempo of change would greatly increase.

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point of rubbing genital organs. Girls masturbate either by pressing and releasing their clitoris with their fingers or by rubbing their thighs. Obscenity and talk about sex are disapproved by the elders, but the boys regard it as a mark of toughness and as an indication of their grown-up status, and as such indulge in it fairly regularly. Their vocabulary of abuse includes all the major sexual words, and they can often be heard abusing each other in terms such as: 'Copulate with your mother', 'Cohabit with your sister', 'My penis!'—or the rather curious 'Your mother's penis'.

Most children's games involve competition in the use of skills and stamina. The children are divided into several groups and factions, and these often come into conflict on account of intense jealousies and rivalries. Elaborate group *mores* and codes of ethics govern their inter-relations during states of friendship, neutrality and enmity. Toughness in boys is the admired quality; weakness, refined ways, spying and complaining coming in for criticism and ridicule. Running away from fright, crying and treachery to the group are remembered long after the quarrels and restoration of peace between conflicting factions. Outside the play-group the growing children have to lend a helping hand to their parents. Grown-up girls assist their mothers at their domestic tasks and take partial charge of their younger siblings, while boys do odd jobs for the father and other older male relatives. It is now time that they should take their first steps in preparing for adult life.

Adolescence brings about a significant change in the life of both boys and girls. By this age girls are expected to become proficient in all the major domestic tasks. Negotiations for their marriage are invariably started at this age. They grow up faster than the boys. While boys of a comparable age are still regarded as 'grown-up children who do not understand', girls come to be looked upon more or less as fully-grown women. Now they must be careful about their dress; particularly their breasts should never be exposed. They should 'not run about the village like boys', nor should they talk or laugh so loudly as to attract notice. Mothers advise them to be cautious in their behaviour, for this is the age when young people start giving attention to them. Young people have a special fascination for adolescent girls 'whose youth is just beginning to blossom'. Young men succeeding in fondling 'the unripe, half-developed breasts' of a girl and in having intercourse with one 'whose pubic hair is just beginning to grow' easily win the

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admiration of their age-group. For the girls it is a rather difficult period, as they have to find a middle way between the dictates of their romantic impulses and the fear of the social censure that comes to all wayward girls. Adolescent boys divide their time more or less equally between 'learning to do things' with their parents and being with their playmates. Childish games in the dust are now replaced by more vigorous country sport. Within the age-group itself thoughts and efforts in the domain of sex come to occupy a very important place. Masturbation is now regarded as 'unmanly' and gradually given up. Lying with other boys is also looked down upon. Efforts are made to attract younger girls for first experimentation in heterosexual love. Far more than these actual experiments, fantasies occupy an important place in their thoughts and conversation. Imaginary affairs with a woman believed to be of easy virtue—or with a completely fictitious character from a distant village—are vividly and elaborately described. Growth of the pubic hair and genital organs is closely watched and compared. In this way they slowly reach their youth when talks for their marriage are opened. On marriage they acquire a new social status.

After marriage the young men and women have to give considerable attention to their economic pursuits and crafts, and as such they have relatively little time left for group activity. Yet, their leisure and time are generally spent in the company of persons belonging more or less to the same age-group, who constitute 'a set of friends'. Important activities of these groups include loafing, playing card games, gossip and conversation. They may even go to the city together; and always act in unison when planning mischief. Confidences are exchanged within these groups; and people often narrate to each other their recent exploits. One of the favourite themes is boasting regarding success in sexual adventures. Success—real or imaginary—with an adolescent girl is vividly described within this narrow circle. Graphic and vivid details are always added to make the account more colourful. 'It was her very first experience. Oh, there was so much blood. I did not know whether to pacify her or to concentrate on the act', one would say. This would start a chain in which all others would narrate their parallel experiences—many of which would be slightly modified editions of often-told tales. The *motif* of a girl being frightened by the largeness of a man's organ also

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572 keeps on repeating itself. Some young men introduce a note of
831 slight sadism when they talk of their 'forcing-in' acts against
521 unwilling partners. General comments about the goings-on in the village are an important item in the activities of these groups. The latest scandals are discussed and spread to the rest of the community in one or other of these groups. Women are classified into sexual categories, such as 'the easy' type, 'invite you and later say "no"' type, 'the wrestler' type and 'the hollow'. Code words are employed to describe different persons. Peculiarities and weaknesses of men are also noted and commented upon. Domestic duties do not leave much leisure to young married women. Consequently they cannot plan any group activity. But they too can exchange views, and discuss the latest affairs and developments while they wait near the well for their turn to draw water or when they go out for washing the clothes and bathing.

575 Middle-aged people have their own groups. These are informal
521 conversational gatherings; but their membership and attendance is nearly fixed. Groups of men and women meet separately; although two or three women in the village are privileged and have access to some of the men's groups. The village has twelve to fourteen men's groups, out of which three are politically and socially influential and important. In practically each quarter of the village there are one or two groups of elderly women. While the membership of the men's groups remains fairly stationary, that of the women's groups changes very often, varying according to recent quarrels or patching up of past differences. Most of the men's groups are formed round some central, politically influential figure. Gossip and politics appear to be their most important functions. Day to day developments in the village are discussed, and often the line to be taken in the central village council is worked out here long before the council's session. All these groups consist of two kinds of members—'regulars', whose loyalty and affiliation are not in doubt; and 'occasionals', whose affiliations are shaky, but who turn up periodically out of curiosity or with a definite
[626] purpose. These groups play a significant part in managing the affairs of the village, for their comments circulating in the village by word of mouth set the pace and direction for further action by
575 the community in most matters. It should be added here that these groups comprise mostly the middle-aged people. While some ambitious young men seek to attend them, the aged generally

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all, of a pleasant disposition, and should endeavour to keep her husband pleased. She must be 'tactful' and should be able to 'dissuade the husband from going the wrong way' without causing offence to him. This tact would be a valuable asset to her in organizing her general relations with the other members of the family. 'Foolish wives grumble and cry, and go on slaving for the household; the intelligent one wins over everyone by her pleasantness.' Then the wife must be a good housekeeper and a tolerable cook. Her economic virtues would ultimately earn for her the key position in the family. She must spend the money entrusted to her care very judiciously. She should save enough to buy her ornaments; and should lay aside something to meet unforeseen expenses. The more she can save without the knowledge of her husband, the more she will be appreciated by the elderly women. In sex she should not be passive, but should not be violently active either. 'We don't want a woman to be like a log of wood in the bed; but the aggressive ones definitely repel us', the men often remark. The women also comment on oversexed women who are shameless enough to cross the limits of womanly decency. Husbands do not want their wives to be fussy. The womenfolk seem to be well aware of this. In the words of one of our informants, 'If we nag too much, our words lose their value and our husbands make it a habit not to listen to whatever we say.'

Women's 'ideal' of a husband is a man who 'works hard and earns enough' to feed and keep the family in good clothes. If he can buy ornaments for the wife, he will be all the more admired. He should 'take an interest in his wife and children', and look to their comfort and welfare. While the women take it for granted that no husband is ever completely faithful to his wife, they resent their semi-permanent or permanent affiliations to a woman outside. They protest if his amours prove too expensive to the family. No woman would like her husband to earn the epithet of being 'a woman's slave', but neither do they want him to be overstrict and temperamental. The suggestion that a husband could be meek and docile appeared rather ridiculous to most women; what they seemed to like best was a firm, but friendly husband. A man not given to any excesses and possessing personality-traits which mark him out in the community in some way would certainly be an object of pride for his wife.

LIVING TOGETHER

point of rubbing genital organs. Girls masturbate either by pressing and releasing their clitoris with their fingers or by rubbing their thighs. Obscenity and talk about sex are disapproved by the elders, but the boys regard it as a mark of toughness and as an indication of their grown-up status, and as such indulge in it fairly regularly. Their vocabulary of abuse includes all the major sexual words, and they can often be heard abusing each other in terms such as: 'Copulate with your mother', 'Cohabit with your sister', 'My penis!'—or the rather curious 'Your mother's penis'.

Most children's games involve competition in the use of skills and stamina. The children are divided into several groups and factions, and these often come into conflict on account of intense jealousies and rivalries. Elaborate group *mores* and codes of ethics govern their inter-relations during states of friendship, neutrality and enmity. Toughness in boys is the admired quality; weakness, refined ways, spying and complaining coming in for criticism and ridicule. Running away from fright, crying and treachery to the group are remembered long after the quarrels and restoration of peace between conflicting factions. Outside the play-group the growing children have to lend a helping hand to their parents. Grown-up girls assist their mothers at their domestic tasks and take partial charge of their younger siblings, while boys do odd jobs for the father and other older male relatives. It is now time that they should take their first steps in preparing for adult life.

Adolescence brings about a significant change in the life of both boys and girls. By this age girls are expected to become proficient in all the major domestic tasks. Negotiations for their marriage are invariably started at this age. They grow up faster than the boys. While boys of a comparable age are still regarded as 'grown-up children who do not understand', girls come to be looked upon more or less as fully-grown women. Now they must be careful about their dress; particularly their breasts should never be exposed. They should 'not run about the village like boys', nor should they talk or laugh so loudly as to attract notice. Mothers advise them to be cautious in their behaviour, for this is the age when young people start giving attention to them. Young people have a special fascination for adolescent girls 'whose youth is just beginning to blossom'. Young men succeeding in fondling 'the unripe, half-developed breasts' of a girl and in having intercourse with one 'whose pubic hair is just beginning to grow' easily win the

LIVING TOGETHER

admiration of their age-group. For the girls it is a rather difficult period, as they have to find a middle way between the dictates of their romantic impulses and the fear of the social censure that comes to all wayward girls. Adolescent boys divide their time more or less equally between 'learning to do things' with their parents and being with their playmates. Childish games in the dust are now replaced by more vigorous country sport. Within the age-group itself thoughts and efforts in the domain of sex come to occupy a very important place. Masturbation is now regarded as 'unmanly' and gradually given up. Lying with other boys is also looked down upon. Efforts are made to attract younger girls for first experimentation in heterosexual love. Far more than these actual experiments, fantasies occupy an important place in their thoughts and conversation. Imaginary affairs with a woman believed to be of easy virtue—or with a completely fictitious character from a distant village—are vividly and elaborately described. Growth of the pubic hair and genital organs is closely watched and compared. In this way they slowly reach their youth when talks for their marriage are opened. On marriage they acquire a new social status.

After marriage the young men and women have to give considerable attention to their economic pursuits and crafts, and as such they have relatively little time left for group activity. Yet, their leisure and time are generally spent in the company of persons belonging more or less to the same age-group, who constitute 'a set of friends'. Important activities of these groups include loafing, playing card games, gossip and conversation. They may even go to the city together; and always act in unison when planning mischief. Confidences are exchanged within these groups; and people often narrate to each other their recent exploits. One of the favourite themes is boasting regarding success in sexual adventures. Success—real or imaginary—with an adolescent girl is vividly described within this narrow circle. Graphic and vivid details are always added to make the account more colourful. 'It was her very first experience. Oh, there was so much blood. I did not know whether to pacify her or to concentrate on the act', one would say. This would start a chain in which all others would narrate their parallel experiences—many of which would be slightly modified editions of often-told tales. The *motif* of a girl being frightened by the largeness of a man's organ also

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WEB OF FAMILY TIES

593 With the setting up of an independent houshold the nature of husband-wife relations undergoes a definite change. Now the two are free to run their own affairs. No doubt the husband has not now to work under anybody's supervision, but he also lacks the security provided by the joint family. Similarly, the wife has no longer to slave for her mother-in-law, but all the same she has to do the entire work connected with the running of the household. The husband is now the real head and has to work hard to provide for the maintenance of the family. The major share of the family's subsistence comes through his labour; in some cases the wife also assists him. In many families, a small part of the family's earnings may be contributed by the wife also. But the main task of the woman is to run the household and manage the domestic economy. As far as possible the house should be kept neat and tidy, children and cattle should be well looked after, and above all at fixed hours meals should be provided for the members of the family. Ordinarily a woman does not interfere with 'outside affairs', that is matters not directly connected with domestic management are believed to be the responsibility of the husband. Similarly, the husband is not expected to meddle too much in the actual running of the household. Nevertheless, major decisions connected with either of these spheres are arrived at after mutual consultation. Cases on record clearly show that in several instances a dominating wife effectively interferes in the management of 'outside affairs', and in time the husband learns not only to take her advice but to depend upon it. On the other hand, instances of the other type are not wanting, where a wife who is consistently negligent about her household duties is sharply rebuked by her husband and is made to carry out his detailed instructions regarding the actual management of domestic affairs. Care and education of the children are primarily the responsibility of the mother, but in this field the father is also expected to give some of his time and attention.

593 837 Both husband and wife watch each other's activities closely. Improvidence and spendthrift habits, excessive drinking and gambling, and extra-marital sex-intrigues to the neglect of the spouse on the part of the husband are critically watched and commented on by the wife. If mild hints do not prove effective she takes recourse to taunts and threats. One of the most important and often-used weapons in the armoury of the wife is her threat

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of running away to her parental home. She often expresses her anger and discontent by neglecting the children and other household activities. If things still do not improve to her satisfaction, she begins to protest loudly, which often ends in open quarrels and altercations. On the other hand, among the men the stereotype that by nature woman is faithless is widely believed, and while they admit that there are some notable exceptions, they nevertheless emphasize the necessity of vigilance on the part of the husband and other responsible members of the family. The suspicion regarding a woman is directed particularly against two things: namely, possibility of a sexual liaison with a 'lover', and that of her stealthily giving money and grain to her relatives on the paternal side. If he suspects his wife, the husband makes suggestive hints and veiled threats. When subsequent events confirm his suspicion, he voices his protests loudly. Now he administers threats of dire consequences, and as a foretaste of what would come if she does not change her ways, he may even beat his wife. If things do not change for the better even with this, the subsequent developments may indeed be very complicated. However, much depends on the personality and disposition of the husband. Rather than allowing the affair to develop into an open scandal, some husbands overlook occasional lapses of their wives; others are so jealous that they cannot forget an incident of this type even when the wives mend their ways and keep on taunting them.

In a joint family, the daughter-in-law does not have any independence unless she becomes the mother of two or three children. Until then she should not be found even speaking to her husband. Efforts at endearment, smiling or even exchanging fond glances would be enough to cause comment and would earn for the couple a reputation for being 'shameless'. The husband in such families often hears the complaints from both his mother and his wife, and leaves them to adjust their relations among themselves.

In the preceding section I have discussed the ethics and ideals of family organization on the three levels of village population. The authoritarian husband and the docile wife is the ideal of people on all three levels, but it is only on the upper level that we find them holding to the ideal in actual practice. Even there, the desire to maintain 'family prestige' and 'good name' forces the husband to overlook some of the faults and failings of the wife and

593 565 937 [586] to maintain silence about them. But if affairs cross the limits of decency, or the constant misbehaviour of the wife threatens to become the subject of public gossip, the wife receives very harsh treatment and may even be driven out of the house. If she once leaves the house, readmittance for her would be practically impossible among the people of the upper level. On the other two levels, while tempers are roused very quickly and are even expressed publicly in a violent way, the reconciliation is not difficult. Faults of the wife are often openly discussed among them, and she is ridiculed in the presence of others; but she is quite readily forgiven also, and if she does not go astray again, she soon regains her former position in the household.

593 The stereotyped attitudes of wives for husbands and of husbands for wives are common for the community—as a whole. 'A woman should not be trusted. You can never tell when and how she would slip out', say the men in a knowing manner. Others add, 'Much depends on the husband. He must control his wife properly. Once he relaxes his control, then she is practically gone for all times.' The women, on the other hand, regard all men as heartless. 'It is impossible to please a husband; to-day he likes a thing very much; to-morrow he will lose his temper over it.' 'The lot of a woman is difficult. Unlucky ones receive beatings every day; the lucky ones get them only periodically. But is there a woman whose husband never beats her?' In a philosophical vein they add, 'And why not? The man works and earns. If we do not please him he beats us. Of what use are our protests? If a bullock runs away from one owner, will not its second master yoke it to a plough and mercilessly goad it to move faster? If we leave one man and go to another, what guarantee is there that he will not treat us in the same way?'

The wife does not dominate the domestic scene, but if she is tactful she can manipulate things in such a way that her husband will rarely go against her wishes. Gradually she comes to occupy a key position within the household.

581 Finally two significant questions may be raised: what type of wives do most men want? and what type of husbands do most women want? While the ideals and likes and dislikes of individuals are bound to differ greatly on the basis of their personal equations, certain attributes are considered desirable by people from nearly all the different levels of the community. A wife should be, above

all, of a pleasant disposition, and should endeavour to keep her husband pleased. She must be 'tactful' and should be able to 'dissuade the husband from going the wrong way' without causing offence to him. This tact would be a valuable asset to her in organizing her general relations with the other members of the family. 'Foolish wives grumble and cry, and go on slaving for the household; the intelligent one wins over everyone by her pleasantness.' Then the wife must be a good housekeeper and a tolerable cook. Her economic virtues would ultimately earn for her the key position in the family. She must spend the money entrusted to her care very judiciously. She should save enough to buy her ornaments; and should lay aside something to meet unforeseen expenses. The more she can save without the knowledge of her husband, the more she will be appreciated by the elderly women. In sex she should not be passive, but should not be violently active either. 'We don't want a woman to be like a log of wood in the bed; but the aggressive ones definitely repel us', the men often remark. The women also comment on oversexed women who are shameless enough to cross the limits of womanly decency. Husbands do not want their wives to be fussy. The womenfolk seem to be well aware of this. In the words of one of our informants, 'If we nag too much, our words lose their value and our husbands make it a habit not to listen to whatever we say.'

Women's 'ideal' of a husband is a man who 'works hard and earns enough' to feed and keep the family in good clothes. If he can buy ornaments for the wife, he will be all the more admired. He should 'take an interest in his wife and children', and look to their comfort and welfare. While the women take it for granted that no husband is ever completely faithful to his wife, they resent their semi-permanent or permanent affiliations to a woman outside. They protest if his amours prove too expensive to the family. No woman would like her husband to earn the epithet of being 'a woman's slave', but neither do they want him to be overstrict and temperamental. The suggestion that a husband could be meek and docile appeared rather ridiculous to most women; what they seemed to like best was a firm, but friendly husband. A man not given to any excesses and possessing personality-traits which mark him out in the community in some way would certainly be an object of pride for his wife.

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latter and angers them all the more. The play-groups cut across the boundaries of family and caste and include boys and girls from different castes. This necessitates the giving of instruction to them by the elders, who explain the hierarchy of the caste system and indicate clearly the groups among whom participation in eating on a basis of equality is permitted. Rules of inter-dining and untouchability are enforced at the age of six or seven; although until the age of adolescence their breaches are not very strictly punished. At the age of six or seven boys and girls come to have their separate play-groups, although their occasional playing together is not prohibited. Sex knowledge and sex experience of the children widens considerably, partly through secretly watching and imitating the elders, partly through oral instruction by older members of the play-group. Masturbation is now stealthily practised. Elders do not take an indulgent view if they find grown-up boys manipulating and rubbing their penes. Ridicule and threats are often employed to cure the habit. The threats commonly given are: 'If you persist in this habit your organ will not grow'; or that 'It will become crooked and you will be useless.' Threats of exposure cause great shame among the boys. Nevertheless, knowledge acquired from older and more experienced members of the age-group indicates that 'the penis grows larger by the practice of masturbation', 'maturity is arrived at earlier' and 'boys not doing it are not tough—they are half-girls', and consequently boys continue to masturbate secretly. A small group of boys may occasionally have a session of joint masturbation. Mutual masturbation is known, though it is less frequent. Similarly, little boys lie down together and imitate the coital act, although this does not involve actual anal penetration. Homosexuality is said to be confined to young people and boys with urban contacts; but we have reason to believe that it is practised on a limited scale by others also. However, it is confined only to pre-adolescent and adolescent groups. A boy persuades a smaller boy to lie down with him, and just rubs his organ at his anus—only in very rare cases is any anal penetration effected. A popular game with the boys is to make a female figure in dust and play at copulation. In the three instances observed by us the imitation was perfect, and resembled normal coitus in all its essentials. Boys and girls play at marriage, which in a few cases culminates in the act of 'sleeping together'. In most cases this is just lying together and no more; in a few it reaches the

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admiration of their age-group. For the girls it is a rather difficult period, as they have to find a middle way between the dictates of their romantic impulses and the fear of the social censure that comes to all wayward girls. Adolescent boys divide their time more or less equally between 'learning to do things' with their parents and being with their playmates. Childish games in the dust are now replaced by more vigorous country sport. Within the age-group itself thoughts and efforts in the domain of sex come to occupy a very important place. Masturbation is now regarded as 'unmanly' and gradually given up. Lying with other boys is also looked down upon. Efforts are made to attract younger girls for first experimentation in heterosexual love. Far more than these actual experiments, fantasies occupy an important place in their thoughts and conversation. Imaginary affairs with a woman believed to be of easy virtue—or with a completely fictitious character from a distant village—are vividly and elaborately described. Growth of the pubic hair and genital organs is closely watched and compared. In this way they slowly reach their youth when talks for their marriage are opened. On marriage they acquire a new social status.

After marriage the young men and women have to give considerable attention to their economic pursuits and crafts, and as such they have relatively little time left for group activity. Yet, their leisure and time are generally spent in the company of persons belonging more or less to the same age-group, who constitute 'a set of friends'. Important activities of these groups include loafing, playing card games, gossip and conversation. They may even go to the city together; and always act in unison when planning mischief. Confidences are exchanged within these groups; and people often narrate to each other their recent exploits. One of the favourite themes is boasting regarding success in sexual adventures. Success—real or imaginary—with an adolescent girl is vividly described within this narrow circle. Graphic and vivid details are always added to make the account more colourful. 'It was her very first experience. Oh, there was so much blood. I did not know whether to pacify her or to concentrate on the act', one would say. This would start a chain in which all others would narrate their parallel experiences—many of which would be slightly modified editions of often-told tales. The *motif* of a girl being frightened by the largeness of a man's organ also

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natural and necessary. Only morons and cripples remain single. Though it is rare for people to renounce their home and property in old age, old men and women excessively attached to material goods come in for a good deal of criticism, and people often remark about them, 'Will they carry their wealth with them to the other world when they die?' It is at this time that their thoughts turn more to religion and to the destiny of their souls in the future life, and it is now that they generally undertake pilgrimages to holy places. In a sense the broad essentials of the philosophy of the *ashramas* can be said to permeate the life and thought of the Hindu villagers. The village Muslims share these social attitudes with their Hindu neighbours. With conversion to Islam they have changed their religious faith, but in the socio-cultural spheres of life they still continue to have more or less the same basic attitudes as the Hindus. In their family ethics and ideals the two groups demonstrate considerable similarity.

To the village people the necessity of both marriage and family is self-evident. It is necessary that the family line should be continued. A male heir must be left. An unmarried person past the marriage age is an object of pity. A couple without a son are unhappy. Childlessness and inability to produce a male child on the part of a woman often lead to a polygynous household. Marriage is regarded as essential among all the castes and social groups in the village. In a community of 2,494 persons, demographic survey reveals the presence of only two single persons—both women. One of these is a deaf-mute; the other has been a victim of epileptic fits from her childhood and has in addition the unenviable reputation of being a thief. For the clean-caste Hindus the continuity of the family line is necessary for a further reason. A male child must make a ceremonial offering of water to the spirits of his deceased parents and ancestors, without which their souls may not have peace. The untouchable castes as well as the semi-tribal groups also have this ritual in a modified form. The Muslims neither have this belief nor any attendant ritual, but they too share with the Hindus the sentiment against childlessness.

1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

The patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint family is the normal type of family unit met with in this part of rural India.

WEB OF FAMILY TIES

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 In general the attitude of the children towards their parents should be one of respect and obedience. Very early in his life a child must learn to act on the traditional norms of showing respect to different categories of people on the basis of their age and kinship status. The parents are entitled to the highest respect from the children; the latter must show it by touching their feet on ceremonial occasions. Between the father and the mother, the former symbolizes authority to a greater degree, while the constant association of the latter develops ties of sympathetic understanding between her and the children. Both must be respected, but of the two the father is feared much more. The mother is generally responsible for the upbringing of the children, but vigilance is also expected of the father, who must provide the corrective when too much leniency on the part of the mother begins to spoil the children. Of course the mother is responsible for the daily care of the children. She baths, clothes and feeds them. She looks after them during their illnesses. While she is doing her normal household work, she is expected to keep an eye on the children, and to ensure that they are kept away from mischief. Until they are about five years old, the life of the children centres around the mother. It is to her that they look for protection and help. 'When he is in a playful mood, the father may fondle the child; but it is the mother who attends to his daily routine.' 'The father,' it is said, 'loves the smiling child, but it is the mother who has to pacify it when it starts crying.'

[858] The nature of the parent-child relationship changes with the age and status of the children. The traditional themes of correct treatment during infancy and early childhood are very different from those of childhood and adolescence. Similarly, when the sons and daughters enter the phases of youth and subsequently of adulthood, the tone of the parent-child relationship undergoes a significant modification.

593 Traditional opinion regards a son as an asset; a daughter, a
● 842 liability. While a son 'belongs' to his parents, a daughter is bound eventually to go to some other family. Care of a daughter is regarded as 'watering a neighbour's tree'; you take all the trouble with it but its fruit goes to someone else. In a large family having many sons, a girl is definitely desired and welcomed. A family having too many daughters and no sons is unhappy, for a son is

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both a psychological and a ritual necessity. Notwithstanding this preference for sons, in actual practice no discrimination is observed in the treatment of children on the grounds of their sex.

As a rule infants are treated with affection. Until a child is four or five years old, it is mainly a responsibility of the mother. The mother nurses it whenever it starts crying indicating its desire to be fed. The child sleeps with its mother in the night and is at liberty to suck whenever it likes. Feeding of the child is primarily the mother's duty. However, when it is six to eight months old, elder sisters, female relations and male members of the household may start sharing this task with her by occasionally giving solid food to the child. While other relations give some food to the child occasionally, its attachment to the mother does not diminish in any significant way, as it is breast-fed by her until it is four or five years old. In teaching the child regular habits of sphincter control, standing, walking and speaking the mother's share is very considerable.

On the whole, an infant is the cause of delight to the family, and it is often fondled and carried about by the elders. They all invariably make funny faces and peculiar noises to make the baby smile, fondle it in many different ways, and find great enjoyment in imitating its meaningless sounds.

The situation radically changes after the child reaches the age of five or six years. Now the parents must be strong and should start disciplining it. At this stage the child finds the father an authoritarian figure and begins to fear him. The liberty that he was allowed during his early childhood is increasingly curtailed. Now the accent is on good behaviour and regular habits. The child is more frequently spanked for being troublesome. Absorbed in the care of a younger baby, the mother may often have to leave the elder child to spend most of his time in his own way. During the day-time he mostly plays out of doors with other children of his age-group. As he grows older the discipline becomes more and more difficult. At first he was punished for being 'troublesome' or for 'crying without reason', but now he has to distinguish clearly between things to be done and things not to be done. The child must be very particular about the latter. These include mostly urinating and defecating inside the house, demanding food and money at odd times too often, beating younger brothers and sisters, stealing, lying and using foul language. As a general rule, the

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ing of these variant customs quite a stimulating, though somewhat tedious, task; but a full ethnographic record of them will be out of place here, and only a broad outline of the essentials will be presented, to illustrate their place in the socio-religious life of the Hindus. As the Muslims differ from the Hindus vitally in respect of their *rites de passage* their observances will be described separately.

Birth. On the birth of a child the mother, as well as other members of the family, is ritually impure. On the third or fifth day after the birth the *purudu* rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of all members of the family except the mother. The mother continues to be ritually impure for twenty-one to thirty days. On the twenty-first day—in some castes on the thirtieth day—the name-giving ceremony of the child takes place. The mother is bathed. The child's head is shaved, and it is put in a cradle. If it is the first child, or the first son, relations from other villages are also invited to participate in the name-giving ceremony. Friends and neighbours from the village itself are always invited. Women sing songs suitable for the occasion. If an ancestor is believed to have taken re-birth the newborn is named after him; otherwise the elders, after mutual consultation or at the suggestion of an important and influential relation, decide upon a name for the child. The name is announced to the assembly of men and women present. Singing is continued for some time longer. The ceremony ends with a feast for relations and some very special friends.

The Brahmin may be consulted for his astrological predictions regarding the future of the child, and also regarding the implications of the position of the stars at the time of birth for the members of the family. On this occasion the Komtis, the Reddi agriculturists as well as other higher caste Hindus with urban contacts may also invite him. Women from the barber's caste act as midwives among all the clean castes; untouchables manage with experienced women from their respective castes. Services of four other castes are essential: the barber for shaving the child's head, the washerman for washing the linen and clothes before the twenty-first day ceremony, the potter for the supply of new pots for ritual purification, and Madigas for playing musical instruments. Payments for these services are prescribed by tradition; and are both in cash and kind.

RITUAL STRUCTURE

844 Among the Muslims an expectant mother is sent for the birth of her first child to her parents; subsequent deliveries generally take place in her own home. During her confinement she is attended by a professional midwife. An amulet is often tied to the
846 mother's waist to facilitate delivery. Within a few hours of its birth the child is bathed and clothed. His grandfather or an elderly relation says the prayers. A date is then dipped in honey and a drop or two of that honey is put into the mouth of the newborn child. Milk should not be given to the child before this has been done. On the sixth day the *chhatti* ceremony is performed.
[451] For this relations from both mother's and father's side are invited. They bring with them gifts for the child, comprising of sets of new clothes, dolls and playthings and possibly a silver spoon. The child
553 is dressed in new clothes. On the seventh day its head is shaved, and the elders give it a name. Depending on the means of the family, feasts are given to friends and relations on the sixth and seventh days, The mother continues to be out of the normal round of life for forty days. On the fortieth day she is bathed. The midwife is given her remuneration on this day. Once again there is a feast, and presents may be given both to the child and to the mother.

881 *Pre-puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus, the Brahmin and the Komti perform the sacred thread ceremony for the boys before they attain puberty. At these rites the Brahmin priest officiates. The Panch Bramha group of artisan castes also perform this rite; but they do not invite the Brahmin. Their caste-priest conducts the ceremony.

862 In the Muslim community a boy must be circumcised any time between the age of two and ten. A few relations are invited for the occasion, the boy is garlanded and then the operation is performed. It is usual to give small presents to the boy at this time. Another pre-puberty rite is the *bismilla* ceremony done both for
[867] boys and girls. This initiates the child's religious instruction, for from now on it is taught the alphabet and is gradually enabled to read the Koran. In Shamirpet the *bismilla* ceremony is performed for all Muslim children, though relatively few of them learn to read the holy book.

881 *Puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus the girl's first menstruation is attended by elaborate ceremonies. She is secluded for five days, and at the end of this period is bathed and dressed in new clothes.

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25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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it is common both in the Telugu and Tamil districts to substitute a sheep for a man, and to fasten the iron hooks in the muscles of its back.

Alleged infanticide among Todas. I have been told that, among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, it was formerly the custom to place female children, whom it was not desired to rear, on the ground at the entrance of the mund, *i.e.* a group of huts, and drive buffaloes over them. If they survived this ordeal, they were allowed to live.

It is only fair to add that the Todas themselves deny that this custom ever existed. To quote Mr. Thurston again:[1]

"The practice of infanticide, as it prevailed among the Todas of the Nilgiris, is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall (*A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, 1873): 'I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (*putkŭli*), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? Those tell lies who say we laid it before the open buffalo-pen so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears and mouth with a cloth thus (here pantomimic action). It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The kelachi got a present of four annas (4d.) for the deed.' The old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance of a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not."

Masulipatam. At Masulipatam, where ceremonies are performed very similar to those at Gudivada

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17
Hindus
Muslims

ing of these variant customs quite a stimulating, though somewhat tedious, task; but a full ethnographic record of them will be out of place here, and only a broad outline of the essentials will be presented, to illustrate their place in the socio-religious life of the Hindus. As the Muslims differ from the Hindus vitally in respect of their *rites de passage* their observances will be described separately.

Birth. On the birth of a child the mother, as well as other members of the family, is ritually impure. On the third or fifth day after the birth the *purudu* rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of all members of the family except the mother. The mother continues to be ritually impure for twenty-one to thirty days. On the twenty-first day—in some castes on the thirtieth day—the name-giving ceremony of the child takes place. The mother is bathed. The child's head is shaved, and it is put in a cradle. If it is the first child, or the first son, relations from other villages are also invited to participate in the name-giving ceremony. Friends and neighbours from the village itself are always invited. Women sing songs suitable for the occasion. If an ancestor is believed to have taken re-birth the newborn is named after him; otherwise the elders, after mutual consultation or at the suggestion of an important and influential relation, decide upon a name for the child. The name is announced to the assembly of men and women present. Singing is continued for some time longer. The ceremony ends with a feast for relations and some very special friends.

The Brahmin may be consulted for his astrological predictions regarding the future of the child, and also regarding the implications of the position of the stars at the time of birth for the members of the family. On this occasion the Komtis, the Reddi agriculturists as well as other higher caste Hindus with urban contacts may also invite him. Women from the barber's caste act as midwives among all the clean castes; untouchables manage with experienced women from their respective castes. Services of four other castes are essential: the barber for shaving the child's head, the washerman for washing the linen and clothes before the twenty-first day ceremony, the potter for the supply of new pots for ritual purification, and Madigas for playing musical instruments. Payments for these services are prescribed by tradition; and are both in cash and kind.

RITUAL STRUCTURE

844 Among the Muslims an expectant mother is sent for the birth of her first child to her parents; subsequent deliveries generally take place in her own home. During her confinement she is attended by a professional midwife. An amulet is often tied to the
846 mother's waist to facilitate delivery. Within a few hours of its birth the child is bathed and clothed. His grandfather or an elderly relation says the prayers. A date is then dipped in honey and a drop or two of that honey is put into the mouth of the newborn child. Milk should not be given to the child before this has been done. On the sixth day the *chhatti* ceremony is performed.
[431] For this relations from both mother's and father's side are invited. They bring with them gifts for the child, comprising of sets of new clothes, dolls and playthings and possibly a silver spoon. The child
553 is dressed in new clothes. On the seventh day its head is shaved, and the elders give it a name. Depending on the means of the family, feasts are given to friends and relations on the sixth and seventh days, The mother continues to be out of the normal round of life for forty days. On the fortieth day she is bathed. The midwife is given her remuneration on this day. Once again there is a feast, and presents may be given both to the child and to the mother.

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Hindus
Muslims

RITUAL STRUCTURE

For three to ten days the household gods, as well as those at the family's favourite shrine, are worshipped. For the latter the girl is taken out with the village women in a procession, and the Madigas are summoned to play their musical instruments. With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti, in all other castes the women from the neighbourhood assemble every afternoon for singing and dancing at the house of the girl for whom the ceremony is being performed. Among the Muslims, at the time of first menstruation the girl is secluded for seven to eleven days. At the end of this period she is given new clothes, which she wears after taking her bath. 881

Ear and nose boring of the girls is done before the age of puberty among both the Hindus and the Muslims. But this act has no religious rites attached to it. 852

Marriage. In the community people are as a rule married when they are adults; only in some cases are adolescents married. Child-marriage is rare. Out of 380 first marriages investigated by us, only 14 could be described as child-marriages. 582

Among the Hindus, negotiated marriages are common. People show an unmistakable preference for cross-cousin marriage when the subject is discussed with them; but out of the 340 Hindu marriages analysed by us, only 18% were cross-cousin marriages, the rest being negotiated marriages into unrelated families. Muslims permit both parallel and cross-cousin marriages, and indeed regard them as highly desirable. Our sample of Muslim marriages is not quite adequate, but out of 40 marriages fully investigated 19 were between cousins. Among the agriculturists, and to a lesser extent among others, it is necessary for the girl's parents to pay a dowry to the boy. This accounts for the relatively few marriages by service. When the parents of the boy are too poor even to arrange for the normal expenses of an average wedding—involving expenditure on the buying of clothes and ornaments for the bride and bridegroom, marriage feasts and other incidental expenses—the boy may serve with his prospective father-in-law for a stipulated period, at the end of which the latter marries him to his daughter at his own expense. Marriages by exchange may be arranged between two families to economize on the dowry; and further they may be celebrated at the same time so as to complete two weddings for the expense of one. Cases of run-away marriages occur at times, but they are 583

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both a psychological and a ritual necessity. Notwithstanding this preference for sons, in actual practice no discrimination is observed in the treatment of children on the grounds of their sex.

As a rule infants are treated with affection. Until a child is four or five years old, it is mainly a responsibility of the mother. The mother nurses it whenever it starts crying indicating its desire to be fed. The child sleeps with its mother in the night and is at liberty to suck whenever it likes. Feeding of the child is primarily the mother's duty. However, when it is six to eight months old, elder sisters, female relations and male members of the household may start sharing this task with her by occasionally giving solid food to the child. While other relations give some food to the child occasionally, its attachment to the mother does not diminish in any significant way, as it is breast-fed by her until it is four or five years old. In teaching the child regular habits of sphincter control, standing, walking and speaking the mother's share is very considerable.

On the whole, an infant is the cause of delight to the family, and it is often fondled and carried about by the elders. They all invariably make funny faces and peculiar noises to make the baby smile, fondle it in many different ways, and find great enjoyment in imitating its meaningless sounds.

The situation radically changes after the child reaches the age of five or six years. Now the parents must be strong and should start disciplining it. At this stage the child finds the father an authoritarian figure and begins to fear him. The liberty that he was allowed during his early childhood is increasingly curtailed. Now the accent is on good behaviour and regular habits. The child is more frequently spanked for being troublesome. Absorbed in the care of a younger baby, the mother may often have to leave the elder child to spend most of his time in his own way. During the day-time he mostly plays out of doors with other children of his age-group. As he grows older the discipline becomes more and more difficult. At first he was punished for being 'troublesome' or for 'crying without reason', but now he has to distinguish clearly between things to be done and things not to be done. The child must be very particular about the latter. These include mostly urinating and defecating inside the house, demanding food and money at odd times too often, beating younger brothers and sisters, stealing, lying and using foul language. As a general rule, the

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854 needs of the child. Attention given to the infant during these months is fairly constant. Even in the poorer families the mother does not go out to work, leaving the child alone at home, during these months; although her domestic duties may require partial abandonment of the child in the busy hours of morning and evening. In the families on the upper economic levels of the community the infant is well looked after indeed; its crying is looked upon as
[853] a sign of distress and everything is done to pacify it. In the matter of breast feeding no definite schedule is followed: the child is fed whenever 'it is hungry and asks for food, by crying' or when 'the mother's breasts become heavy'. At night the infant sleeps with the mother, generally with a nipple in its mouth and is allowed to
[863] suck whenever it desires. Toilet training at this stage is completely neglected, and soiling of clothes does not arouse any disgust. It is taken in a matter-of-fact way, and the wet clothes are changed whenever they are noticed by the mother or any other female relative. When the child starts crying the usual way to pacify it is for the mother to offer it her breast. If this is not possible at the moment, or if it fails to achieve the desired objective, other methods may be tried. The mother, a female relation or a sibling may take up the child, mildly pat it continuously on the back and hum a lullaby to send it to sleep. It may be put in a cradle attached to a swing and rocked slowly. Another method very commonly employed by anyone who happens to be near the crying child is to distract it by making funny noises or by engaging in a one-way conversation with it. Recourse may also be taken to a gentle massage of its genitals by the mother or one of its siblings.

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truth and untruth. He is sweet when he wants us to do something for him; and coarse when the work is over.' 'The ways of city people are strange. They will go to bed even with their cousins and aunts.' 'The villager who has lived in the city for some years learns all the ways of the townspeople. He may be an insignificant menial in the city, but when he returns to the village he behaves like a big lord.'

The people with urban contacts, on the other hand, regard the village-folk as rustic and crude; and consider themselves more forward and civilized. They have an unmistakable tendency to look down upon 'these simple and uncomprehending people', make fun of their ways and occasionally exploit them by exerting undue pressure. 'These people are timid and foolish. They are afraid of anyone who can make some show of authority, and yield very easily to the pressure of officials', said a village youth when he was asked to give his opinion about his fellow villagers, who had not had the benefit of contacts with city ways.

Those who have some urban contacts are gradually coming to the fore in village leadership. They are often criticized and commented upon, but nevertheless their opinions are valued and in general the community looks to them for guidance in all situations 'where it has to face the outside world'.

2. CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND OLD AGE

This section is devoted to a brief study of the three most significant stages of life—childhood, youth and old age. While family, kin-group and caste are important units of social structure which influence the course of an individual's life-cycle, from the point of view of socialization and social control the significance of the village as a unit cannot be minimized. Apart from the family and the caste, people spend most of their time in their respective age-groups, and through this process of growing-up together, common play and participation in youth activity the people tend to have a common value—orientation and certain common basic attitudes towards life.

For the first two or three months of a child's life the mother remains almost in sole charge of it. A young mother is invariably instructed in the technique of mothercraft by an elderly female relative, but at this stage it is her responsibility to look after the

854 needs of the child. Attention given to the infant during these months is fairly constant. Even in the poorer families the mother does not go out to work, leaving the child alone at home, during these months; although her domestic duties may require partial abandonment of the child in the busy hours of morning and evening. In the families on the upper economic levels of the community the infant is well looked after indeed; its crying is looked upon as [853] a sign of distress and everything is done to pacify it. In the matter of breast feeding no definite schedule is followed: the child is fed whenever 'it is hungry and asks for food, by crying' or when 'the mother's breasts become heavy'. At night the infant sleeps with the mother, generally with a nipple in its mouth and is allowed to [863] suck whenever it desires. Toilet training at this stage is completely neglected, and soiling of clothes does not arouse any disgust. It is taken in a matter-of-fact way, and the wet clothes are changed whenever they are noticed by the mother or any other female relative. When the child starts crying the usual way to pacify it is for the mother to offer it her breast. If this is not possible at the moment, or if it fails to achieve the desired objective, other methods may be tried. The mother, a female relation or a sibling may take up the child, mildly pat it continuously on the back and hum a lullaby to send it to sleep. It may be put in a cradle attached to a swing and rocked slowly. Another method very commonly employed by anyone who happens to be near the crying child is to distract it by making funny noises or by engaging in a one-way conversation with it. Recourse may also be taken to a gentle massage of its genitals by the mother or one of its siblings.

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lighter punishments are administered by the mother, who deals with the minor faults and offences of her children. All serious offences and persistent defiance of the mother's authority are reported by her to the father. Very often the mother's threat that she would report the matter to the father is enough to set the recalcitrant children right. In point of fact, many mothers build up the father as a figure to be feared, and in some instances the children actually tremble when they are produced before him for disobedience and other improper conduct. The punishments inflicted by the father on his children are less frequent but more severe. But from the above it should not be surmised that the children's attitude towards the father is only that of fear, for that would obviously be wrong. Fear and respect there certainly are, but not without a definite feeling of confidence and friendship for him. While difficulties are more often referred to and help sought from the mother, the father is not unapproachable, and indeed many fathers teach their children new games, make them small playthings, occasionally take them out for sight-seeing, buy them sweets and other tit-bits, and on demand give them a little money too.

During later childhood and adolescence the girls draw themselves closer and closer to the mother and occupy themselves mainly with feminine pursuits. The boys continue to maintain close and intimate relations with the mother, but her authority over them gradually diminishes. They learn to coax and cajole her. They know her weaknesses and devise ingenious ways to tease her. She often threatens to bring matters to the notice of the father, but the boys know very well that in all probability the threat will not be carried out. But during this period the father watches the development of his sons with greater interest and when complaints are brought to him the punishment is often exemplary. Traditionally this is believed to be the period when 'boys go tough' and are difficult to manage, and it is during this phase that the father must exercise tact and firmness in keeping them under control. They must keep the right sort of company, and should not be allowed to spend all their time playing and planning mischief. Even if they go to the village school, they should give some time to their traditional caste occupations. By assisting their elders and seeing them at work they should be able to acquire the fundamentals of what in all likelihood is going to be their main vocation

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shows signs of digesting these well, siblings and other members of the family begin giving bits of food to pacify the baby when it starts crying. During this stage people love to handle the child, and there is very considerable fondling and play. No effort is made to establish sphincter control in the child at this point. Every possible help is given to the child to learn to stand and walk. While people take great delight in imitating the sounds made by the child, efforts are also made to teach him to talk. Words for grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters are generally the first to be taught. In a state of mental agitation and worry the mother may occasionally spank the child; but this is definitely disapproved and when detected the mother is always reproached by the elders for doing so.

With some modifications this continues even during the early childhood, up to the age of about three. When the child learns to walk it is carried about less by the elders. Now and then it may be left to play by itself in the backyard or in the lane in front of the house. Help in its learning processes continues to be given, and elders indulge in considerable fondling of the child. Weaning is not attempted unless necessitated by the mother's pregnancy or by the 'drying up of her breasts'. Attempts at toilet training are made at this stage. When the child wakes up in the morning the mother seats it on the hollow made by joining her feet and keeps on making a hissing sound which is believed to induce a child to ease itself. Now and then the child is taken to a corner, the cloth covering its genital organs is removed, and the hissing sound is made to make it urinate. If the child wets or soils its clothes at this stage the mother or a sibling will say, '*Chhi*, you are dirty'. But this is done with a smile and there is hardly any reproach in the remark.

When boys are seen manipulating their organs the elders smile and playfully remove their hands from them. Boys invariably start doing so again, and are not admonished. This amuses rather than irritates the older members of the family. While the sex experience of the children is confined wholly to their manipulation of genital organs, their sex knowledge is considerably wider. Sharing the same room with their parents, they have frequent opportunities of watching them engaged in the coital act. Even at the age of three the vocabulary of several children includes the words for penis, vagina and copulation.

LIVING TOGETHER

515 Sponging children with warm water is now often replaced by two or three cold baths per week; the frequency being more among the Brahmins and Komtis and less among the Muslims and the
861 untouchables. The elders practise considerable deception in their dealings with the children. Efforts at disciplining them tend to be rather erratic; and extremes of affection and strictures are by no means uncommon. Jealousies between siblings may be induced by members of the family who take delight in watching the irritation, anger and aggressiveness of little children. Tantrums during this stage are frequent. The methods commonly employed to pacify the child are: distracting it by making funny noises, rocking it in a cradle, offering it food or milk, scolding it loudly, threatening it, and finally boxing its ears and spanking it.

855 Later childhood begins at about five and continues until the advent of adolescence. At this stage the children form their own
[857] play-groups; spending several hours of the day in their respective age-groups. Now they are free to play in the streets and the open
[866] ground outside the village. Maternal attention is now considerably reduced; the elders keep an eye on them, but apart from this they have considerable freedom. As they grow older solicitation of affectionate responses through handling, play and fondling gradu-
[863] ally diminishes. Toilet training becomes strict, and the child is expected to have full control over defecation and urination. Cleanliness is insisted upon, and any failure on his part in this respect arouses anger in the elders. The erring child is ridiculed,
[864] chastised and punished. Now they must wear clothes and begin to learn to hide their genitals. If the elders find their organs exposed they point to them and ask, '*Arre*, what is that? Why are you exhibiting that little thing?' Children often develop a sense of shame at this stage, blush at such remarks, hide their organs and
861 run away from the elders. Discipline becomes more rigorous and physical punishment is more frequent. Rewards for good behaviour include praise, partiality and favoured treatment on the part of the parents, larger share of food and small gifts of money. Punishments, on the other hand, include rebukes and threats, ridicule, threats to report the matter to the father, spanking and occasionally denial of food or playing things or even locking up in a solitary room. Considerable dishonesty is practised by elders in their dealings with children, which is often detected by the latter and angers them all the more.

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ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

They mostly hunt small game, and are adept in the use of traps, snares and dogs. At the time of these investigations there were six guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shooting. Similarly, fishing is done by very few people, mostly by some young Muslim men. They do not use fishing nets and traps, and practically the only method employed by them for catching the fish is that of using the rod, hook and bait. The large tank in the vicinity of the village could afford a good supply of fish, but the absence of the fishing caste in the village population leaves this possibility almost unexplored. Fishermen from the neighbouring villages, however, periodically come to the tank.

The surroundings of Shamirpet offer very few opportunities for the collection of wild food. Around the village there are not many fruit-bearing trees. Mango and *jamun* (rose apple, *Eugenia jambolana*) fruits are mostly eaten while they are still unripe by the village boys. Parties of children and young people periodically go to pick wild berries when they are in season. These are mostly eaten on the spot. When wild figs are ripe children collect and eat them. Another item of food eagerly sought by everyone is the *chikur*—tender tamarind leaves. These leaves are curried, as well as pickled and preserved. Honey is collected by some men of lower castes and inferior social status, whenever they can spot a comb. Medicinal herbs, roots, tubers and barks are collected according to need.

Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic organization of the community, the traditional occupations and functions of the different castes have already been described. With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

LEVELS OF LIVING

Caste is an important and rigid determinant of division of labour. Under this system several occupations have been preserved as caste monopolies, while some are 'open' and may be adopted by persons belonging to all castes. This system of division of labour by occupation has been examined at some length in Chapter III.

The factors of sex, age and social status govern the division of labour in nearly all types of work in the community. First, 'masculine' and 'feminine' pursuits are clearly distinguished: a woman doing man's work is laughed at; a man undertaking any specifically feminine tasks provides a favourite theme for popular gossip. Household work, agricultural activities, traditional craft or occupation of the family, and socio-religious rites and ceremonies are all marked by division of work on the basis of sex.

The age factor is equally important, but not so rigid. Six basic age divisions are recognized in the society: (i) 'Infant' from birth to weaning. (ii) 'Child' from weaning to about twelve. (iii) 'Grown-up boys or girls' from twelve until marriage or even a year or two later. (iv) 'Grown-up people' from twenty to about thirty-eight. (v) Middle-aged from about thirty-eight to fifty. (vi) 'Aged', over fifty. Each of these age divisions carries with it a more or less recognized status which determines the nature and quantity of work to be done by the individual in question. Only in the lower strata of the community we find the 'child' burdened with a regular share in domestic and occupational tasks. The children in the families on upper levels may occasionally do odd bits of work, but no responsibility is thrust on them. As they grow up, girls have to take an increasing interest in domestic tasks. 'Grown-up boys and girls' must seriously start 'learning to do things', and are gradually entrusted with some responsibility. However, it is on the 'grown-up people' that the main responsibility of 'doing all the work' and running the affairs of the household rests. The 'middle-aged' people continue to do a part of the practical work; but their time is more occupied by planning, direction and supervision. Depending on their age and personality, the 'aged' continue to supervise and direct the work of the younger members. As they grow older they content themselves merely by giving suggestions and eventually retire from active work or its planning, and devote their time mostly to their grandchildren.

Considerations of general social status also determine the nature

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the Erkalas, the men occupy themselves with hunting and trapping, while women weave mats and seek some additional income by fortune-telling. Among the Madigas males deal with dead animals; women come into the picture only when the meat has to be carried home and cooked. Both men and women may work at curing hides. Shoe-making and other leather-work is mainly done by men. On ritual and ceremonial occasions, musical instruments are played only by Madiga men.

Earlier it has been pointed out that men avoid tasks which are generally known as 'feminine'; and women in their turn are expected not to undertake pursuits which are traditionally regarded as 'masculine'. It is true that during the illness or absence of his wife, a man has to perform some of her domestic duties, but that is obviously a compromise with necessity. Any man taking undue interest in feminine tasks soon earns the unenviable epithet of 'half-woman', and is exposed to the ridicule of the community. Asking a man to do some feminine work would be almost tantamount to questioning his masculinity. 'Put bangles on your wrist, husk the paddy and cook the meals', is a remark often used in reproach to admonish those who lack manly qualities and courage. A woman going out of her way to do anything which is regarded as 'man's work' is noticed and adversely commented upon by the society. It is unthinkable that a woman can handle the plough. It should be pointed out here that sometimes a woman deliberately undertakes to do masculine work to 'bring home' to the husband the realization that he is not fulfilling his manly obligations and thus to awaken him to his proper responsibilities. Middle-aged women and widows can do some men's work without social censure.

Reference has been made to the six basic age divisions recognized in the community. Among the 'rich' and the 'well-to-do' families children do very little; but among the 'average' and the 'poor' they have to help the parents. Grazing the cattle, assisting parents in their work in the fields during the busy season, looking after younger siblings, and running errands are regarded as children's work. The girls have to help their mother in the kitchen. As they grow up their share in work gradually increases. Boys take more interest in 'outdoor' work, whilst girls are absorbed in the domestic routine. During this stage of life the 'grown-up boys and girls' even of rich and well-to-do families have to apply

LIVING TOGETHER

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861 run away from the elders. Discipline becomes more rigorous and physical punishment is more frequent. Rewards for good behaviour include praise, partiality and favoured treatment on the part of the parents, larger share of food and small gifts of money. Punishments, on the other hand, include rebukes and threats, ridicule, threats to report the matter to the father, spanking and occasionally denial of food or playing things or even locking up in a solitary room. Considerable dishonesty is practised by elders in their dealings with children, which is often detected by the latter and angers them all the more.

latter and angers them all the more. The play-groups cut across the boundaries of family and caste and include boys and girls from different castes. This necessitates the giving of instruction to them by the elders, who explain the hierarchy of the caste system and indicate clearly the groups among whom participation in eating on a basis of equality is permitted. Rules of inter-dining and untouchability are enforced at the age of six or seven; although until the age of adolescence their breaches are not very strictly punished. At the age of six or seven boys and girls come to have their separate play-groups, although their occasional playing together is not prohibited. Sex knowledge and sex experience of the children widens considerably, partly through secretly watching and imitating the elders, partly through oral instruction by older members of the play-group. Masturbation is now stealthily practised. Elders do not take an indulgent view if they find grown-up boys manipulating and rubbing their penes. Ridicule and threats are often employed to cure the habit. The threats commonly given are: 'If you persist in this habit your organ will not grow'; or that 'It will become crooked and you will be useless.' Threats of exposure cause great shame among the boys. Nevertheless, knowledge acquired from older and more experienced members of the age-group indicates that 'the penis grows larger by the practice of masturbation', 'maturity is arrived at earlier' and 'boys not doing it are not tough—they are half-girls', and consequently boys continue to masturbate secretly. A small group of boys may occasionally have a session of joint masturbation. Mutual masturbation is known, though it is less frequent. Similarly, little boys lie down together and imitate the coital act, although this does not involve actual anal penetration. Homosexuality is said to be confined to young people and boys with urban contacts; but we have reason to believe that it is practised on a limited scale by others also. However, it is confined only to pre-adolescent and adolescent groups. A boy persuades a smaller boy to lie down with him, and just rubs his organ at his anus—only in very rare cases is any anal penetration effected. A popular game with the boys is to make a female figure in dust and play at copulation. In the three instances observed by us the imitation was perfect, and resembled normal coitus in all its essentials. Boys and girls play at marriage, which in a few cases culminates in the act of 'sleeping together'. In most cases this is just lying together and no more; in a few it reaches the

point of rubbing genital organs. Girls masturbate either by pressing and releasing their clitoris with their fingers or by rubbing their thighs. Obscenity and talk about sex are disapproved by the elders, but the boys regard it as a mark of toughness and as an indication of their grown-up status, and as such indulge in it fairly regularly. Their vocabulary of abuse includes all the major sexual words, and they can often be heard abusing each other in terms such as: 'Copulate with your mother', 'Cohabit with your sister', 'My penis!'—or the rather curious 'Your mother's penis'.

Most children's games involve competition in the use of skills and stamina. The children are divided into several groups and factions, and these often come into conflict on account of intense jealousies and rivalries. Elaborate group *mores* and codes of ethics govern their inter-relations during states of friendship, neutrality and enmity. Toughness in boys is the admired quality; weakness, refined ways, spying and complaining coming in for criticism and ridicule. Running away from fright, crying and treachery to the group are remembered long after the quarrels and restoration of peace between conflicting factions. Outside the play-group the growing children have to lend a helping hand to their parents. Grown-up girls assist their mothers at their domestic tasks and take partial charge of their younger siblings, while boys do odd jobs for the father and other older male relatives. It is now time that they should take their first steps in preparing for adult life.

Adolescence brings about a significant change in the life of both boys and girls. By this age girls are expected to become proficient in all the major domestic tasks. Negotiations for their marriage are invariably started at this age. They grow up faster than the boys. While boys of a comparable age are still regarded as 'grown-up children who do not understand', girls come to be looked upon more or less as fully-grown women. Now they must be careful about their dress; particularly their breasts should never be exposed. They should 'not run about the village like boys', nor should they talk or laugh so loudly as to attract notice. Mothers advise them to be cautious in their behaviour, for this is the age when young people start giving attention to them. Young people have a special fascination for adolescent girls 'whose youth is just beginning to blossom'. Young men succeeding in fondling 'the unripe, half-developed breasts' of a girl and in having intercourse with one 'whose pubic hair is just beginning to grow' easily win the

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WEB OF FAMILY TIES

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

593 In general the attitude of the children towards their parents should be one of respect and obedience. Very early in his life a child must learn to act on the traditional norms of showing respect to different categories of people on the basis of their age and kinship status. The parents are entitled to the highest respect from the children; the latter must show it by touching their feet on ceremonial occasions. Between the father and the mother, the former symbolizes authority to a greater degree, while the constant association of the latter develops ties of sympathetic understanding between her and the children. Both must be respected, but of the two the father is feared much more. The mother is generally responsible for the upbringing of the children, but vigilance is also expected of the father, who must provide the corrective when too much leniency on the part of the mother begins to spoil the children. Of course the mother is responsible for the daily care of the children. She baths, clothes and feeds them. She looks after them during their illnesses. While she is doing her normal household work, she is expected to keep an eye on the children, and to ensure that they are kept away from mischief. Until they are about five years old, the life of the children centres around the mother. It is to her that they look for protection and help. 'When he is in a playful mood, the father may fondle the child; but it is the mother who attends to his daily routine.' 'The father,' it is said, 'loves the smiling child, but it is the mother who has to pacify it when it starts crying.'

● [858] The nature of the parent-child relationship changes with the age and status of the children. The traditional themes of correct treatment during infancy and early childhood are very different from those of childhood and adolescence. Similarly, when the sons and daughters enter the phases of youth and subsequently of adulthood, the tone of the parent-child relationship undergoes a significant modification.

593 842 Traditional opinion regards a son as an asset; a daughter, a liability. While a son 'belongs' to his parents, a daughter is bound eventually to go to some other family. Care of a daughter is regarded as 'watering a neighbour's tree'; you take all the trouble with it but its fruit goes to someone else. In a large family having many sons, a girl is definitely desired and welcomed. A family having too many daughters and no sons is unhappy, for a son is

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both a psychological and a ritual necessity. Notwithstanding this preference for sons, in actual practice no discrimination is observed in the treatment of children on the grounds of their sex.

As a rule infants are treated with affection. Until a child is four or five years old, it is mainly a responsibility of the mother. The mother nurses it whenever it starts crying indicating its desire to be fed. The child sleeps with its mother in the night and is at liberty to suck whenever it likes. Feeding of the child is primarily the mother's duty. However, when it is six to eight months old, elder sisters, female relations and male members of the household may start sharing this task with her by occasionally giving solid food to the child. While other relations give some food to the child occasionally, its attachment to the mother does not diminish in any significant way, as it is breast-fed by her until it is four or five years old. In teaching the child regular habits of sphincter control, standing, walking and speaking the mother's share is very considerable.

On the whole, an infant is the cause of delight to the family, and it is often fondled and carried about by the elders. They all invariably make funny faces and peculiar noises to make the baby smile, fondle it in many different ways, and find great enjoyment in imitating its meaningless sounds.

The situation radically changes after the child reaches the age of five or six years. Now the parents must be strong and should start disciplining it. At this stage the child finds the father an authoritarian figure and begins to fear him. The liberty that he was allowed during his early childhood is increasingly curtailed. Now the accent is on good behaviour and regular habits. The child is more frequently spanked for being troublesome. Absorbed in the care of a younger baby, the mother may often have to leave the elder child to spend most of his time in his own way. During the day-time he mostly plays out of doors with other children of his age-group. As he grows older the discipline becomes more and more difficult. At first he was punished for being 'troublesome' or for 'crying without reason', but now he has to distinguish clearly between things to be done and things not to be done. The child must be very particular about the latter. These include mostly urinating and defecating inside the house, demanding food and money at odd times too often, beating younger brothers and sisters, stealing, lying and using foul language. As a general rule, the

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961 855 lighter punishments are administered by the mother, who deals with the minor faults and offences of her children. All serious offences and persistent defiance of the mother's authority are reported by her to the father. Very often the mother's threat that she would report the matter to the father is enough to set the recalcitrant children right. In point of fact, many mothers build up the father as a figure to be feared, and in some instances the children actually tremble when they are produced before him for disobedience and other improper conduct. The punishments inflicted by the father on his children are less frequent but more severe. But from the above it should not be surmised that the children's attitude towards the father is only that of fear, for that would obviously be wrong. Fear and respect there certainly are, but not without a definite feeling of confidence and friendship for him. While difficulties are more often referred to and help sought from the mother, the father is not unapproachable, and indeed many fathers teach their children new games, make them small playthings, occasionally take them out for sight-seeing, buy them sweets and other tit-bits, and on demand give them a little money too.

813 768 During later childhood and adolescence the girls draw themselves closer and closer to the mother and occupy themselves mainly with feminine pursuits. The boys continue to maintain close and intimate relations with the mother, but her authority over them gradually diminishes. They learn to coax and cajole her. They know her weaknesses and devise ingenious ways to tease her. She often threatens to bring matters to the notice of the father, but the boys know very well that in all probability the threat will not be carried out. But during this period the father watches the development of his sons with greater interest and when complaints are brought to him the punishment is often exemplary. Traditionally this is believed to be the period when 'boys go tough' and are difficult to manage, and it is during this phase that the father must exercise tact and firmness in keeping them under control. They must keep the right sort of company, and should not be allowed to spend all their time playing and planning mischief. Even if they go to the village school, they should give some time to their traditional caste occupations. By assisting their elders and seeing them at work they should be able to acquire the fundamentals of what in all likelihood is going to be their main vocation

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606 brothers the daughter-in-law has terms of privileged familiarity,
607 and while they are not expected to cross certain limits, tradition permits them to indulge in joke and banter. Unmarried brothers-in-law provide sympathy and friendship to the harassed wife, but when they grow up they too are drawn to their wives, and the former ties of intimacy are gradually forgotten in the humdrum realities of life.

SIBLINGS

573 Social ideals demand that there should be solidarity between siblings, especially between brothers, and that they should 'love and help' one another. The older brothers and sisters, particularly the latter, must share the responsibility of looking after the younger ones with their mother. In actual practice up to the age of six or seven they are constant companions; later the sisters gradually become absorbed in feminine pursuits and are thus unable to participate as freely in the children's games as they did before, and the boys too develop greater interest in their respective play-groups. Thus, to begin with, the inter-personal relations between the siblings are closest in their early childhood, but later they develop on their own lines, and distance between the sexes increases gradually.

The older siblings can claim some 'authority' over the younger ones. When the mother is otherwise occupied or is ill, the older siblings have to look after and care for the younger brothers and sisters. Particularly the older sisters have to lend a helping hand to the mother, and very often children become so much attached to them that they come to regard them as substitutes for the mother. While siblings of more or less the same age-group have to 'help, support and defend' one another, in their dealings with the other village children, the older ones must keep an eye on the doings of their younger brothers and sisters and bring their faults to
[861] the notice of the parents. The older siblings can occasionally spank the younger ones under their charge, but they must not do it too often. In return for the limited authority which they enjoy, they have to make some concessions. When a younger sibling starts crying for something, it is expected that an older brother or sister should forgo his own share to appease him. 'He is younger; he does not understand it, but you are older and understand everything. Let him have the thing. After all, he is your brother',

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shows signs of digesting these well, siblings and other members of the family begin giving bits of food to pacify the baby when it starts crying. During this stage people love to handle the child, and there is very considerable fondling and play. No effort is made to establish sphincter control in the child at this point. Every possible help is given to the child to learn to stand and walk. While people take great delight in imitating the sounds made by the child, efforts are also made to teach him to talk. Words for grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters are generally the first to be taught. In a state of mental agitation and worry the mother may occasionally spank the child; but this is definitely disapproved and when detected the mother is always reproached by the elders for doing so.

With some modifications this continues even during the early childhood, up to the age of about three. When the child learns to walk it is carried about less by the elders. Now and then it may be left to play by itself in the backyard or in the lane in front of the house. Help in its learning processes continues to be given, and elders indulge in considerable fondling of the child. Weaning is not attempted unless necessitated by the mother's pregnancy or by the 'drying up of her breasts'. Attempts at toilet training are made at this stage. When the child wakes up in the morning the mother seats it on the hollow made by joining her feet and keeps on making a hissing sound which is believed to induce a child to ease itself. Now and then the child is taken to a corner, the cloth covering its genital organs is removed, and the hissing sound is made to make it urinate. If the child wets or soils its clothes at this stage the mother or a sibling will say, '*Chhi*, you are dirty'. But this is done with a smile and there is hardly any reproach in the remark.

When boys are seen manipulating their organs the elders smile and playfully remove their hands from them. Boys invariably start doing so again, and are not admonished. This amuses rather than irritates the older members of the family. While the sex experience of the children is confined wholly to their manipulation of genital organs, their sex knowledge is considerably wider. Sharing the same room with their parents, they have frequent opportunities of watching them engaged in the coital act. Even at the age of three the vocabulary of several children includes the words for penis, vagina and copulation.

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854 needs of the child. Attention given to the infant during these months is fairly constant. Even in the poorer families the mother does not go out to work, leaving the child alone at home, during these months; although her domestic duties may require partial abandonment of the child in the busy hours of morning and evening. In the families on the upper economic levels of the community the infant is well looked after indeed; its crying is looked upon as
[853] a sign of distress and everything is done to pacify it. In the matter of breast feeding no definite schedule is followed: the child is fed whenever 'it is hungry and asks for food, by crying' or when 'the mother's breasts become heavy'. At night the infant sleeps with the mother, generally with a nipple in its mouth and is allowed to
[863] suck whenever it desires. Toilet training at this stage is completely neglected, and soiling of clothes does not arouse any disgust. It is taken in a matter-of-fact way, and the wet clothes are changed whenever they are noticed by the mother or any other female relative. When the child starts crying the usual way to pacify it is for the mother to offer it her breast. If this is not possible at the moment, or if it fails to achieve the desired objective, other methods may be tried. The mother, a female relation or a sibling may take up the child, mildly pat it continuously on the back and hum a lullaby to send it to sleep. It may be put in a cradle attached to a swing and rocked slowly. Another method very commonly employed by anyone who happens to be near the crying child is to distract it by making funny noises or by engaging in a one-way conversation with it. Recourse may also be taken to a gentle massage of its genitals by the mother or one of its siblings.

855 After this stage of early infancy, during the pre-walking stage, the pattern of treatment accorded to the child is somewhat different. About three months after birth the mother is called upon to take her full share of household and economic duties, and consequently she can no longer give her undivided attention to the child. Other women members of the household, particularly older sisters, now come increasingly to share this responsibility. When the child is a little older and 'it is easy to handle it' menfolk also begin to look after it now and then. At this stage it does not receive the constant attention which it received during the earlier stage, and the frequency and duration of periods of partial abandonment also increase. Feeding continues to be irregular. At four or five months some soft foods are gradually introduced. When the child

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shows signs of digesting these well, siblings and other members of the family begin giving bits of food to pacify the baby when it starts crying. During this stage people love to handle the child, and there is very considerable fondling and play. No effort is made to establish sphincter control in the child at this point. Every possible help is given to the child to learn to stand and walk. While people take great delight in imitating the sounds made by the child, efforts are also made to teach him to talk. Words for grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters are generally the first to be taught. In a state of mental agitation and worry the mother may occasionally spank the child; but this is definitely disapproved and when detected the mother is always reproached by the elders for doing so.

With some modifications this continues even during the early childhood, up to the age of about three. When the child learns to walk it is carried about less by the elders. Now and then it may be left to play by itself in the backyard or in the lane in front of the house. Help in its learning processes continues to be given, and elders indulge in considerable fondling of the child. Weaning is not attempted unless necessitated by the mother's pregnancy or by the 'drying up of her breasts'. Attempts at toilet training are made at this stage. When the child wakes up in the morning the mother seats it on the hollow made by joining her feet and keeps on making a hissing sound which is believed to induce a child to ease itself. Now and then the child is taken to a corner, the cloth covering its genital organs is removed, and the hissing sound is made to make it urinate. If the child wets or soils its clothes at this stage the mother or a sibling will say, '*Chhi*, you are dirty'. But this is done with a smile and there is hardly any reproach in the remark.

When boys are seen manipulating their organs the elders smile and playfully remove their hands from them. Boys invariably start doing so again, and are not admonished. This amuses rather than irritates the older members of the family. While the sex experience of the children is confined wholly to their manipulation of genital organs, their sex knowledge is considerably wider. Sharing the same room with their parents, they have frequent opportunities of watching them engaged in the coital act. Even at the age of three the vocabulary of several children includes the words for penis, vagina and copulation.

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Web of Family Ties

In the social structure of Indian village communities the family occupies by far the most important place. It derives its significance not merely from its economic functions and its dominant role as an agency of socialization and social control, but its ritual importance is also very great to the average Hindu.

Classical Hinduism has prescribed four stages of life: celibacy (*brahmacharya*), family life (*grahastha ashrama*), resignation (*vanaprastha*) and renunciation (*sanyas*). In the first stage a person acquires concentration by controlling his instincts and impulses so that he may be able to dedicate himself to the pursuit of learning. This is the formative period of life, and in it a man is expected to equip himself for the proper discharge of his social responsibilities. In the second stage he enters life and begins to share his social obligations. Now he must marry and beget children. This is the creative period and covers a very considerable part of a man's life. The last two are the contemplative stages. As a preparation for the ultimate renunciation of worldly goods and worldly connections, he should first cultivate an attitude of detachment and devote himself to reflection. When this has been achieved, the time will have come for him to renounce formally all his possessions and relations. In contemporary rural India very few people can understand or explain the social philosophy that lies behind this system of *ashramas* or the 'stages of life', but its essence has reached them for countless generations through oral tradition and through the teachings of numerous saint-poets and has thus become ingrained in their thought-pattern and value-structure. Sex indulgence among children is socially disapproved in the Indian countryside. Marriage is universally regarded as

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shows signs of digesting these well, siblings and other members of the family begin giving bits of food to pacify the baby when it starts crying. During this stage people love to handle the child, and there is very considerable fondling and play. No effort is made to establish sphincter control in the child at this point. Every possible help is given to the child to learn to stand and walk. While people take great delight in imitating the sounds made by the child, efforts are also made to teach him to talk. Words for grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters are generally the first to be taught. In a state of mental agitation and worry the mother may occasionally spank the child; but this is definitely disapproved and when detected the mother is always reproached by the elders for doing so.

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and indicate clearly the groups among whom participation in
eating on a basis of equality is permitted. Rules of inter-dining
and untouchability are enforced at the age of six or seven;
although until the age of adolescence their breaches are not very
strictly punished. At the age of six or seven boys and girls come to
have their separate play-groups, although their occasional playing
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the children widens considerably, partly through secretly watching
and imitating the elders, partly through oral instruction by older
members of the play-group. Masturbation is now stealthily prac-
tised. Elders do not take an indulgent view if they find grown-up
boys manipulating and rubbing their penes. Ridicule and threats
are often employed to cure the habit. The threats commonly given
are: 'If you persist in this habit your organ will not grow'; or that
'It will become crooked and you will be useless.' Threats of ex-
posure cause great shame among the boys. Nevertheless, know-
ledge acquired from older and more experienced members of the
age-group indicates that 'the penis grows larger by the practice of
masturbation', 'maturity is arrived at earlier' and 'boys not doing
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ally have a session of joint masturbation. Mutual masturbation is
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together and imitate the coital act, although this does not involve 838
actual anal penetration. Homosexuality is said to be confined to
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ever, it is confined only to pre-adolescent and adolescent groups.
A boy persuades a smaller boy to lie down with him, and just
rubs his organ at his anus—only in very rare cases is any anal
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point of rubbing genital organs. Girls masturbate either by pressing and releasing their clitoris with their fingers or by rubbing their thighs. Obscenity and talk about sex are disapproved by the elders, but the boys regard it as a mark of toughness and as an indication of their grown-up status, and as such indulge in it fairly regularly. Their vocabulary of abuse includes all the major sexual words, and they can often be heard abusing each other in terms such as: 'Copulate with your mother', 'Cohabit with your sister', 'My penis!'—or the rather curious 'Your mother's penis'.

Most children's games involve competition in the use of skills and stamina. The children are divided into several groups and factions, and these often come into conflict on account of intense jealousies and rivalries. Elaborate group *mores* and codes of ethics govern their inter-relations during states of friendship, neutrality and enmity. Toughness in boys is the admired quality; weakness, refined ways, spying and complaining coming in for criticism and ridicule. Running away from fright, crying and treachery to the group are remembered long after the quarrels and restoration of peace between conflicting factions. Outside the play-group the growing children have to lend a helping hand to their parents. Grown-up girls assist their mothers at their domestic tasks and take partial charge of their younger siblings, while boys do odd jobs for the father and other older male relatives. It is now time that they should take their first steps in preparing for adult life.

Adolescence brings about a significant change in the life of both boys and girls. By this age girls are expected to become proficient in all the major domestic tasks. Negotiations for their marriage are invariably started at this age. They grow up faster than the boys. While boys of a comparable age are still regarded as 'grown-up children who do not understand', girls come to be looked upon more or less as fully-grown women. Now they must be careful about their dress; particularly their breasts should never be exposed. They should 'not run about the village like boys', nor should they talk or laugh so loudly as to attract notice. Mothers advise them to be cautious in their behaviour, for this is the age when young people start giving attention to them. Young people have a special fascination for adolescent girls 'whose youth is just beginning to blossom'. Young men succeeding in fondling 'the unripe, half-developed breasts' of a girl and in having intercourse with one 'whose pubic hair is just beginning to grow' easily win the

both a psychological and a ritual necessity. Notwithstanding this preference for sons, in actual practice no discrimination is observed in the treatment of children on the grounds of their sex.

As a rule infants are treated with affection. Until a child is four or five years old, it is mainly a responsibility of the mother. The mother nurses it whenever it starts crying indicating its desire to be fed. The child sleeps with its mother in the night and is at liberty to suck whenever it likes. Feeding of the child is primarily the mother's duty. However, when it is six to eight months old, elder sisters, female relations and male members of the household may start sharing this task with her by occasionally giving solid food to the child. While other relations give some food to the child occasionally, its attachment to the mother does not diminish in any significant way, as it is breast-fed by her until it is four or five years old. In teaching the child regular habits of sphincter control, standing, walking and speaking the mother's share is very considerable.

On the whole, an infant is the cause of delight to the family, and it is often fondled and carried about by the elders. They all invariably make funny faces and peculiar noises to make the baby smile, fondle it in many different ways, and find great enjoyment in imitating its meaningless sounds.

The situation radically changes after the child reaches the age of five or six years. Now the parents must be strong and should start disciplining it. At this stage the child finds the father an authoritarian figure and begins to fear him. The liberty that he was allowed during his early childhood is increasingly curtailed. Now the accent is on good behaviour and regular habits. The child is more frequently spanked for being troublesome. Absorbed in the care of a younger baby, the mother may often have to leave the elder child to spend most of his time in his own way. During the day-time he mostly plays out of doors with other children of his age-group. As he grows older the discipline becomes more and more difficult. At first he was punished for being 'troublesome' or for 'crying without reason', but now he has to distinguish clearly between things to be done and things not to be done. The child must be very particular about the latter. These include mostly urinating and defecating inside the house, demanding food and money at odd times too often, beating younger brothers and sisters, stealing, lying and using foul language. As a general rule, the

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lighter punishments are administered by the mother, who deals with the minor faults and offences of her children. All serious offences and persistent defiance of the mother's authority are reported by her to the father. Very often the mother's threat that she would report the matter to the father is enough to set the recalcitrant children right. In point of fact, many mothers build up the father as a figure to be feared, and in some instances the children actually tremble when they are produced before him for disobedience and other improper conduct. The punishments inflicted by the father on his children are less frequent but more severe. But from the above it should not be surmised that the children's attitude towards the father is only that of fear, for that would obviously be wrong. Fear and respect there certainly are, but not without a definite feeling of confidence and friendship for him. While difficulties are more often referred to and help sought from the mother, the father is not unapproachable, and indeed many fathers teach their children new games, make them small playthings, occasionally take them out for sight-seeing, buy them sweets and other tit-bits, and on demand give them a little money too.

During later childhood and adolescence the girls draw themselves closer and closer to the mother and occupy themselves mainly with feminine pursuits. The boys continue to maintain close and intimate relations with the mother, but her authority over them gradually diminishes. They learn to coax and cajole her. They know her weaknesses and devise ingenious ways to tease her. She often threatens to bring matters to the notice of the father, but the boys know very well that in all probability the threat will not be carried out. But during this period the father watches the development of his sons with greater interest and when complaints are brought to him the punishment is often exemplary. Traditionally this is believed to be the period when 'boys go tough' and are difficult to manage, and it is during this phase that the father must exercise tact and firmness in keeping them under control. They must keep the right sort of company, and should not be allowed to spend all their time playing and planning mischief. Even if they go to the village school, they should give some time to their traditional caste occupations. By assisting their elders and seeing them at work they should be able to acquire the fundamentals of what in all likelihood is going to be their main vocation

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in life. Indirect education through folktales, parables and songs is now supplemented by direct and conscious instruction by the parents. The mother seeks to train her daughter to be a good wife; she would often say to her, 'The husband's home is very different from the home of your parents. Here you sit down and the meals are served to you by your mother; there even if you work to the point of breaking your limbs you will not have a word of appreciation. And if you do not work, your tormenting mother-in-law and sisters-in-law will not only abuse you, but will also remember your parents in the foulest language.' Through anecdotes and reminiscences, she creates a vivid picture in the daughter's mind of what she is likely to find when she leaves her first home to enter her second and real home. As the time for the girl's marriage approaches, she finds herself attached to the mother all the more. If the father disapproves of any of the ways of the girl seriously, rather than speak to her directly, he would bring the matter to the notice of her mother, through whom he would seek to influence the daughter. Of course on minor matters he can speak to her directly. Similarly, in the case of grown-up boys, when any action more serious than a mere warning, use of strong language or giving of a threat is called for it is the father and not the mother who is supposed to handle them.

When the children enter their youth and adulthood, there are further changes in the pattern of inter-personal relationships between the parents and children. By this time the girls are married off and leave the parental home to take their place as wives in the homes of their respective husbands. For three or four years they maintain a somewhat intimate and regular contact with their parental home, and their people too are interested in their adjustment and welfare in the new surroundings. Afterwards, however, the girl gets increasingly absorbed in the affairs of her own home, and the memories of childhood friends, as well as those of her parental home, gradually recede into the background. In later years, on ceremonial occasions she returns to her parental home more or less a stranger. Not that the parents are totally unconcerned about the welfare of their daughter, or that the girl has altogether forgotten them, but the distance that separates them (in time and space) gradually takes away much of the glow and warmth of the feelings which they have for one another. On the other hand, the boys also marry and their wives come home to

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When boys are seen manipulating their organs the elders smile and playfully remove their hands from them. Boys invariably start doing so again, and are not admonished. This amuses rather than irritates the older members of the family. While the sex experience of the children is confined wholly to their manipulation of genital organs, their sex knowledge is considerably wider. Sharing the same room with their parents, they have frequent opportunities of watching them engaged in the coital act. Even at the age of three the vocabulary of several children includes the words for penis, vagina and copulation.

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of the animal kingdom. One should therefore endeavour to go to heaven or to secure re-birth in a respectable caste and good family. In the course of our investigations we found very few people who had even a hazy notion regarding the higher Hindu concept of *moksha* or salvation which secures the emancipation of the soul from all worldly obligations and ensures that it shall cease to take birth again and again in different shapes and forms. But the desire to go to heaven or to ensure a better birth is universal. From one's childhood, one keeps on hearing, often colourful and dramatic, accounts of heaven and hell. 'We shall have to account for our actions before God. We can deceive our family, our village, our caste, and even the established authority, but we can never deceive God. He has the record of every little thing that we do, and after death His agents will decide whether we go to heaven or to hell', is the refrain in the talk of most of the people when they are asked to explain their belief regarding the future of man after death. Descriptions of heaven and hell are vivid and imaginative. 'In heaven you have only to desire a thing and the next moment you find it there', said one of our informants. 'There is peace and plenty in heaven. All people live in luxurious palaces where an army of countless servants looks after all their comforts. There you have the choicest foods, and the best of everything,' explained a Reddi cultivator. A Madiga's picture of heaven was somewhat different. He said, 'When you go to heaven you have a comfortable house fitted with chairs, soft beds and velvet cushions. And you get all the rice that you want to eat, and all the sweets. And you can do what you like for there are no administrative or village officials to curse you and abuse you.' The descriptions of hell are fairly standardized. 'Hell is an awful place. It has several compartments, each one worse than the other. In one compartment roaring fires are kept eternally burning, in another there are deadly snakes, scorpions and crocodiles; then there is a large tank—several miles long—filled with pus and foul-smelling blood, swarming with maggots and hideous insects; and there are hundreds and hundreds of such compartments each with a different torture and punishment awaiting the sinners. According to the nature of their sins, wrong-doers are thrown into one of these sections to suffer the penalties for what they have done. They cry and scream and weep, but the warders in God's prison are merciless. The more the sinners cry, the more they are tortured.' The

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bath or wash is necessary to remove the impurity caused by the act. Non-observance of these rules will have a polluting effect; and according to the nature and degree of pollution purificatory rites will have to be undertaken.

Belief in ghosts and spirits is universal. They are feared and propitiated. Strange mystical power pervading certain objects is recognized, and fetishes and amulets are eagerly sought. Witchcraft is often suspected, and three or four people in the community are believed to possess magical powers.

Clearly, Hinduism as it is practised in the village is not the Hinduism of the classical philosophical systems of India, for it possesses neither the metaphysical heights nor the abstract content of the latter. It is a religion of fasts, feasts and festivals, in which prescribed rituals cover all the major crises of life. Worship and propitiation of gods and spirits follow the annual round of festivals and the ritual of the human life-cycle. Disease and difficulty may also necessitate invoking assistance from these sources.

In early childhood religious instruction through legendary tales and anecdotes exercises its influence on the developing mind of the child in whose thoughts and world of fancy these ideas linger on. Youth brings in its wake a more worldly and materialistic outlook towards life and its pleasures. Thoughts are turned to religion when the evening of life approaches, partly to postpone the final moment of departure as long as it could be, and partly to ensure the future lying beyond the point of death. Analysis of life-histories reveals that spiritualism cannot be said to be the keynote in the life of the community; far from it the religion appears to be a practical one. It strengthens and fortifies the individual and the group in situations where technical competence and practical intelligence are of no avail, and at the same time acts as a bond of cohesion for maintaining the structural unity of the society.

2. BELIEF: GODS AND DEITIES

The Muslims believe in one God, and follow the way of life laid down for them by their Prophet. They all belong to the Sunni division, and as such differ from the Shias and other splinter divisions of Islam in respect of the interpretation of their holy book as well as in several details of belief, ritual and ceremonial. Almost all the Muslims of Shamirpet have been converted to Islam from

Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations.

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Hindus
Muslims

RITUAL STRUCTURE

844 Among the Muslims an expectant mother is sent for the birth of her first child to her parents; subsequent deliveries generally take place in her own home. During her confinement she is attended by a professional midwife. An amulet is often tied to the
846 mother's waist to facilitate delivery. Within a few hours of its birth the child is bathed and clothed. His grandfather or an elderly relation says the prayers. A date is then dipped in honey and a drop or two of that honey is put into the mouth of the newborn child. Milk should not be given to the child before this has been done. On the sixth day the *chhatti* ceremony is performed.
[431] For this relations from both mother's and father's side are invited. They bring with them gifts for the child, comprising of sets of new clothes, dolls and playthings and possibly a silver spoon. The child
553 is dressed in new clothes. On the seventh day its head is shaved, and the elders give it a name. Depending on the means of the family, feasts are given to friends and relations on the sixth and seventh days, The mother continues to be out of the normal round of life for forty days. On the fortieth day she is bathed. The midwife is given her remuneration on this day. Once again there is a feast, and presents may be given both to the child and to the mother.

881 *Pre-puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus, the Brahmin and the Komti perform the sacred thread ceremony for the boys before they attain puberty. At these rites the Brahmin priest officiates. The Panch Bramha group of artisan castes also perform this rite; but they do not invite the Brahmin. Their caste-priest conducts the ceremony.

862 In the Muslim community a boy must be circumcised any time between the age of two and ten. A few relations are invited for the occasion, the boy is garlanded and then the operation is performed. It is usual to give small presents to the boy at this time. Another pre-puberty rite is the *bismilla* ceremony done both for
● [867] boys and girls. This initiates the child's religious instruction, for from now on it is taught the alphabet and is gradually enabled to read the Koran. In Shamirpet the *bismilla* ceremony is performed for all Muslim children, though relatively few of them learn to read the holy book.

881 *Puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus the girl's first menstruation is attended by elaborate ceremonies. She is secluded for five days, and at the end of this period is bathed and dressed in new clothes.

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built the residential houses of the people belonging to the clean castes or to the Muslim community. The house of the Deshmukh, or the village headman, is the very first house and stands a little to the right of the unmetalled road that joins the main road to the village. It has a very high compound wall made of locally available stone and looks more like a small fort than a dwelling-house. In the main section of the village that sprawls to both sides of the main road it is difficult to discern any clear and systematic caste 'quarters' in which only members of one caste live. There is an unmistakable tendency among some castes, as for instance the Sakali (washermen), the Vaddar (stone-workers), the Golla (shepherds) and the Kummari (potters), to occupy houses in compact blocks on contiguous patches of land, but in close proximity are situated the houses of people belonging to other communities. In no sense can the individual clean castes be said to live in separate colonies, nor is any one caste in exclusive possession of any clearly marked out area. In many cases people live outside their own caste 'blocks'. The houses of the clean castes are built so close together that it is clear that considerations of caste distinction do not materially affect their choice of sites for the construction of houses. A Hindu may live in the immediate neighbourhood of Muslims, and often people belonging to quite different castes are one another's neighbours. It is probable that in the beginning the different castes marked out different blocks for themselves on the proposed site for the settlement. People coming later to the village either found a place to construct their houses in their caste block or had to choose a plot elsewhere. However, there are some communities which live in separate colonies or *wada*. To the east, a narrow strip of land separates the main settlement from the *Mala-wada*, or the colony of the Mala untouchables. Further east, and separated from the houses of the Malas by another narrow strip of land, is the colony of the Madigas. Distinct from both these groups, and situated to the north-east of the main village, there is a small colony of Erkala hunters, whose small circular huts stand out in marked contrast to the houses in the rest of the village.

It has already been pointed out that there is a school, a dispensary, a post office and a police station in the village. The school is at present ill-housed; it has five classes meeting in two small rooms and only two masters, who teach both Urdu and Telugu as well as the other subjects of the primary school curriculum.

THE SETTING

871 Children of all communities now go to school, and the old prejudice against admitting untouchable students is dying out. In recent years some Mala and Madiga boys joined the school, but most of them attended only in name, playing truant so consistently that they derived little benefit and eventually stopped going altogether. The school is ill-equipped, having some miserable-looking furniture, a few charts and maps and the inevitable blackboard. The master still wields his stick, and among other reasons this explains perhaps the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the lower-class children and their parents for the school.

743 The dispensary is housed in a small room and its adjoining
757 verandah. The rest of the building is used as living-quarters by the Medical Officer. This small dispensary was started by one of the Jagirdars, and has had a succession of Medical Officers who had no qualifications for the job. The present incumbent too is not properly qualified, for he is not even a medical licenciate. He is paid Rs. 45 per month and is supplied with a small quantity of drugs by the Medical Department of the Hyderabad Government.

[177] As a result of contact with the cities, the villagers have developed a great liking for injections, expecting them to work like magic and provide quick and certain cure for all ailments. The Medical Officer, although he is not authorized to give injections, does so in the course of his limited private practice. People go to the dispensary only for the treatment of common ailments, such as scabies, cough and malaria. For want of proper equipment and a qualified medical practitioner, the dispensary at Shamirpet has very few patients. In addition to the allopathic dispensary there are several elderly people in the village who administer herbal preparations according to Indian indigenous systems of medicine.

755 Magic and divination are also employed to a considerable extent by all sections of the people. 'Where herbs and medicines do not work, proper chants and spells do not fail us', the people often say. Indeed, for certain categories of disease and difficulties recourse
757 to divination is often regarded as the only proper remedy. It must be added that increased contact with the cities and the influence of education have greatly enhanced the value of modern medicine in the eyes of the people. There is now practically no prejudice against vaccination, although some people are still afraid of plague and cholera inoculations because they cause pain and fever. A minority of the villagers take advantage of the qualified doctors

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other factors, particularly her caste, landownership and wealth, age, distinctive personality traits, and relationship to persons holding a government or village office. But within the same caste, income-group and age-group, the position of a woman will definitely be inferior to that of a man.

Education is now regarded as important, because it provides 'the key to' the understanding of the 'wide world' and equips one better to assert one's rights and claim one's due from officials and the cunning townspeople. It is easier for educated people to get government jobs. It is generally believed that they can contact and influence government officers much better than their illiterate counterparts in the village. However, most of the 'educated' people in the village had just four years of schooling in village schools. No one has so far had any higher education. At the time of our investigations four boys from the village were studying in secondary schools in the city, and they are the first people in the village to learn the English language. Economic benefits and gain in social prestige derived through modern education have made it a mark of respectability, and it is expected that in the near future a larger number of village boys will attend secondary schools in Secundrabad and Hyderabad.

Although there is considerable prejudice and scepticism among the village people regarding city ways and other urban traits of culture, in general it may be said that the village-folk acknowledge the importance and superiority of the townspeople. Those who have urban contacts seek to distinguish themselves from the ordinary village folk in their dress, manner of speech, food and recreations. Imitation of urban ways in the last decade and a half has come to be recognized as a distinguishing feature of respectable elements of the village population.

Introduction of democratic government in Hyderabad after the Police Action, has brought about a sudden burst of activity by a multitude of political parties in the rural areas of the State. Politics and elections appear to the people to be a sort of game, and they have not yet realized their deeper and wider implications. Affiliation with political parties provides an outlet to those who are ambitious and seek recognition of their importance.

Social status conferred on an individual by the caste system must be classified as 'ascribed status'. It is still a vital factor of status differentiation in the community, but the other factors leave

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government is indulging them; and for vote-getting the political parties are spoiling them. If things go on like this, in the future these low castes will want to marry our daughters and sisters,' remarked a Reddi agriculturist. Those standing nearby nodded their assent. The above remark is illustrative of the general attitude of 'responsible' persons in the higher castes.

EDUCATED VERSUS UNEDUCATED

Adverse comments are frequently heard from the educated and uneducated people against each other. The uneducated especially have some stereotypes regarding the educated; and the latter often express derogatory opinions about the illiterate members of the community.

Remarks echoing the following opinions and sentiments are commonly heard from the uneducated people: 'What use is education to us? After four years at the school all that our children learn is to hold a pen in their hands. What we really want them to learn is the holding of the plough firmly.' 'By learning to read a couple of books at the school the youngsters begin to think that they have in their skulls all the knowledge and learning in the world. They scoff at their parents, belittle the experience of the elders, and seem to think no end of themselves. Realities of life soon teach them a lesson. Sooner or later they repent and fall at the feet of the elders.' 'Everyone says, "Send your children to school; uneducated people are like animals; education makes them human beings." But what do we get out of education? Boys learn to read and write, but they forget the traditional ways. They do not want to cultivate the family land, and are ashamed of their traditional profession. They all want jobs in the city. If things go on like this what will be the future of the community?' 'The educated people excel each other in tall talk and boasting. They will drink, gamble and intrigue. There is nothing else that they can do.' 'What service do the educated people render to the community? They instigate simple illiterate people to quarrel, and later exploit the situation to their own advantage.' 'We village people are simple. Education makes us crooked.' In substance the average attitude boils down to this: education shakes a person's belief in the traditional ways and creates in turn new desires and ambitions; these factors operating simultaneously make the educated persons misfits in the community.

On the other hand, the educated people think: 'The illiterate

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villagers are simple, superstitious and stupid. They believe anyone. Conditions in the village will never improve so long as they dominate the scene.' 'Without education a man is like a beast.' 'As you goad a bullock, you can goad an uneducated villager.' 'Why do petty government officers harass us so much? Only because we are illiterate.'

It may be pointed out here that so far the educated section consists only of people who have attended primary or secondary village schools for four to six years. The number of these people does not exceed eighty, and from among them also many have virtually relapsed into illiteracy. With the exception of some government officials who are not a permanent part of the village population, none has so far had the advantage of modern scientific education in one of the better schools of the city, although at the time of our investigations some half a dozen boys from the village were attending higher schools. It is interesting to note that persons having education in rural vernacular schools have the same fear, suspicion and general sentiments regarding those who have modern or 'English education', as the illiterate section of the population has about those who have a background of village education. Notwithstanding the popular prejudice against education of both types, its economic advantages as well as prestige value are now generally recognized. With the gradual improvement in the standards and practices of the schools more parents are now anxious to enrol their children there. Fears still persist, however, and people urge that, besides imparting literacy, the school should also equip them better for earning their livelihood.

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URBAN VERSUS RURAL

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The general pattern of comment regarding urban and urbanized people is the same as that of the comment of the uneducated about the educated. In the context of urbanization, or even in that of the adoption of some urban traits, supplementary opinions are often added. 'We villagers are simple-hearted; but the town people are crafty, calculating and self-centred.' 'When the relations from the city come to stay with us we receive them well, and give them the choicest share in everything. But when we happen to go to them they have difficulty even in recognizing us. And they treat us as if we were an unwelcome burden on them.' 'Never trust a town-dweller, for he never distinguishes between

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the law courts in the city. Now and then State officials visited the village on tour. In the second half of the Jagir period these administrative contacts increased very considerably. At the same time the urban contacts of a section of the village population also grew gradually. These included visiting relations and friends in the city, receiving relations and friends from the city, occasional excursions for shopping in the large city stores and markets as well as for sight-seeing, temporary stay of a short or long duration for work in the city, and finally being in everyday touch with officials resident in the village, who were regarded as an urban element in the village population. Increased contacts with the towns and cities were greatly facilitated by the construction of the metalled road joining Hyderabad with the district headquarters of Karimnagar in the interior of the State. This road touches Shamirpet. With the introduction of bicycles and buses frequent and regular contacts with the urban areas were made possible. The progress of education has been rather slow. In the early-Jagir days only a few children belonging to the higher castes, and also to the upper level families, received any schooling. Even this was confined to a bare acquaintance with three R's. With the opening of a school in the village education was placed within the reach of a much larger section and even some untouchable children started attending the school. Some ambitious parents sent their children to the higher schools in the city where they could learn English. Books, periodicals and newspapers which occasionally found their way into the village conveyed to the people 'strange truths regarding the wide world through the medium of the printed word'. The State administration initiated some of its welfare and nation-building activities in the countryside. Agriculture, Veterinary and Animal Husbandry, Medical and Public Health, and Co-operation and Rural Development departments of the State started functioning in the rural areas. Their representatives and propagandists brought some new ideas and techniques to the village. The villagers saw their demonstrations, heard their talks, and were at times even coaxed into doing things in the new ways. This was indeed novel to them. In the earlier period government had only collected land revenue, heard some of their disputes, tried cases arising out of breaches of law, and occasionally forced them to provide practically free labour and 'presents' for touring government officials, but had never interfered with their agricultural

178 369 [491] 178 871 [204] 178 654

692 The Village Panchayat Courts were for a group of villages with powers to try cases upto Rs. 200/- without legal practitioners. The Court Members were elected by all adult residents in the village. The number of members varied from 5 to 12 and each member held office for 3 years.

311 Forest Panchayats were elected by the cattle-owners of the village and then the Panchayat elected its President. The Forest Panchayats were allowed to levy fees for grazing and fuel collection, and then they were vested with certain statutory powers. They were under the control of the Revenue Department.

312 Besides these, there were Irrigation Panchayats elected by all landholders of the village who got water from the sluice. These were under the control of the Revenue Dapartment.

871 ● Then there were the Village Panchayat Schools. Each village with a population of 500 or more could, on application, have a grant of Rs. 180/- for a school-teacher and an initial grant of Rs. 80/- to start a school in the Panchayat area. There were about 800 Panchayat Schools in Madras by about 1928.

642 Last, but not the least, was the jurisdiction of the Panchayat in its present constitutional set up. The Statute in force did not allow the Village Panchayats any control over the Panchayat Court or Irrigation Panchayat or Forest Panchayat, wherever they existed, though Panchayat Schools alone were entrusted to Village Panchayats wherever they existed. These are discussed in latter sections of this chapter.

B. **Finance**: (Table No, 19)

651 **Local Fund Cess**: This was the main source of income to Panchayats in Madras as everywhere else. It was usually 1/6th of the total local fund cess of the Local Boards, soon after the abolition of the Taluk Boards in 1934, it was increased to 1/5th of the District Board Cess. But, the grant of the local fund cess to Panchayats was not based on any rational principle of local finance. In fact, the proportion, each Panchayat got, bore no relation to population, prosperity, poverty or administrative requirements. While a Panchayat situated in an irrigated area got local fund cess as its share, in proportion to the larger land revenue collected from the village. Panchayats existing in the dry areas got positively less local fund cess, in view of the lesser land revenue collected therein.

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Section II: Schools in Madras Panchayats

PART I

Administrative and Legislative Position on the Eve of the Enquiry

871/651 At the time when the reformers of Local Self-Government became busy with the revival of the age old village Panchayat, Village Unions were first started wherever the village Rate Schools were first existing. The maximum distance from the school to the Union periphery was never more than two or three miles. House tax was legalised and collected only in places where schools existed. But in course of time, the system went out of vogue and the schools fell into abeyance, as the rural communities for whose sake they were intended did not evince much interest in their development. Huge arrears of house tax were left uncollected, the teachers unpaid and the system died a natural death. By 1870, only 101 schools were found working out of the original 271, which were started. Elementary education, it was realised, could not be maintained by collection of voluntary rates, and a regular compulsory cess was thought of. Though the original idea of instituting such a compulsory cess was there from 1859, it was postponed to 1868, due to the lack of support of Sir Charles Trevelyan in the earlier years. It was only when the necessity of supplementing the Imperial Revenues with local taxes was found inevitable, it was resorted to. But even this did not find favour with the villagers and had to be ultimately abandoned by 1873–74.

871 It was with the revival of Panchayats in 1920 by legislation, that fresh stimulus was given to the Panchayat Schools too. About 1,300 village schools were established in the period between 1920 to 1930 and half of them had their own buildings. The inspecting staff of the District Board was consulting the Panchayats for making the necessary recommendations everytime and for sanctioning of grants.

The starting and promotion of Panchayat Schools became thus so accomplished a factor in Local Government that by 1945 in every part of the Province there were several Panchayat Schools established and found working as below :

Panchayat Schools in Madras. (1938–44)

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Year	No. of Schools Provided	No. of Schools that Worked	No. of Teachers Employed	No. of Pupils
1938–39	1512	1463	1983	70899
1939–40	1512	1471	2037	72975
1940–41	1512	1455	2033	73790
1941–42	1512	...	1970	70265
1942–43	1512	1492	1893	75517
1943–44	...	...	...	...
1944–45	1512	1380	1950	70247

(Figures for 1941–42 and 1943–44 were not fully available).

Since the beginning of the war, the number of the Panchayat Schools remained steady and stationary. One of the reasons responsible for their slow growth was the poverty and reluctance of most of the villagers to provide buildings for the schools at their own cost. While the grant from the District Boards was very inadequate, the capacity to raise their own resources was not everywhere happy.

In Kurnool and Bellary, Districts, the Panchayat Schools were not so prominent or popular as in the Circars.

PART II

Actual conditions as revealed by the survey.

All the Panchayat Schools selected for enquiry were from Minor Panchayats. Conditions were found to be very unsatisfactory and unattractive for teachers to come and work in these schools. Presidents of the Panchayat Boards were very often to appoint and dismiss the teachers for unsatisfactory work. The teachers went and joined other schools suppressing their previous records. All this was done very often without the necessary permission of the District Educational Officer.

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Condition in selected Panchayat Schools in Madras. (1946)

Place	District	Established in	No. of Teachers	Salary p. m.	D. A. p. m.	Number of Pupils	Working Hours a. m.	Working Hours p. m.	Government Grant per annum
				Rs.	Rs.				R. s.
Avidi	East Godavari	1930	2	15	10	50	7-30—10-30	2-5	60
Doddampeta	"	1925	4	**	**	80	-do-	-do-	***
Kothavalasa	Vizagapatam	1927	2	16	17	53	7-10	2-5	900
" Dabalu	do.	1931	3	17	16	60	-do-	-do-	826
Itempudi	West Godavari	1928	2	17	16	118	-do-	-do-	900
Inaparru	do.	1928	3	22	16	90	-do-	-do-	826
Vemavaram	do.	1928	2	17	26	88	-do-	-do-	***
				+ 8		60			
Gorantala	Anantpur	1928	1	12	16	50	-do-	-do-	***
Lepakshi	do.	1933	1	15	18	80	-do-	-do-	***
Gudur	Kistna	1928	1	12	16	60	-do-	-do-	***

**** — Details not available

In East Godavari the Panchayat school for instance at Avidi was started in 1930 by an order of the Registrar General of Panchayats at that time. It was providing instruction upto vernacular 5th standard. The Panchayat provided the school with an independent building of its own in 1934. The pay of the teacher was met with from the grant of the Inspector of Local Boards i. e. yearly Rs. 60 and the additional expenditure being met with from the funds of the Panchayat. Due to financial disability of the Panchayat, the running of the school was also very unsatisfactory. The teacher was getting Rs. 15/- p. m. His appointment, promotion, suspension or dismissal were all entirely at the mercy of Panchayat subject to the control of the District Educational Officer. The usual working of the school was from 7-30 to 10-30 a. m. and 2-0 to 5-0 p. m. Doddampeta Panchayat School in the same district was reported to be working very satisfactorily, but the lack of sufficient co-operation did not make it possible for conducting actual investigation into the working of this school. In West Godavari two Panchayat Schools were chosen for survey, one known for its efficiency and the other known for its unsatisfactory management i. e. Inaparru and Itempudi respectively.

In Inaparru, the Panchayat School was happy under the management of the Panchayat Board which looked to its efficient working. It had 3 teachers. The school was getting a grant of Rs. 826/- and the scales of pay of the teachers were for 2nd grade, basic Rs. 22/- plus Rs. 16/- D. A. and for higher grade, basic Rs. 17/- plus Rs. 8/- plus Rs. 16/- D. A. All the teachers were senior ones and were eager to serve the school without leaving it, in spite of the low remuneration compared with that given by the District Board Schools. This was because of the smooth relations existing between the Board and the School. There were about 88 boys and girls. The average attendance was about 60.

The grant of the teacher's pay from the Inspector of Local Boards was received only once in a year, but, the Panchayat Board paid its teachers regularly, granted them casual leaves of 15 days in a year and in addition to giving them whatever other meagre facilities it could give.

Here the teachers feel that if their scales of pay were revised and they were paid the same scales as those of the District Board they would have better incentive to work.

The working hours were from 7 to 10 a. m. and 2 to 5 p. m. The school was closed in agricultural season and worked in summer instead, to avoid greater absence of children of the cultivators. The

871 Panchayat Schools were never properly inspected either by the
875 District Board or by the Governments' Inspectors.

The school in Itempudi presented a wide contrast to that in Inaparru. Here the school was started about 15 years ago and 3 teachers were found to be working. A free site was given by the villagers to construct a building for the school, but, as the proposed building had not materialised so far, the school was situated in a rented building.

[658] The grant from the Inspector of Local Boards was Rs. 900 per annum for the running of the Panchayat School, and the pay scale of the teachers was Rs. 17 basic plus Rs. 16 D. A per month. The strength of the school, both boys and girls including, came to 90. The school worked from 7 to 10 a. m. and 2 to 5 p. m.

The Panchayat Board appointed the teachers, gave them furniture, buildings, contingencies towards stationery, supervised the school attendance and checked the school teachers' work.

But the school teachers were in general a most dissatisfied lot. For grant of leave, the permission of the Dy. Inspector, District Educational Officer and Inspector of Local Board was required, with the ultimate result of their not getting it, or getting it long after they required it. Hence the teachers demanded leave rules, provident fund facilities, annual or biennial increments, introduction of service registers, promotions, transfers, pension and provincialization of their services, instead of keeping them at the mercy of the Panchayat Boards, which were very often hot beds of party strife and corruption. Another difficulty was they did not get even that inadequate and miserable pay for five to six months. It was becoming very difficult for them to pull on for such long intervals without any aid from the Panchayat. The Panchayat was too poor to advance them with funds till they got the grant from the Inspector of Local Boards.

Itempudi Panchayat School was thus an example of the unsatisfactory type of Panchayat School management, which never thought of the prospects and happiness of the teachers who worked for the social well-being of the village community.

~~871~~ Similarly such good and bad examples of Panchayat Schools were to be found in every district. In Vizagapatam, Kothavalasa Panchayat was running an efficient Panchayat Board School. Govada which was having an elementary school was enthusiastic enough to start a high school.

In Kothavalasa the first Panchayat School was started in 1927, the second in 1928, the third and the fourth in 1930, and another

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PART III

Observations

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31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI 7

871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other [212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the [191] ability latterly. No one knows English.

There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about 214 seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

624 *Village administration.*—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

691 For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

167 In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

325 Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI 7

426 Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

435 Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

426 Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

796 *Festivals.*—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gownipalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, [782] wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. [782] The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease 759 people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest [743] hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

352 All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

592 No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.
[562] All Muhammadans observe purdah.

312 Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

● 871 *Education.*—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two

871 rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

[191] The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

[213] There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

623 *Village administration.*—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

624 There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

364 *Sanitary administration.*—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

625 There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

624 The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

674 *Crime.*—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

691 No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops.
426 The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

very close to the human inmates. Rubbish and cow-dung are stored up in front of the houses, while in rainy seasons the whole becomes a stagnant pool of water, rubbish and cow-dung. 511 356

The houses of the Pariahs are filled with an awful smell of skins, bones and putrid flesh. The insufficiency of food that they suffer from tempts them to fill their bellies with toddy and other stimulants that ultimately ruin their health.

The Sudras are perfectly temperate and simple in habits and food. The "twice-born" castes are bound to marry their girls before twelve. The lower castes are not bound to do so. But the Sudras and lower castes actually marry their girls at a very early age, both to satisfy the anxiety of elders and for fear they may not have the money afterwards. I know a case in which a girl two months old was married to a boy of two years, the boy dying a year later of cholera. They maintain strict widowhood like the Brahmans. There is no purdah. 582

The villagers bathe and wash clothes and also wash their cattle in the same tank as that used for drinking. 515

Education.—There is one school; its accommodation and equipment being a rented house, an atlas, a globe, text books, some pictures of common objects, civics primers, dumb-bells, a black board, a desk, benches for boys to sit upon. 871

Elementary education is given up to the fourth standard, in the vernacular, in history, arithmetic, geography, civics, etc. This education is most unpractical and incomplete and ill-suited to the villagers, who do not proceed to college classes. It does not enable them to read good books in Telugu or to learn even the elementary principles of sanitation. They are never made to feel that they are citizens of a world, or an empire, or a province, outside the narrow bounds of their village.

Attendance—

	Boys.	Girls.
1913	19	4
1914	9	3
1915	45	12
1916	54	8
1917	48	6

About 30 per cent of the adults can read the vernacular; two persons can read and talk English. There is a noted musician in the village but no other pandit. Not less than 25 or 30 per cent of those who have passed through the school have lost their capacity to write or cipher after leaving. One boy has proceeded to the Mechanical Engineering course in the Victoria Technical Institute, Bombay; another to the Arts course in the Madras University. [191]

There are 90 to 100 books, of which 70 are owned by Brahmans, made up of novels, dramas, puranas, the Mahabharata and stories. Among the Sudras, a development of literary taste, though in a very small degree, is perceptible. There are many devotional songs and lives of Telugu saints, while stories of the epics rendered into songs and recited by "Bhagavathars" are very frequent. The latest innovation is the introduction of dramas. Novels are still a rarity, as well as histories. No newspaper comes to the village. 538

The village has no temple except that of the village goddess. Her festival is celebrated with much slaughter of cattle and goats given by their owners whenever there is an outbreak of cholera or small-pox; or, failing these, once in four or five years. The cost is 796

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Tamil AWI8
Telugu AWI7

Ta 691 consent. The case was decided in the High Court in favour of the plaintiff. A similar dispute is in progress now.

Ta 556 About half of the Brahmans are well-to-do. Most of them have no children. They adopt children. The wealth of the father and of the adoptive father goes to the son. Thus the properties of two persons go to one. Being well-to-do, they do not engage in work; but spent their time in idleness and gossip. Some engage in money-lending at usurious interest.

POTHAVARAM, RAZOLE TALUK, GODAVARI DISTRICT.

[*By B. Lakshminarayana Sastri, Christian College, Madras.*]

Te 162 *Population.*—Brahmans, 8 families, 53 individuals; Sudras, 191 families, 948 individuals; Muhammadans, 5 families, 28 individuals. Birth-rate 44 per thousand; death-rate 35 per thousand.

Te 423 "The Brahmans used to monopolize the land till recently and cultivate it through non-Brahman (Pariah) servants. But being far away from their land their property was not safe with the uneducated Pariahs. A sect of non-Brahmans called Kapus are now buying lands through their economy and industry and low standard of life. The Brahman having to maintain a high standard is slowly incurring debts. There is a chance of the non-Brahman Kapu sect in the village gaining the lands if they maintain their low standard of life and economical and industrious habits. Te [793] While the non-Brahman always remains in the field or garden the Brahman stays for a major part of the day in the main village as he has to perform his daily religious ceremonies and social functions. The Brahman cannot live in such an isolation as the non-Brahmans. He cannot do hand labour and his supervision is inefficient.

Te 454 "People buy land as a secure form of investment. The educated classes after saving money buy lands with it though they never cultivate it. It is the only form of secure investment with which they are familiar being ignorant of other safe investments. Moreover, land investment pays a man better and gives him some Te 167 status among his neighbours. The emigration from this village is slow. Some are leaving for neighbouring towns for their sons' 871 education while a few are emigrating to Burma for labour. The former rarely return except during vacations while the latter return after four or five years. This emigration once started catches fire, education is simply being undergone for appointments, there being a sort of respect and awe attached to this sort of life. Every average villager now eagerly wants to educate his son in spite of heavy debts and great inconveniences. Economically it is a loss though intellectually it may be a gain. Socially it is removing some of the superstitions of the villagers. The mixing with the educated villagers is removing many deep-rooted superstitions. The emigration to Burma of coolies is to a small extent an economic gain; but at the expense of family life and social intercourse. The husband has to part from his wife and friends for a very long time. He does not even become intellectually advanced and his earnings are spent on drink."

Panchayat Schools in Madras. (1938–44)

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Year	No. of Schools Provided	No. of Schools that Worked	No. of Teachers Employed	No. of Pupils
1938–39	1512	1463	1983	70899
1939–40	1512	1471	2037	72975
1940–41	1512	1455	2033	73790
1941–42	1512	...	1970	70265
1942–43	1512	1492	1893	75517
1943–44	...	...	...	...
1944–45	1512	1380	1950	70247

(Figures for 1941–42 and 1943–44 were not fully available).

Since the beginning of the war, the number of the Panchayat Schools remained steady and stationary. One of the reasons responsible for their slow growth was the poverty and reluctance of most of the villagers to provide buildings for the schools at their own cost. While the grant from the District Boards was very inadequate, the capacity to raise their own resources was not everywhere happy.

In Kurnool and Bellary, Districts, the Panchayat Schools were not so prominent or popular as in the Circars.

PART II

Actual conditions as revealed by the survey.

All the Panchayat Schools selected for enquiry were from Minor Panchayats. Conditions were found to be very unsatisfactory and unattractive for teachers to come and work in these schools. Presidents of the Panchayat Boards were very often to appoint and dismiss the teachers for unsatisfactory work. The teachers went and joined other schools suppressing their previous records. All this was done very often without the necessary permission of the District Educational Officer.

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Condition in selected Panchayat Schools in Madras. (1946)

Place	District	Established in	No. of Teachers	Salary p. m.	D. A. p. m.	Number of Pupils	Working Hours		Government Grant per annum
							a. m.	p. m.	
				Rs.	Rs.				R. s.
Avidi	East Godavari	1930	2	15	10	50	7-30—10-30	2-5	60
Doddampeta	"	1925	4	**	**	80	-do-	-do-	***
Kothavalasa	Vizagapatam	1927	2	16	17	53	7-10	2-5	900
" Dabalu	do.	1931	3	17	16	60	-do-	-do-	826
Itempudi	West Godavari	1928	2	17	16	118	-do-	-do-	900
Inaparru	do.	1928	3	22	16	90	-do-	-do-	826
Vemavaram	do.	1928	2	17 + 8	26	88 60	-do-	-do-	***
Gorantala	Anantpur	1928	1	12	16	50	-do-	-do-	***
Lepakshi	do.	1933	1	15	18	80	-do-	-do-	***
Gudur	Kistna	1928	1	12	16	60	-do-	-do-	***

**** — Details not available

26: Rao E-5 (1946-7) 1954
AWI India
Telugu AWI 7

In East Godavari the Panchayat school for instance at Avidi was started in 1930 by an order of the Registrar General of Panchayats at that time. It was providing instruction upto vernacular 5th standard. The Panchayat provided the school with an independent building of its own in 1934. The pay of the teacher was met with from the grant of the Inspector of Local Boards i. e. yearly Rs. 60 and the additional expenditure being met with from the funds of the Panchayat. Due to financial disability of the Panchayat, the running of the school was also very unsatisfactory. The teacher was getting Rs. 15/- p. m. His appointment, promotion, suspension or dismissal were all entirely at the mercy of Panchayat subject to the control of the District Educational Officer. The usual working of the school was from 7-30 to 10-30 a. m. and 2-0 to 5-0 p. m. Doddampeta Panchayat School in the same district was reported to be working very satisfactorily, but the lack of sufficient co-operation did not make it possible for conducting actual investigation into the working of this school. In West Godavari two Panchayat Schools were chosen for survey, one known for its efficiency and the other known for its unsatisfactory management i. e. Inaparru and Itempudi respectively.

In Inaparru, the Panchayat School was happy under the management of the Panchayat Board which looked to its efficient working. It had 3 teachers. The school was getting a grant of Rs. 826/- and the scales of pay of the teachers were for 2nd grade, basic Rs. 22/- plus Rs. 16/- D. A. and for higher grade, basic Rs. 17/- plus Rs. 8/- plus Rs. 16/- D. A. All the teachers were senior ones and were eager to serve the school without leaving it, in spite of the low remuneration compared with that given by the District Board Schools. This was because of the smooth relations existing between the Board and the School. There were about 88 boys and girls. The average attendance was about 60.

The grant of the teacher's pay from the Inspector of Local Boards was received only once in a year, but, the Panchayat Board paid its teachers regularly, granted them casual leaves of 15 days in a year and in addition to giving them whatever other meagre facilities it could give.

Here the teachers feel that if their scales of pay were revised and they were paid the same scales as those of the District Board they would have better incentive to work.

The working hours were from 7 to 10 a. m. and 2 to 5 p. m. The school was closed in agricultural season and worked in summer instead, to avoid greater absence of children of the cultivators. The

871 Panchayat Schools were never properly inspected either by the
875 District Board or by the Governments' Inspectors.

The school in Itempudi presented a wide contrast to that in Inaparru. Here the school was started about 15 years ago and 3 teachers were found to be working. A free site was given by the villagers to construct a building for the school, but, as the proposed building had not materialised so far, the school was situated in a rented building.

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The grant from the Inspector of Local Boards was Rs. 900 per annum for the running of the Panchayat School, and the pay scale of the teachers was Rs. 17 basic plus Rs. 16 D. A per month. The strength of the school, both boys and girls including, came to 90. The school worked from 7 to 10 a. m. and 2 to 5 p. m.

The Panchayat Board appointed the teachers, gave them furniture, buildings, contingencies towards stationery, supervised the school attendance and checked the school teachers' work.

But the school teachers were in general a most dissatisfied lot. For grant of leave, the permission of the Dy. Inspector, District Educational Officer and Inspector of Local Board was required, with the ultimate result of their not getting it, or getting it long after they required it. Hence the teachers demanded leave rules, provident fund facilities, annual or biennial increments, introduction of service registers, promotions, transfers, pension and provincialization of their services, instead of keeping them at the mercy of the Panchayat Boards, which were very often hot beds of party strife and corruption. Another difficulty was they did not get even that inadequate and miserable pay for five to six months. It was becoming very difficult for them to pull on for such long intervals without any aid from the Panchayat. The Panchayat was too poor to advance them with funds till they got the grant from the Inspector of Local Boards.

Itempudi Panchayat School was thus an example of the unsatisfactory type of Panchayat School management, which never thought of the prospects and happiness of the teachers who worked for the social well-being of the village community.

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1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

association have brought them in close contact with each other and their cultures are in certain fields inter-related, the two communities retain their own socio-religious identities. The Muslims are in a minority in the population of the village; but they are a close-knit group in socio-religious matters. All Muslims belong to the Sunni division. Among them there are no great inequalities of wealth and possession, and consequently there is, within the Muslim community, no evidence of class distinction. In matters affecting their socio-religious life they act as a separate and self-sufficient group, rarely seeking the help, assistance or advice of their Hindu neighbours. One of the remarkable characteristics of the predominantly Hindu rural society of India is that non-Hindu communities have also been influenced by the caste-hierarchy of Hinduism. Even the non-Hindu groups have had to fit somehow into the rigid framework of the caste-dominated social system; and while they have always remained outside it, never having been regarded as Hindus, they have nevertheless acquired a quasi-caste status in accordance with their general social, economic and political position. As Hyderabad was formerly ruled by a Muslim, his co-religionists had a privileged position in the affairs of the State. Their social status in the rural areas has always been more or less equal to that of the agricultural castes; although from the point of view of religion the Hindus have always regarded them as inferior. Nevertheless, a clean-caste Hindu can sit down with a Muslim, and the less orthodox can even touch them without having to take a subsequent purificatory bath.

The Hindu social system, founded on the division of society into 'castes', presents a social framework of great complexity. The traditional *varna* system, modified in the course of the evolution of Indian social polity, divides Hindu society into five major groups. The first three of these, viz. Brahmins (priests and men of learning), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors) and Vaishyas (traders) are regarded as *dvija* or 'twice born'. According to Hindu ritual only they are allowed to undergo the *upanayana* ceremony which symbolizes their spiritual re-birth and entitles them to wear the sacred thread. The fourth group is composed of numerous occupational castes who are relatively clean and are not classed as untouchables. Finally, in the fifth major group we can place all the untouchable castes. This classification is accepted by the Hindus all over India. The relative positions of the different groups,

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564 more or less similar position but are both endogamous and do not
264 inter-dine. They accept food at the hands of the castes higher than
582 themselves but not from those which are lower. Similarly, the Sakali and the Mangali have a similar caste status, but they do not inter-marry or inter-dine. But again, both the Sakali and the Mangali will dine with the Sale and the Gaondla and all the other castes higher than themselves. The Vaddar and the Pichha-Kuntla will eat with neither the Sakali and the Mangali nor with the untouchable Malas and Madigas, but they can take food at the hands of all castes higher than themselves. The Erkalas will eat from the hands of all castes except those of the Mala and the Madiga. The Sakali and the Mangali do not accept food from the Erkala. The Erkala and the Pichha-Kuntla will accept food from the Vaddar, but the Vaddar will not accept food from the Erkala and the Pichha-Kuntla. Finally, the Mala and the Madiga will eat at the hands of all the higher castes, but the Mala, considering himself superior of the two untouchable castes, will refuse food touched by a Madiga.

The position of the Panch Bramha group is peculiar. They constitute a consolidated and self-sufficient group. They do not accept food at the hands of any other castes, nor do any other castes accept food touched by them. Here the position differs vitally from that found in north India, where the carpenter, the blacksmith, the worker in bell-metal, the goldsmith and the carver of images constitute different endogamous castes which do not, as they do in this area, inter-marry and inter-dine. Their social status is neither very high nor very low. Everywhere they rank lower than the 'twice-born' *varnas* of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, but they are not regarded as impure and their status is infinitely superior to that of the untouchables. In the area under study while the Panch Bramha group is regarded as 'clean', even the untouchable Mala would refuse food touched by them, and it is only in recent years that the Madigas have started to eat from their hands. 'Their very touch poisons the food. How can we accept it?' the people are often heard to remark when they are asked to explain their refusal of food touched by any of the Panch
[881] Bramha castes. The Panch Bramha castes wear the sacred thread
564 of the twice born and refuse food even from the Brahmin. It is probable that their social exclusiveness reflects an attitude which was developed in ancient times when a great fusion of Aryan and

RITUAL STRUCTURE

844 Among the Muslims an expectant mother is sent for the birth of her first child to her parents; subsequent deliveries generally take place in her own home. During her confinement she is attended by a professional midwife. An amulet is often tied to the
846 mother's waist to facilitate delivery. Within a few hours of its birth the child is bathed and clothed. His grandfather or an elderly relation says the prayers. A date is then dipped in honey and a drop or two of that honey is put into the mouth of the newborn child. Milk should not be given to the child before this has been done. On the sixth day the *chhatti* ceremony is performed.
[431] For this relations from both mother's and father's side are invited. They bring with them gifts for the child, comprising of sets of new clothes, dolls and playthings and possibly a silver spoon. The child
553 is dressed in new clothes. On the seventh day its head is shaved, and the elders give it a name. Depending on the means of the family, feasts are given to friends and relations on the sixth and seventh days, The mother continues to be out of the normal round of life for forty days. On the fortieth day she is bathed. The midwife is given her remuneration on this day. Once again there is a feast, and presents may be given both to the child and to the mother.

● 881 *Pre-puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus, the Brahmin and the Komti perform the sacred thread ceremony for the boys before they attain puberty. At these rites the Brahmin priest officiates. The Panch Bramha group of artisan castes also perform this rite; but they do not invite the Brahmin. Their caste-priest conducts the ceremony.

862 In the Muslim community a boy must be circumcised any time between the age of two and ten. A few relations are invited for the occasion, the boy is garlanded and then the operation is performed. It is usual to give small presents to the boy at this time. Another pre-puberty rite is the *bismilla* ceremony done both for
[869] boys and girls. This initiates the child's religious instruction, for from now on it is taught the alphabet and is gradually enabled to read the Koran. In Shamirpet the *bismilla* ceremony is performed for all Muslim children, though relatively few of them learn to read the holy book.

881 *Puberty Rites.* Among the Hindus the girl's first menstruation is attended by elaborate ceremonies. She is secluded for five days, and at the end of this period is bathed and dressed in new clothes.

RITUAL STRUCTURE

For three to ten days the household gods, as well as those at the family's favourite shrine, are worshipped. For the latter the girl is taken out with the village women in a procession, and the Madigas are summoned to play their musical instruments. With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti, in all other castes the women from the neighbourhood assemble every afternoon for singing and dancing at the house of the girl for whom the ceremony is being performed. Among the Muslims, at the time of first menstruation the girl is secluded for seven to eleven days. At the end of this period she is given new clothes, which she wears after taking her bath. 881 ●

Ear and nose boring of the girls is done before the age of puberty among both the Hindus and the Muslims. But this act has no religious rites attached to it. 852

Marriage. In the community people are as a rule married when they are adults; only in some cases are adolescents married. Child-marriage is rare. Out of 380 first marriages investigated by us, only 14 could be described as child-marriages. 582

Among the Hindus, negotiated marriages are common. People show an unmistakable preference for cross-cousin marriage when the subject is discussed with them; but out of the 340 Hindu marriages analysed by us, only 18% were cross-cousin marriages, the rest being negotiated marriages into unrelated families. Muslims permit both parallel and cross-cousin marriages, and indeed regard them as highly desirable. Our sample of Muslim marriages is not quite adequate, but out of 40 marriages fully investigated 19 were between cousins. Among the agriculturists, and to a lesser extent among others, it is necessary for the girl's parents to pay a dowry to the boy. This accounts for the relatively few marriages by service. When the parents of the boy are too poor even to arrange for the normal expenses of an average wedding—involving expenditure on the buying of clothes and ornaments for the bride and bridegroom, marriage feasts and other incidental expenses—the boy may serve with his prospective father-in-law for a stipulated period, at the end of which the latter marries him to his daughter at his own expense. Marriages by exchange may be arranged between two families to economize on the dowry; and further they may be celebrated at the same time so as to complete two weddings for the expense of one. Cases of run-away marriages occur at times, but they are 583

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point of rubbing genital organs. Girls masturbate either by pressing and releasing their clitoris with their fingers or by rubbing their thighs. Obscenity and talk about sex are disapproved by the elders, but the boys regard it as a mark of toughness and as an indication of their grown-up status, and as such indulge in it fairly regularly. Their vocabulary of abuse includes all the major sexual words, and they can often be heard abusing each other in terms such as: 'Copulate with your mother', 'Cohabit with your sister', 'My penis!'—or the rather curious 'Your mother's penis'.

Most children's games involve competition in the use of skills and stamina. The children are divided into several groups and factions, and these often come into conflict on account of intense jealousies and rivalries. Elaborate group *mores* and codes of ethics govern their inter-relations during states of friendship, neutrality and enmity. Toughness in boys is the admired quality; weakness, refined ways, spying and complaining coming in for criticism and ridicule. Running away from fright, crying and treachery to the group are remembered long after the quarrels and restoration of peace between conflicting factions. Outside the play-group the growing children have to lend a helping hand to their parents. Grown-up girls assist their mothers at their domestic tasks and take partial charge of their younger siblings, while boys do odd jobs for the father and other older male relatives. It is now time that they should take their first steps in preparing for adult life.

Adolescence brings about a significant change in the life of both boys and girls. By this age girls are expected to become proficient in all the major domestic tasks. Negotiations for their marriage are invariably started at this age. They grow up faster than the boys. While boys of a comparable age are still regarded as 'grown-up children who do not understand', girls come to be looked upon more or less as fully-grown women. Now they must be careful about their dress; particularly their breasts should never be exposed. They should 'not run about the village like boys', nor should they talk or laugh so loudly as to attract notice. Mothers advise them to be cautious in their behaviour, for this is the age when young people start giving attention to them. Young people have a special fascination for adolescent girls 'whose youth is just beginning to blossom'. Young men succeeding in fondling 'the unripe, half-developed breasts' of a girl and in having intercourse with one 'whose pubic hair is just beginning to grow' easily win the

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lighter punishments are administered by the mother, who deals with the minor faults and offences of her children. All serious offences and persistent defiance of the mother's authority are reported by her to the father. Very often the mother's threat that she would report the matter to the father is enough to set the recalcitrant children right. In point of fact, many mothers build up the father as a figure to be feared, and in some instances the children actually tremble when they are produced before him for disobedience and other improper conduct. The punishments inflicted by the father on his children are less frequent but more severe. But from the above it should not be surmised that the children's attitude towards the father is only that of fear, for that would obviously be wrong. Fear and respect there certainly are, but not without a definite feeling of confidence and friendship for him. While difficulties are more often referred to and help sought from the mother, the father is not unapproachable, and indeed many fathers teach their children new games, make them small playthings, occasionally take them out for sight-seeing, buy them sweets and other tit-bits, and on demand give them a little money too.

During later childhood and adolescence the girls draw themselves closer and closer to the mother and occupy themselves mainly with feminine pursuits. The boys continue to maintain close and intimate relations with the mother, but her authority over them gradually diminishes. They learn to coax and cajole her. They know her weaknesses and devise ingenious ways to tease her. She often threatens to bring matters to the notice of the father, but the boys know very well that in all probability the threat will not be carried out. But during this period the father watches the development of his sons with greater interest and when complaints are brought to him the punishment is often exemplary. Traditionally this is believed to be the period when 'boys go tough' and are difficult to manage, and it is during this phase that the father must exercise tact and firmness in keeping them under control. They must keep the right sort of company, and should not be allowed to spend all their time playing and planning mischief. Even if they go to the village school, they should give some time to their traditional caste occupations. By assisting their elders and seeing them at work they should be able to acquire the fundamentals of what in all likelihood is going to be their main vocation

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in life. Indirect education through folktales, parables and songs is now supplemented by direct and conscious instruction by the parents. The mother seeks to train her daughter to be a good wife; she would often say to her, 'The husband's home is very different from the home of your parents. Here you sit down and the meals are served to you by your mother; there even if you work to the point of breaking your limbs you will not have a word of appreciation. And if you do not work, your tormenting mother-in-law and sisters-in-law will not only abuse you, but will also remember your parents in the foulest language.' Through anecdotes and reminiscences, she creates a vivid picture in the daughter's mind of what she is likely to find when she leaves her first home to enter her second and real home. As the time for the girl's marriage approaches, she finds herself attached to the mother all the more. If the father disapproves of any of the ways of the girl seriously, rather than speak to her directly, he would bring the matter to the notice of her mother, through whom he would seek to influence the daughter. Of course on minor matters he can speak to her directly. Similarly, in the case of grown-up boys, when any action more serious than a mere warning, use of strong language or giving of a threat is called for it is the father and not the mother who is supposed to handle them.

When the children enter their youth and adulthood, there are further changes in the pattern of inter-personal relationships between the parents and children. By this time the girls are married off and leave the parental home to take their place as wives in the homes of their respective husbands. For three or four years they maintain a somewhat intimate and regular contact with their parental home, and their people too are interested in their adjustment and welfare in the new surroundings. Afterwards, however, the girl gets increasingly absorbed in the affairs of her own home, and the memories of childhood friends, as well as those of her parental home, gradually recede into the background. In later years, on ceremonial occasions she returns to her parental home more or less a stranger. Not that the parents are totally unconcerned about the welfare of their daughter, or that the girl has altogether forgotten them, but the distance that separates them (in time and space) gradually takes away much of the glow and warmth of the feelings which they have for one another. On the other hand, the boys also marry and their wives come home to

LEVELS OF LIVING

Caste is an important and rigid determinant of division of labour. Under this system several occupations have been preserved as caste monopolies, while some are 'open' and may be adopted by persons belonging to all castes. This system of division of labour by occupation has been examined at some length in Chapter III.

The factors of sex, age and social status govern the division of labour in nearly all types of work in the community. First, 'masculine' and 'feminine' pursuits are clearly distinguished: a woman doing man's work is laughed at; a man undertaking any specifically feminine tasks provides a favourite theme for popular gossip. Household work, agricultural activities, traditional craft or occupation of the family, and socio-religious rites and ceremonies are all marked by division of work on the basis of sex.

The age factor is equally important, but not so rigid. Six basic age divisions are recognized in the society: (i) 'Infant' from birth to weaning. (ii) 'Child' from weaning to about twelve. (iii) 'Grown-up boys or girls' from twelve until marriage or even a year or two later. (iv) 'Grown-up people' from twenty to about thirty-eight. (v) Middle-aged from about thirty-eight to fifty. (vi) 'Aged', over fifty. Each of these age divisions carries with it a more or less recognized status which determines the nature and quantity of work to be done by the individual in question. Only in the lower strata of the community we find the 'child' burdened with a regular share in domestic and occupational tasks. The children in the families on upper levels may occasionally do odd bits of work, but no responsibility is thrust on them. As they grow up, girls have to take an increasing interest in domestic tasks. 'Grown-up boys and girls' must seriously start 'learning to do things', and are gradually entrusted with some responsibility. However, it is on the 'grown-up people' that the main responsibility of 'doing all the work' and running the affairs of the household rests. The 'middle-aged' people continue to do a part of the practical work; but their time is more occupied by planning, direction and supervision. Depending on their age and personality, the 'aged' continue to supervise and direct the work of the younger members. As they grow older they content themselves merely by giving suggestions and eventually retire from active work or its planning, and devote their time mostly to their grandchildren.

Considerations of general social status also determine the nature

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the Erkalas, the men occupy themselves with hunting and trapping, while women weave mats and seek some additional income by fortune-telling. Among the Madigas males deal with dead animals; women come into the picture only when the meat has to be carried home and cooked. Both men and women may work at curing hides. Shoe-making and other leather-work is mainly done by men. On ritual and ceremonial occasions, musical instruments are played only by Madiga men.

Earlier it has been pointed out that men avoid tasks which are generally known as 'feminine'; and women in their turn are expected not to undertake pursuits which are traditionally regarded as 'masculine'. It is true that during the illness or absence of his wife, a man has to perform some of her domestic duties, but that is obviously a compromise with necessity. Any man taking undue interest in feminine tasks soon earns the unenviable epithet of 'half-woman', and is exposed to the ridicule of the community. Asking a man to do some feminine work would be almost tantamount to questioning his masculinity. 'Put bangles on your wrist, husk the paddy and cook the meals', is a remark often used in reproach to admonish those who lack manly qualities and courage. A woman going out of her way to do anything which is regarded as 'man's work' is noticed and adversely commented upon by the society. It is unthinkable that a woman can handle the plough. It should be pointed out here that sometimes a woman deliberately undertakes to do masculine work to 'bring home' to the husband the realization that he is not fulfilling his manly obligations and thus to awaken him to his proper responsibilities. Middle-aged women and widows can do some men's work without social censure.

Reference has been made to the six basic age divisions recognized in the community. Among the 'rich' and the 'well-to-do' families children do very little; but among the 'average' and the 'poor' they have to help the parents. Grazing the cattle, assisting parents in their work in the fields during the busy season, looking after younger siblings, and running errands are regarded as children's work. The girls have to help their mother in the kitchen. As they grow up their share in work gradually increases. Boys take more interest in 'outdoor' work, whilst girls are absorbed in the domestic routine. During this stage of life the 'grown-up boys and girls' even of rich and well-to-do families have to apply

883 themselves to work. The major responsibility rests on the adults
[885] and the middle-aged people, and here the social status of the persons concerned will determine the type of work to be done by them.

461 This brings us to social status as a determinant in the division
565 of work in the community. The rich and influential people will not do anything which is regarded as humble or is otherwise classed as menial work. The men on this level generally 'plan and supervise', but the hard manual labour is done by hired labourers. They go to their fields, but only stand in a corner and instruct the servants. They will never be seen taking their plough and the bullocks to the field, or even participating in ploughing or sowing. The popular conception regarding women at this level is 'they sit in their homes loaded with gold and silver, whiling away their time chewing betel leaves and areca nuts.' However, even in these homes, women are never idle, for they have to do the cooking and look after the children. But considerations of respectability prevent them from doing several things which their counterparts in the lower strata of society regard as their normal day-to-day work. They can never be seen going to their fields, carrying headloads, drawing water from public wells, or washing clothes in public places. In fact they do not have to do any work outside their homes and are not expected to earn for the upkeep of the
[562] family. The rich Muslim women observe *purdah*, i.e. they never go out of their house without a veil, and considerations of respectability demand that their sphere of activity should strictly be confined to their houses. The situation is materially different in the case of the 'well-to-do' families, but no generalizations can be made regarding this level as a unit, as the social ideals and standards of different castes differ very widely. In general, however, it may be said that the Brahmin and the Komti, being higher castes and respected people in the village, more or less follow the ideals of the rich and refrain from doing heavy manual labour as well as from all other work traditionally regarded as inferior. This is true also of the Muslims on this level who, because of their urban conceptions of middle-class respectability, think it below their dignity to do any inferior work publicly. The women from the above three groups seek to emulate the examples of the women in rich families. But in the other well-to-do families belonging to the agricultural and occupational castes notions of respectability

1 [WORKING. --ANALYST]

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point of rubbing genital organs. Girls masturbate either by pressing and releasing their clitoris with their fingers or by rubbing their thighs. Obscenity and talk about sex are disapproved by the elders, but the boys regard it as a mark of toughness and as an indication of their grown-up status, and as such indulge in it fairly regularly. Their vocabulary of abuse includes all the major sexual words, and they can often be heard abusing each other in terms such as: 'Copulate with your mother', 'Cohabit with your sister', 'My penis!'—or the rather curious 'Your mother's penis'.

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admiration of their age-group. For the girls it is a rather difficult period, as they have to find a middle way between the dictates of their romantic impulses and the fear of the social censure that comes to all wayward girls. Adolescent boys divide their time more or less equally between 'learning to do things' with their parents and being with their playmates. Childish games in the dust are now replaced by more vigorous country sport. Within the age-group itself thoughts and efforts in the domain of sex come to occupy a very important place. Masturbation is now regarded as 'unmanly' and gradually given up. Lying with other boys is also looked down upon. Efforts are made to attract younger girls for first experimentation in heterosexual love. Far more than these actual experiments, fantasies occupy an important place in their thoughts and conversation. Imaginary affairs with a woman believed to be of easy virtue—or with a completely fictitious character from a distant village—are vividly and elaborately described. Growth of the pubic hair and genital organs is closely watched and compared. In this way they slowly reach their youth when talks for their marriage are opened. On marriage they acquire a new social status.

After marriage the young men and women have to give considerable attention to their economic pursuits and crafts, and as such they have relatively little time left for group activity. Yet, their leisure and time are generally spent in the company of persons belonging more or less to the same age-group, who constitute 'a set of friends'. Important activities of these groups include loafing, playing card games, gossip and conversation. They may even go to the city together; and always act in unison when planning mischief. Confidences are exchanged within these groups; and people often narrate to each other their recent exploits. One of the favourite themes is boasting regarding success in sexual adventures. Success—real or imaginary—with an adolescent girl is vividly described within this narrow circle. Graphic and vivid details are always added to make the account more colourful. 'It was her very first experience. Oh, there was so much blood. I did not know whether to pacify her or to concentrate on the act', one would say. This would start a chain in which all others would narrate their parallel experiences—many of which would be slightly modified editions of often-told tales. The *motif* of a girl being frightened by the largeness of a man's organ also

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in life. Indirect education through folktales, parables and songs is now supplemented by direct and conscious instruction by the parents. The mother seeks to train her daughter to be a good wife; she would often say to her, 'The husband's home is very different from the home of your parents. Here you sit down and the meals are served to you by your mother; there even if you work to the point of breaking your limbs you will not have a word of appreciation. And if you do not work, your tormenting mother-in-law and sisters-in-law will not only abuse you, but will also remember your parents in the foulest language.' Through anecdotes and reminiscences, she creates a vivid picture in the daughter's mind of what she is likely to find when she leaves her first home to enter her second and real home. As the time for the girl's marriage approaches, she finds herself attached to the mother all the more. If the father disapproves of any of the ways of the girl seriously, rather than speak to her directly, he would bring the matter to the notice of her mother, through whom he would seek to influence the daughter. Of course on minor matters he can speak to her directly. Similarly, in the case of grown-up boys, when any action more serious than a mere warning, use of strong language or giving of a threat is called for it is the father and not the mother who is supposed to handle them.

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live with them. They think that this ends their tutelage under their father and establishes them as independent members of the community. The parents do not necessarily share this view, and consequently in the period that follows there is considerable stress and need for understanding and accommodation on both sides. The son is divided between loyalty to his father and his new-found desire for independence on the one hand; his affection for the mother generated by close association from the day of birth and his attraction for the wife on the other. During this stage the parents cannot punish or chastise their sons; they can at best advise and warn. When repeated advice and warnings do not have the desired effect, methods of employing pressure or ridicule are resorted to. Pressure may be brought to bear on the son through village elders, other influential people and even through his friends. Stories about sons who forget their duties and responsibilities towards their parents because of their wives are legion. Socially it is bad form to be engrossed completely in the wife to the neglect of the parents; it is worse to deny them the respect and courtesy that is their due at the bidding of the wife. The traditional norms of respectful behaviour must be observed in dealing with parents. Intimate subjects, particularly those having a bearing on sex, should not be discussed in the presence of the parents. Opinion should not be proffered unless it is asked for. All forms of endearment must be avoided by the husband and wife in the presence of the elders. It is not very proper for a young father to fondle and kiss his child too often when his parents are present. Finally, parents should not be abused or beaten; as far as possible differences should be smoothed out by peaceful means. Nevertheless, when there are acute differences in the points of view of the parents and children, exchange of hot words and loud quarrels between them are not uncommon.

Tradition lays down fairly strict norms regarding the treatment of aged, dependent parents. A son failing in his duty of providing adequately for his old parents, and not caring sufficiently for their comforts, particularly during illness, invites strong social disapproval and comment. He is regarded as a bad example. Elders, well-wishers and friends are bound to remind him repeatedly about his obligations to his aged parents. At this stage the old people are expected not to interfere with the domestic management of the household, and as a price for this non-interference the

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The factors of sex, age and social status govern the division of labour in nearly all types of work in the community. First, 'masculine' and 'feminine' pursuits are clearly distinguished: a woman doing man's work is laughed at; a man undertaking any specifically feminine tasks provides a favourite theme for popular gossip. Household work, agricultural activities, traditional craft or occupation of the family, and socio-religious rites and ceremonies are all marked by division of work on the basis of sex.

The age factor is equally important, but not so rigid. Six basic age divisions are recognized in the society: (i) 'Infant' from birth to weaning. (ii) 'Child' from weaning to about twelve. (iii) 'Grown-up boys or girls' from twelve until marriage or even a year or two later. (iv) 'Grown-up people' from twenty to about thirty-eight. (v) Middle-aged from about thirty-eight to fifty. (vi) 'Aged', over fifty. Each of these age divisions carries with it a more or less recognized status which determines the nature and quantity of work to be done by the individual in question. Only in the lower strata of the community we find the 'child' burdened with a regular share in domestic and occupational tasks. The children in the families on upper levels may occasionally do odd bits of work, but no responsibility is thrust on them. As they grow up, girls have to take an increasing interest in domestic tasks. 'Grown-up boys and girls' must seriously start 'learning to do things', and are gradually entrusted with some responsibility. However, it is on the 'grown-up people' that the main responsibility of 'doing all the work' and running the affairs of the household rests. The 'middle-aged' people continue to do a part of the practical work; but their time is more occupied by planning, direction and supervision. Depending on their age and personality, the 'aged' continue to supervise and direct the work of the younger members. As they grow older they content themselves merely by giving suggestions and eventually retire from active work or its planning, and devote their time mostly to their grandchildren.

Considerations of general social status also determine the nature

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883 themselves to work. The major responsibility rests on the adults
[885] and the middle-aged people, and here the social status of the persons concerned will determine the type of work to be done by them.

461 This brings us to social status as a determinant in the division
565 of work in the community. The rich and influential people will not do anything which is regarded as humble or is otherwise classed as menial work. The men on this level generally 'plan and supervise', but the hard manual labour is done by hired labourers. They go to their fields, but only stand in a corner and instruct the servants. They will never be seen taking their plough and the bullocks to the field, or even participating in ploughing or sowing. The popular conception regarding women at this level is 'they sit in their homes loaded with gold and silver, whiling away their time chewing betel leaves and areca nuts.' However, even in these homes, women are never idle, for they have to do the cooking and look after the children. But considerations of respectability prevent them from doing several things which their counterparts in the lower strata of society regard as their normal day-to-day work. They can never be seen going to their fields, carrying headloads, drawing water from public wells, or washing clothes in public places. In fact they do not have to do any work outside their homes and are not expected to earn for the upkeep of the
[562] family. The rich Muslim women observe *purdah*, i.e. they never go out of their house without a veil, and considerations of respectability demand that their sphere of activity should strictly be confined to their houses. The situation is materially different in the case of the 'well-to-do' families, but no generalizations can be made regarding this level as a unit, as the social ideals and standards of different castes differ very widely. In general, however, it may be said that the Brahmin and the Komti, being higher castes and respected people in the village, more or less follow the ideals of the rich and refrain from doing heavy manual labour as well as from all other work traditionally regarded as inferior. This is true also of the Muslims on this level who, because of their urban conceptions of middle-class respectability, think it below their dignity to do any inferior work publicly. The women from the above three groups seek to emulate the examples of the women in rich families. But in the other well-to-do families belonging to the agricultural and occupational castes notions of respectability

1 [NOT WORKING, --ANALYST]

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stay at home. The middle-aged people have in effect the controlling hand in village affairs; the truly aged retire into insignificance and fade away. Some people cannot become reconciled to such retirement, having enjoyed authority and influence during their active days. They find adjustment difficult, and a life of dependence rather trying. But most people accept their position with good grace, leave active management of the home and family occupations to their sons and consequently find that their adjustment is much less difficult and inconvenient.

3. CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT

Within the village community there is an appreciable degree of inter-caste and inter-family co-operation. Earlier it has been pointed out that the social system enjoins co-operation between a number of castes in the fields of economics and ritual. Several aspects of community life depend for their smooth running on this traditional system of mutual give and take. Apart from these conventional ties which are a constituent part of the social structure, several relationships involving voluntary co-operation can be observed. The simplest type of such voluntary co-operation found between neighbours or between friendly families is the system of 'accommodating' each other in time of need. Borrowing little sums of money or small quantities of grain, cooking for a friend during her menstrual impurity or confinement, and looking after children during the short absence of the mother may be cited as examples of this type of co-operation. House building and annual roof repairs also call for the help of friendly neighbours among the peasants of average and poor economic status. Careful mental note is made of all such favours received, so that they may be returned at the appropriate time. Refusing help and returning favours inadequately are looked upon as gestures of unfriendliness or as marks of 'a small heart'. Emergency aid is rushed to friend and foe alike. In cases of serious illness, fire or other accidents it is necessary to help a fellow villager; and in all such cases aid is rarely refused. Socio-religious ceremonies, particularly marriage, and those connected with death, are also important occasions that demand co-operation and help from neighbours and fellow villagers. The burden of the household in which the ceremony is to be performed is considerably lightened because of the help

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live with them. They think that this ends their tutelage under their father and establishes them as independent members of the community. The parents do not necessarily share this view, and consequently in the period that follows there is considerable stress and need for understanding and accommodation on both sides. The son is divided between loyalty to his father and his new-found desire for independence on the one hand; his affection for the mother generated by close association from the day of birth and his attraction for the wife on the other. During this stage the parents cannot punish or chastise their sons; they can at best advise and warn. When repeated advice and warnings do not have the desired effect, methods of employing pressure or ridicule are resorted to. Pressure may be brought to bear on the son through village elders, other influential people and even through his friends. Stories about sons who forget their duties and responsibilities towards their parents because of their wives are legion. Socially it is bad form to be engrossed completely in the wife to the neglect of the parents; it is worse to deny them the respect and courtesy that is their due at the bidding of the wife. The traditional norms of respectful behaviour must be observed in dealing with parents. Intimate subjects, particularly those having a bearing on sex, should not be discussed in the presence of the parents. Opinion should not be proffered unless it is asked for. All forms of endearment must be avoided by the husband and wife in the presence of the elders. It is not very proper for a young father to fondle and kiss his child too often when his parents are present. Finally, parents should not be abused or beaten; as far as possible differences should be smoothed out by peaceful means. Nevertheless, when there are acute differences in the points of view of the parents and children, exchange of hot words and loud quarrels between them are not uncommon.

Tradition lays down fairly strict norms regarding the treatment of aged, dependent parents. A son failing in his duty of providing adequately for his old parents, and not caring sufficiently for their comforts, particularly during illness, invites strong social disapproval and comment. He is regarded as a bad example. Elders, well-wishers and friends are bound to remind him repeatedly about his obligations to his aged parents. At this stage the old people are expected not to interfere with the domestic management of the household, and as a price for this non-interference the

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sons and their wives are enjoined by tradition to forget all disputes and dissensions and 'give as much comfort to the old people in their last days' as they possibly can.

THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

The daughter-in-law, coming from a different family and often from a different village, finds herself in totally new surroundings in her husband's home. Now she enters the new phase of life about which she has heard so much since the beginning of her later childhood. She has now to encounter the mother-in-law for whom she has an unmistakable dread. She expects her to be wicked, cruel and heartless. She has learnt to regard her husband's sisters as cunning and deceitful, and the wives of his elder brothers as troublesome and scheming. She expects love and friendship from the husband, but has to bear in mind the oft-repeated dictum of the village women that 'all men are uncertain' and that 'they cannot be depended upon'. She expects sympathy and friendship from her husband's younger brothers and his younger sisters—from the latter only if they are not grown up and if they are not almost of her own age. With the exception of these she has either to respect or to avoid most other members of the family. She comes to her new home with considerable diffidence and fear. She knows that here all her acts will be closely watched and criticized, and she has been taught to believe that however well she may act, it will not be easy for her to please her new relations-in-law. She leaves her parental home with a sorrowful heart, and enters that of her husband full of misgivings and uncertainty.

Notwithstanding the mental picture that she has had, she finds the reception given to her quite cordial. In most homes an effort is made to create a 'good impression' on her. At least for a few weeks she has some novelty about her, and is therefore cared for and looked after very well. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law do not spare her a critical eye, but their comments are invariably made when the bride is not within hearing distance. But this phase lasts only a few weeks, or at the most, two or three months. Later she must be initiated into the ways and traditions of the household and should be taught 'how to do things properly'. Each house has some peculiarities that are distinctly its own, and in order to adjust successfully into its pattern it is necessary for the bride to know and respect these. She must learn her own part in the domestic

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888 Age is still another important factor of status differentiation.
554 As a general rule the aged and elderly people should be respected: they have 'the authority of grey hair' and wide experience of the vicissitudes of life. The younger members must consult the elders of the extended family in all important matters, and should give due regard to their suggestions and advice. Even where the obligations which emerge from kinship ties do not dictate this respectful behaviour, it is considered polite for young people to show regard to the elders. Intimate social relations, even outside one's family and caste, find expression in the adoption of kinship terminology and one must address the people of another family as 'grandfather', 'uncle' or 'brother' according to their respective ages. Deliberate disregard or disrespect to village elders is adversely commented upon in the society.

555 Finally, distinctive personality traits and possession of uncommon or difficult skills also adds to the prestige of an individual and consequently alters his status in society. Ability to talk persuasively and impressively is regarded as a definite asset. An individual's success or failure in inter-personal relations, as well as his advancement in society in general, would depend to a considerable extent on this factor. Sense of humour is an allied personality trait which is greatly admired. One who can make others laugh is regarded as highly desirable company. Special knowledge and skills contribute substantially towards enhancing an individual's prestige. Two persons belonging to the Sale caste have risen in social esteem because of their local reputation as village doctors practising the indigenous system of medicine, although the traditional status of their caste is not very high. C. R., an untouchable Madiga, enjoys some social prestige because he composes songs in the folk style. B., a barber, too has a similar reputation for being a local composer.

554 Four other factors should also be taken into account at this
562 stage. They are sex, education, urban contacts and political affiliations. Of these, considerations regarding the first are ingrained in the social pattern; the other three have a comparatively recent origin. In general man is regarded as superior to woman. In the internal organization of the village all offices are held by men, and with the exception of a few families which have no adult male members, it is a man who is regarded as the head of the family. However, the status of a woman is governed largely by the